

Quotations from Primary Sources

Supplement 2

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**The Concept of Identity in the Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the
Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries – a preliminary report**

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Supplement to “The Concept of Identity in the Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries – a preliminary report”

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1690

«IDENTITÉ. s. f. Ce qui fait que deux ou plusieurs choses ne sont qu’une mesme. N’est en usage que dans le Dogmatique. *Identité de raisons, identité de nature, identité de pensées e divers termes* » (Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française 1694:582).

1700

On identity between “any thing as existing at any determin’d time and place” and “itself existing at another time” (Locke [1700] 1975:328).

On diversity between “any thing ... in any place in any instant of time” and “another, which at the same time exists in another place” (Locke [1700] 1975:328).

“For since consciousness always accompanies thinking, and ‘tis that, that makes every one to be, what he calls *self*; and thereby distinguishes himself from all other thinking things, in this alone consists *personal Identity*, i.e. the sameness of a rational being” (Locke [1700] 1975:335).

“If we may justly infer on Identity of *Species* in Fishes, from the likeness of their Fins, we have then some ground to conclude, that this Fish ... ought to be referred to the *Gurnard* kind” (Tyson 1704-05:1749).

„Sonderlich haben die Schweizer sich können mit ihrer Handstärke zeigen/ zu denen Zeiten/ da man nicht mit Geschütz/ sonder mit Handstreichem/ Hallparten/ Seiten-Gewehren/ sich an einander gewaget/ welche Kriegens-Art unterscheiden ist von der jezigen/ bey welcher das Feuer die Ober Herrschaft hat/ und der stärkste/ und dapferste Soldat von dem liederlichsten Kerl durch einen Kugelgruß kan überwunden werden. Es gienge aber die Schweizerische Nation nicht allezeit offenbar/ und einfaltig an den Streit/ sondern begleitete ihren Heldenmuht gemeinlich mit grosser Wachtbarkeit/ Vorsichtigkeit/ und Klugheit; ja etwann bediente man sich erlaubter Kriegslisten/ als bey einnahm des Uetlibergs An. 1268. bey rettung der von | Keiser Alberto belägerten Statt Zürich An. 1298. bey einnahm des Stättleins Glanzenburg an der Limmat/ unter anführung Graf Rudolffs von Habsburg/ um An. 1268. der vesten Schösseren Sarnen/ und Rotzberg im Underwaldner Land An. 1307. und zu anderen Zeiten mehr/ welches dann genugsam anzeigt nicht einen plumpen groben/ sondern klugen Geist der Nation“ (Scheuchzer 1707:102-103).

“You see therefore, there is a strange Simplicity in this You and Me, that in reality they shou’d be still *one and the same*, when neither *one* Atom of Body, one Passion, nor *one* Thought remains the same. And for that poor Endeavour of making out this *Sameness* or *Identity* of Being, from some self-same Matter, or Particle of Matter, suppos’d to remain with

us when all besides is chang'd; this is by so much the more contemptible, as that *Matter* itself is not really capable of such Simplicity” (Shaftesbury 1707 in Shaftesbury 1773:351).

1720

«Ce badinage, naturellement fait pour les toilettes, semble être venu à former le caractere general de la Nation » (Montesquieu 1721, Tome I : 244).

« La gravité est le caractere brillant des deux Nations : elle se manifeste principalement de deux manieres ; par les lunettes, & par la moustache » (Montesquieu 1721, Tome II :16).

« La meme Esprit gagne la Nation : on n’y voit que travail, & qu’industrie : où est donc ce Peuple effeminé, dont tu parles tant ? » (Montesquieu 1721, Tome II:132).

« Ce Colonies Grecques apporterent avec elles un esprit | de liberté : qu’elles avoient pris dans ce doux Pays » (Montesquieu 1721, Tome II :228-229).

« Depuis plus de deux siècles que l’Amerique a été découverte, & que la plûpart des Puissances maritimes de l’Europe y ont établi de nombreuses Colonies, beaucoup de Voyageurs nous ont peint le caractère & les mœurs des Américains, & quantité de Sçavans se sont appliquez avec soin à chercher dans les ténèbres de l’Antiquité des trace de l’origine de ces Peuples » (Lafitau 1724 :1).

« IDE'E OU CARACTERE DES SAUVAGES EN GENERAL » (Lafitau 1724 :95 ; chapter heading).

« Les modes, les coutumes & les manières ont pû & dû changer, soit par rapport au Gouvernement des États, soit par rapport à la vie privée, cela est de l’homme, & du caractère de son esprit variable et inconstant: cette inconstance a pû se faire sentir, & s’étendre sur la Religion même » (Lafitau 1724 :100).

„the character of ... the primitive tribes of America“ (Lafitau [1724] 1974, vol. I:91).

1730

“*Jupiter’s* identity remains unshaken” (Warburton 1738:272, footnote t).

“We have a distinct idea of an object, that remains invariable and uninterrupted thro’ a suppos’d variation of time; and this idea we call that of identity or sameness. We have also a distinct idea of several different objects existing in succession, and connected together by a close relation ; and this to an accurate view affords as perfect a notion of diversity, as if there was no manner of relation among the objects. But tho’ these two ideas of identity, and a succession of related objects be in themselves perfectly distinct, and even contrary, yet ’tis certain, that in our common way of thinking they are generally confounded with each other” (Hume 1739:253).

„*Identitas*, wird in der *Metaphysic* bißweilen im weitem Verstande vor eine jede Gleichheit einer Sache mit der andern, sie betreffe nun das Wesen oder nur die *Accidentia*, genommen. Wie es denn *Aristoteles Metaphys. X.4.* also gebrauchet. Insgemein nennet man die Gleichheit einer Sache mit der andern in Ansehung der *Substantiarum* also. *Donatus Metaph.*

vsuar. 16. §14. Scheibler *Meta- / phys.* I. 8. Am besten wird wohl das Wort angebracht, wenn man es von denen *Accidentien* und deren Verhältnisse gegen einander braucht. In welchem Fall es *identitas realis* oder *physica* genannt wird. Einige wollen auch *identitatem logicam* oder *rationalem* haben, wenn zwischen dem *Subiecto* und *Praedicato* eine Gleichheit in der Proposition sey. Einige theilen sie auch in *numericam specificam* und *genericam* ein. *Lockius de intellecta hum.* II. 27.“ (Zedler 1739:33-336).

“Now I have mentioned this Abbey of *Rumfey*, I take leave to correct an error in Sir *H. Savil's* Edition ... Here it is called *Ramefei*, by Mistake, for *Rumefei* ... This Identity of name, unobserved, may occasion great Confusion in the History of these Two Places” (Barlow 1739-1741:654).

1740

“ ... what wonder is it that princes are easily betrayed into an error that takes its rise in the general imperfection of our nature, in our pride, our vanity, and our presumption? the bastard children, but the children still, of self-love; a spurious brood, but often a favourite brood, that | governs the whole family. As men are apt to make themselves the measure of all being, so they make themselves the final cause of all creation. Thus the reputed orthodox philosophers in all ages have taught that the world was made for man, the earth for him to inhabit, and all the luminous bodies in the immense expanse around us, for him to gaze at. Kings do no more, no not so much, when they imagine themselves the final cause for which societies were formed, and governments instituted.

“This capital error, in which almost every prince is confirmed by his *education*, has so great extent and so general influence, that a right to do every iniquitous thing in government may be derived from it. But as is this was not enough, the characters of princes are spoiled many more ways by their *education*” (Bolingbroke 1749:102-103).

“When parties are divided by different notions and principles concerning some particular ecclesiastical or civil institutions, the constitution, which should be *their* rule, must be that of the prince. He may and. he ought to shew his dislike or his favour, as he judges the constitution may be hurt or improved, by one side or the other. The hurt he is never to suffer, not for his own sake; and therefore surely not for the sake of any whimsical, factious, | or ambitious sett of men. The improvement he must always desire, but as every new modification, in a scheme of government and of national policy, is of great importance, and requires more and deeper consideration than the warmth and hurry and rashness of party-conduct admit, the duty of a prince seems to require that he should render by his influence the proceedings more *orderly* and more *deliberate*, even when he approves the end to which they are directed. All this may be done by him without fomenting division; and far from forming, or espousing a party, he will defeat party in defence of the constitution, on some occasions; and lead men from acting with a party-spirit, to act with a national spirit, on others” (Bolingbroke 1749:153-154).

1750

“Some have endeavoured to fix the Period of the Jewish Conversion to that of the Destruction of their City and Temple; when, the Prospect of a future Messiah being in great Measure cut off by that Event, they came to look back more attentively unto Christ, and to consider, with greater Seriousness and Candor, the Testimonies of his Character and Commission. To what

Degree these Arguments might then have prevailed with many of them, it is not easy to say; certainly, that they did not so far prevail, as to produce any Thing like a national Conversion, we have the strongest Proof, from the Evidence now standing before our Eyes, in the dispersed, and yet separate, Existence of this numerous People, still, after so | many Ages, in a State of Unbelief, throughout almost every Country under Heaven. – A Case unparalleled in the History of any other Nation; the Singularity of whose Circumstances demands our most awful and religious Regard; God here in exhibiting to our View, in their Dispersion, the apparent Fulfilling of his Judgments denounced against this hitherto obstinate and impenitent People; and at the same Time, by their *distinct* and *separate* Existence, giving a Pledge as it were of better Things to come, and an Earnest of his future gracious Dispensations towards them ...” ([Trevor] 1750:11-12).

“IDENTITY. s. [*identitas*, school Latin.] Sameness; not diversity” (Johnson 1756, vol. I.).

1760

« Mais c’est de nos jours une érudition bien ridicule que celle qui roule sur l’identité des Dieux de diverses nations; comme si Moloch, Saturne & Chronos pouvoient être le même Dieu; comme si le Baal des Phéniciens, le Zeus des Grecs & le Jupiter des Latins pouvoient être le même; comme s’il pouvoit rester quelque chose commune à des Êtres chimériques portant des noms différens » (Rousseau 1762 :227-228).

“The worship of heroes, so well distinguished from that of the gods, in the primitive ages of Greece, proves that their gods were not heroes ... It is true, that this species of devotion became insensibly a religious worship; but it was not till long after, when the identity of these heroes became confused with that of the ancient deities, whose name they bore, or whose characters they resembled” (Gibbon 1764:123-124).

“But everything that exists has its existence determined by time or place, which distinguish its identity” (Gibbon 1764:136).

“Could the identity of the meteors be clearly evinced, ... several curious corollaries, relative to the altitude, motion, velocity, &c. ... might perhaps be deducible from it” (Swinton 1764:327-328).

« Une Idée relative des plus importantes est celle de l’*Identité* ou de la *diversité*. Nous ne trouvons jamais & ne pouvons concevoir qu’il soit possible, que deux choses de la même espece existent en même tems dans le même lieu. C’est pourquoi lorsque nous demandons, *si une chose est la même ou non*, cela se rapporte toujours à une chose, qui dans un tel tems existe dans un tel lieu d’où il s’ensuit qu’une chose ne peut avoir deux commencemens d’existence, ni deux choses un seul commencement par rapport au tems et au lieu » (Leibniz 1765 :188 ; SIC).

« On voit par là comment les actions d’un ancien appartiendroient à un moderne, qui auroit la même ame, quoiqu’il ne s’en aperçût pas. Mais si l’on venoit à la connoître, il s’ensuivroit encore de plus une identité personnelle. Au reste *une portion de matière*, qui passe d’un corps dans un autre, ne fait point le même individu humain, ni ce qu’on appelle *moi*, mais c’est l’ame qui le fait » (Leibniz 1765 :199 [sic]).

“Every nation or tribe have their distinguishing ensigns or coats of arms, which is generally some beast, bird, or fish. Thus among the Five Nations are the bear, otter wolf, tor- | toise and eagle; and by these names the tribes are generally distinguished, and they have the shapes of these animals curiously pricked and painted on several parts of their bodies; and when they march through the woods, generally at every encampment they cut the figure of their arms on trees, especially if it be from a successful campaign, that travellers that way may know they have been there, recording also, in their way, the number of scalps or prisoners they have taken” (Rogers 1765:226-227).

“And to fix the time of Sesostris with precision, he endeavors to prove him to be the same with SESAC. But this latter identity not all affecting the present question, I shall have no occasion to consider it” (Warburton 1765:245)

“a mistaken identity arising from the sameness of name” (Warburton 1765:266).

“As to the other point, that Sesostris went by the name of the earlier Hero, this I not only allow, but contend for, as it lays open to us one of the principal causes of that confusion in their stories, which hath produced a similitude of actions, whereon Sir Isaac Newton layeth the foundation of their identity” (Warburton 1765:388).

„Der Philosophische Geist hat sich bei uns auf alle Theile der Gelehrsamkeit verbreitet, und giebt unsern schönen Schriften selbst eine gewisse Teinture von Ernst und Gründlichkeit, die uns eigenthümlich ist, und einem Ausländer den Karakter der Nation zu erkennen geben muß“ (Herder 1767, vol. I:107).

“Durch feine Spekulationen ist nie der Geist einer Nation geändert: aber durch große Beispiele allemal; und neben dieser Hoheit, ein Muster werden zu können, braucht man blos ein gutes Auge, andre zu sehen, und einen guten Willen, sich mittheilen zu wollen” (Herder 1767, vol. II:204-205).

„Die Geschichte von Deutschland hat meines Ermessens eine ganz neue Wendung zu hoffen, wenn wir die gemeinen Landeigentümer, als die wahren Bestandtheile der Nation durch alle ihre Veränderungen verfolgen; aus ihnen den Körper bilden und die grossen und kleinen Bediente dieser Nation als böse oder gute Zufälle des Körpers betrachten. Wir können so denn dieser Geschichte nicht allein die Einheit, den Gang und die Macht der Epopee geben, worin die Territorialhoheit, und der Despotismus, zuletzt die Stelle einer glücklichen oder unglücklichen Auflösung vertritt; sondern auch den Ursprung, den Fortgang und das unterschiedliche Verhältnis des Nationalcharakters unter allen Veränderungen mit weit mehrer Ordnung und Deutlichkeit entwickeln, als wenn wir blos das Leben und die Bemühungen der Aerzte beschreiben, ohne des kranken Körpers zu gedenken“ (Möser 1768: Vorrede).

„Dem Künstler sind Götter und geistige Wesen nicht blos personifirte Abstrakta, so bald et sie in Handlung kann erscheinen lassen. Die Mythologie ist eigentlich poetisch, und hat dichterische Gesetze. Dem Dichter geht Individualität seiner Götter weit über Charakter; so hat er sie dem Künstler übergeben“ (Herder 1769, Bd. 1:Analytischer Inhalt, 11).

„Jetzt eine Sammlung, oder, wenn man kann, die ganze Menge Griechischer Münzen: und zwar, welches noch angenommener heißt, in ihrer Zeit- | folge nach und neben einander – allerdings kann man jetzt vieles auf die Nation schliessen, was Geschichte, Regierung,

Beschaffenheit ihres Landes, ihre Kleider, Waffen, Gebräuche, Gebäude, Religion und dergleichen anbetrifft. – Hieraus läßt sich ohngefähr ein Nationalcharakter bilden, der viel in sich hielte, aber keine Geschichte des Geschmacks und Künste?“ (Herder 1769, Bd. 3:92-93).

1770

“I am still dubious, whether this animal ought to be looked upon as the same with the lesser otter of Europe and Asia; many circumstances seem to prove this identity; but some, such as the want of webs, which I could not discover between the toes, and the white spot on the neck, will not admit of it” (Forster 1772:371).

“Sitte, Charakter und Ursprung des Volkes ...” (Herder 1772:121).

„der alte ägyptische Geist“ (Herder 1774:69)

„der menschliche Geist“ (Herder 1774 – multiple instances)

“As the true pronounciation of the Hebrew characters, is lost in a considerable degree, it is too difficult a task, for a skilful Hebraist, to ascertain a satisfactory identity of language, between the Jews, and American Aborigines; much more so to an Indian trader, who professes but a small acquaintance with the Hebrew, and that acquired by his own application. However, I will endeavour to make up the deficiency of *Hebrew*, with a plenty of good solid *Indian roots*” (Adair 1775:38).

“When Augustus gave laws to the conquests of his | father, he introduced a division of Gaul equally adapted to the progress of the legions, to the course of the rivers, and to the principal national distinctions, that before the conquest had comprehended above an hundred independent states” (Gibbon 1776:19-20).

“As long as Rome and Italy were respected as the center of government, a national spirit was preserved by the ancient, and insensibly imbibed by the adopted citizens. The principal commands of the army were filled by men who had received a liberal education, were | well instructed in the advantages of laws and letters, and who had risen, by equal steps, through the regular succession of civil and military honours” (Gibbon 1776:169-170).

“They granted a settlement to several colonies of the Carpi, the Bastarnae, and the Sarmatians; and, by a dangerous indulgence, permitted them in some measure to retain their national manners and independence” (Gibbon 1776:368).

“[159] See the speech of Marius, in the Augustan History, p. 197. The accidental identity of names was the only circumstance that could tempt Pollio to imitate Sallast” (Gibbon 1776: Notes on the Tenth Chapter, p. xli).

“To find the inhabitants of these remote islands differing so widely from the rest of the world, as to have no aversion to strangers, but on the contrary showing great kindness to the first they probably ever saw, is a singular phenomenon. It is vain here to talk of climate; because in all climates we find an aversion to strangers. From the instances given above, let us select two islands, or two clusters of islands, suppose for example Bowman’s islands inhabited by Whites, and those adjacent to New Guinea inhabited by Blacks. Kindness to strangers is the

national character of the former, and hatred to strangers is the national character of the latter” (Home 1778, vol. I:38).

“More arts have been invented by accident than by investigation. The art of porcelain is more intricate than that of glass. The Chinese however have possessed the former many ages, without knowing | any thing of the latter till they were taught by Europeans.

“The exertion of national spirit upon any particular art, promotes activity to prosecute other arts. The Romans, by constant study, came to excel in the art of war, which led them to improve upon other arts” (Home 1778, vol. I:184-185).

“an identity of words” (Home 1778, vol. III:297, quoting from the preface to “the first editions of the latest version of the Bible into English”).

“identity” in a citation of Locke’s *Essay on Human Understanding* (Home 1778, vol. III, p. 323).

“identity” in a citation of Hume’s *A Treatise of Human Nature* (Home 1778, vol. III, p. 324).

1780

„Analytische Urtheile (die beiahende) sind also dieienige, in welchen die Verknüpfung des Prädicats mit dem Subiect durch Identität, dieienige aber, in denen diese Verküpfung ohne Identität gedacht wird, sollen synthetische Urtheile heissen“ (Kant 1781:7).

“DEAR SIR, I had the honor of receiving your favor of the 12th of June during my attendance on the Legislature ... [T]he sanction which your judgment gave to the propriety of rewarding the literary services of Mr Payne, led to an attempt in the House of Delegates for that purpose. The proposition first made was, that he should be invested with a moiety of a tract of public land ... on the Eastern Shore ... The proposition ... passed through two readings without apprehension on the part of its friends. On the third, a sudden attack grounded on considerations of economy and suggestions unfavourable to Mr Payne threw the Bill out of the house ... | ... Whether a succeeding Session may resume the matter, and view it in a different light, is not for me to say. Should exertions of genius which have been everywhere admired, and in America unanimously acknowledged, not save the author from indigence & distress, the loss of national character will hardly be balanced by the savings at the Treasury”(Madison [1784] 1901:63-64).

„Die Natur erzieht Familien; der natürlichste Staat ist also auch Ein Volk, mit einem Nationalcharakter“ (Herder 1785:261).

„Moseh, von Geburt ein Hebräer, und von Cultur ein Aegyptier“ (Schölzer 1785:134).

“One evil I must mention, because it has been verified by my own observation, and is of that kind which reflects an unmerited reproach on our general and national character” (Hastings, quoted in Burke [1786] 1887:391).

“I ... compared a few days ago one of our moles (male) with the male one described in Buffon. It weighed 2^o 11 pen^l. Its length the end of its snout to the root of the tail was 5 inch 3 lines, English measure. That described in Buffon was not weighed. I believe Its length was 5 inch french measure. The external and internal correspondence seemed to be too exact for

distinct species. There was a difference nevertheless in two circumstances ... If these circumstances should not be thought to invalidate the identity of species, the mole will stand as an exception to the Theory which supposes no animal to be common to the two Continents, which cannot bear the cold of the region where they join, since according to Buffon this species of mole is not found 'dans les climats froids ou la terre est gelée pendant la plus grande partie de l'année,' and it cannot be suspected of such a Journey during a short summer as would head the sea which separates the two Continents" (Madison [1786] 1901:241; punctuation added).

On comment anticipated in 1788 and task of "proving its identity with the comets of 1532 and 1661" (Maskelyne 1786:429).

"Again, the late discoveries of Captain Cook, coasting from Kamschatka to California, have proved that, if the two continents of Asia and America be separated at all, it is only by a narrow streight. So that from this side also, inhabitants may have passed into America: and the resemblance between the Indians of America and the Eastern inhabitants of Asia, would induce us to conjecture, that the former are the descendants of the latter, or the latter of the former: excepting indeed the Eskimaux, who, from the same circumstance of resemblance, and from identity of language, must be derived from the Groenlanders, and these probably from some of the northern parts of the old continent" (Jefferson 1787:163).

"On this observation permit me to remark, that those who deny the identity of human origin, because one nation is red and another is black, might, on the same principle, deny, to persons of different complexion, the identity of family" (Smith 1787:28).

"If, in one case, these transmutations are acknowledged to be consistent with identity of kind, they ought not, in the other, to be esteemed criterions of distinct species" (Smith 1787:29-30).

"A Supplementary Letter on the Identity of the Species of the Dog, Wolf, and Jackal" (Hunter 1789:160 title).

"In the year 1787 I had the honour of presenting to this learned Society, a Paper to prove the Wolf, the Jackal, and the Dog to be the same species" (Hunter 1789:160).

1790

"In order to understand, fully, the debt due to domestic creditors, he [James Madison] thought it proper to look back to the circumstances under which it was contracted. He remarked, that it was the debt, not of the government, but of the nation; that the united states contracted the debts; and that the government was the agent or organ only; that for the purpose of this contract, the united states had then a national capacity; that although, by the revolution just effected, other national capacities had been added, and a material change had taken place in the government – yet that the national identity of the united states, relative to the debts, was not affected; nor was the present government any thing more than the agent or organ of its constituents; that the political, as well as moral obligation, therefore, to discharge the debt, had undergone no variation whatever; that this was the language of the constitution, which expressly declared, that all debts should have the same validity against the united states, under their new, as under their old form of government" ([U.S.] Congress, Proceedings of, Thursday, February 11, 1790, p. 34).

“In 1603, when the French settled in Canada, part of the Five Nations resided on the island of Montreal, and were at war with the Adirondacks (who lived on the Uttawa, or grand river leading to Michillimakinac); these, considered the Five Nations as very insignificant opponents, and incapable of serious revenge, and they were held in as much derision as the Delawares, who were usually called old women, or the Shawanees (who lived on the Wabach River), who were obliged to wear petticoats for a considerable time, in contempt of their want of courage, and as a badge of their pusillanimity and degradation. But as no people can bear the imputation of cowardice or effeminacy as a national character, the chiefs determined to rouse their young men, and stimulate them to retrieve, or establish, a reputation; and inspiring them with heroic notions, led them to war against the Satanas, or Shaounons, whom they subdued with great ease. This success revived their drooping spirits, and forgetting how often they had been defeated by the Adirondacks, commenced hostilities against them; and availing themselves of the mean opinion their enemies entertained of their valour, gained the victory in several actions: and at last carried on a successful war against them even in their own country, obliging their former conquerors to abandon their native land, and seek refuge on the spot where Quebec is now situated” (Long 1791:8-9).

“I believe it will not be disputed that the Indian women love their children with as much affection as parents in the most civilized states can boast; many proofs might be adduced to support this assertion. A mother suckles her child till it attains the age of four or five years, and sometimes till it is six or seven. From their infant state they endeavour to promote an independent spirit; they are never known either to beat or scold them, lest the martial disposition which is to adorn their future life and character, should be weakened: on all occasions they avoid every thing compulsive, that the freedom with which they wish them to think and act may not be controlled. If they die, they lament their death with unfeigned tears, and even for months after their decease will weep at the graves of their departed children. The nation of Savages called Biscatonges, or by the French, Pleureurs, are said to weep more bitterly at the birth of a child, than at its decease, because they look upon death only as a journey from whence he will return, but with regard to his birth, they consider it as an entrance into a life of perils and misfortunes” (Long 1791:60).

“It may not be improper to observe the necessity there is for a trader to be cool, firm, and, in case of emergency, brave, but not rash or hasty. The Indians are just observers of the human mind, and easily discover true from affected courage, by that apparent tranquillity which clearly distinguishes the former from the latter. It is well known that no people in the world put courage to so severe a trial, and watch at the executions of their enemies with such savage curiosity, the effects of the tortures they inflict; even the women exult in proportion to the agony betrayed by the unhappy sufferer; though it frequently happens thro’ the same spirit operating on both parties, that the most excruciating torments cannot extort a sigh” (Long 1791:71).

“One part of the religious superstition of the Savages, consists in each of them having his *totam*, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think this *totam* bears.

“The evening previous to the departure of the band, one of them, whose *totam* was a bear, dreamed that if he would go to a piece of swampy ground, at the foot of a high mountain, about five days march from my wigwam, he would see a large herd of elks, moose, and other animals ; but that he must be accompanied by at least ten good hunters. When he awoke he acquainted the band with his dream, and desired them to go with him:

they all refused, saying it was out of their way, and that their hunting grounds were nearer. The Indian having a superstitious reverence for his dream (which ignorance, and the prevalence of example among the Savages, carries to a great height), thinking himself obliged to do so, as his companions had refused to go with him, went alone, and coming near the spot, saw the animals he dreamed of; he instantly fired and killed a bear. Shocked at the transaction, and dreading the displeasure of the Master of Life, whom he conceived he had highly offended, he fell down, and lay senseless for some time: recovering from his state of insensibility, he got up, and was making the best of his way to my house, when he was met in the road by another large bear, who pulled him down, and scratched his face. The Indian relating this event at his return, added, in the simplicity of his nature, that the bear asked him what could induce him to kill his *totam*; to which he replied, that he did not know he was among the animals when he fired at the herd; that he was very sorry for the misfortune, and hoped he would have pity on him: that the bear suffered him to depart, told him to be more cautious in future, and acquaint all the Indians with the circumstance, that their *totams* might be safe, and the Master of Life not angry with them. As he entered my house, he looked at me very earnestly, and pronounced these words; ‘*Amik, hunjey ta Kitchee Annascartissey nind, O Totam, cawwicka nee wee geossay sannegat debwoye:*’ – or, ‘Beaver, my faith is lost, my *totam* is angry, I shall never be able to hunt any more.’

“This idea of destiny, or, if I may be allowed the phrase, ‘totamism,’ however strange, is not confined to the Savages; many instances might be adduced from history, to prove how strong these impressions have been on minds above the vulgar and unlearned. To instance one, in the history of the private life of Louis the XV. translated by Justamond, among some particulars of the life of the famous Samuel Bernard, the Jew banker, of the court of France, he says, that he was superstitious | as the people of his nation are, and had a black hen, to which he thought his destiny was attached; he had the greatest care taken of her, and the loss of this fowl was, in fact, the period of his own existence, in January, 1739” (Long 1791:86-88).

“At twelve o'clock the next day a council was held, and Sir John laid his map before them, desiring a tract of land from Toronto to Lake Huron. This the Indians agreed to grant him, and the deed of gift being shewn them, it was signed by the chiefs’ affixing the emblem, or figure of their respective *totams*, as their signatures” (Long 1791:178).

„Nun hängt es zwar theils offenbar nicht von der Natur ab, daß die Vernunft in uns eben so, und nicht anders spricht; theils würde die Frage, ob es von ihr abhängt, daß *wir* eben moralische Wesen sind, durchaus dialectisch seyn. Denn erstens dächten wir uns da den Begriff der Moralität aus uns weg, und nähmen dennoch an, daß wir dann noch *wir* seyn würden, d.i. unsre Identität beibehalten haben würden, welches sich nicht annehmen läßt; zweitens geht sie auf objective Behauptungen im Felde des Übersinnlichen aus, in welchem wir nichts objectiv behaupten dürfen“ (Fichte 1793:75).

„Geist der Nation“ (Herder 1793:11); „Geist der Humanität“ (Herder 1793:23).

„Ist das Ich sich selbst gleich, und strebt es nothwendig nach der vollkommenen Identität mit sich selbst, so muss es dieses, *nicht* durch sich selbst, unterbrochne Streben straks wiederherstellen; und so würde denn eine Vergleichung zwischen dem Zustande seiner Einschränkung, und der Wiederherstellung des gehemmtten Strebens, also eine blosse Beziehung seiner selbst auf sich selbst, ohne alles Hinzuthun des Objekts möglich, wenn sich ein Beziehungsgrund zwischen beiden Zuständen aufzeigen liesse“ (Fichte 1794:252).

„Ich bin so wenig fremd in London, weder in Absicht auf die Phraseologie, noch im Punkte der Lebensart und Sittenstimmung, daß diese Identität der erneuerten Eindrücke mit den alten Vorstellungen mich gewissermaßen in der Eigenschaft des Beobachters stört, indem mir das gewohnt und alltäglich in der Erinnerung scheint, was ich mit Rücksicht auf Dich, da Du nie in England warst, als merkwürdig, und von unserer Art zu leben verschieden, anzeichnen sollte“ (Foster 1794:71).

« Je ne m'étendrai pas davantage sur la société religieuse, que je me propose de traiter séparément: j'en ai dit assez pour faire voir l'identité des principes constitutifs des deux sociétés politique et religieuse; je reviens à la société politique, qui va faire exclusivement le sujet de la première partie de cet ouvrage » (Bonald [1796] 1859 :178).

„Sie durchwandern dann ganze Systeme, und erstatten dann von ihren Bemerkungen ihren Königen, und dem wißbegierigen Theile ihrer Nationen, Bericht. Zween von diesen Philosophen Atabu und Elafu beobachteten während ihres Aufenthalts auf dem Jupiter, unsre Erde, und teilten diese wichtige Entdeckung sogleich ihrem Könige mit“ (Pahl 1796:7).

„Bravo! Bravo! – fiel einer der Thürhüter ein; – Sie stimmen auch in unsern Ton! Sie gehören auch unter den grossen Haufen seufzender Patrioten! Warten Sie nur wenige Augenblicke. Heute noch wird der Volksgeist über den Aristokratismus triumphiren, und dem vielköpfigen Ungeheuer mit einem glühenden Pfahle die Augen ausstosen. Gehen Sie hier in dieses Zimmer, und stellen Sie sich hinter diese Glasthüre. Aber hüten Sie sich, daß Sie im Rathssale nicht bemerkt werden. In einer halben Stunde werden die Sprecher der Bürgerschaft auftreten, und den Perüken sagen, was für ein Unterschied zwischen Republik und Tyranny ist“ (Pahl 1796:202).

“Yes, the identity of the spirit of priests in every age and country is fully established!” (Volney 1796:394).

„Aber ich weise jeden unpartheiischen Leser auf das itzt florirende hohe Personale unsrer Noblesse ... Wollte man aber auch von ihrer Amtsthätigkeit ganz stille schweigen, und ihren öffentlichen Character gar nicht in Anschlag bringen, so verdienen sie doch schon wegen ihres Einflusses auf unseren Volksgeist, unsre Sitten, und unsre äussern Verhältnisse, als eine kostbare Perle in der württembergischen Krone betrachtet zu werden, – und Schande und Hohn müsse jeden treffen, der unverschämt genug ist, diese Perle mit Koth zu beschmieren. Sie sind für uns die Tongeber in Sachen der Cultur und des Geschmacks; sie sind der Kanal, durch den alle neue Moden nach Württemberg geleitet werden ...“ (Käsbohrer [Pahl] 1797:36-38)

“The vast difference however attending the developement of these two powers (of magnetism and crystallization) will undoubtedly strike many as an insuperable objection to their identity, yet their *direction* in all its varieties being exactly the same, difference in other circumstances seems to me to indicate rather a variety of *degrees*, in the same power, than any essential difference in the powers themselves” (Kirwan 1797:180).

„Es gibt eine Poesie, deren eins und alles das Verhältnis des Idealen und des Realen ist, und die also nach der Analogie der philosophischen Kunstsprache Transzendentalpoesie heißen müsste. Sie beginnt als Satire mit der absoluten Verschiedenheit des Idealen und Realen, schwebt als Elegie in der Mitte, und endigt als Idylle mit der absoluten Identität beider“ (Schlegel 1798:64).

“The megatherium is not of the cat form, as are the lion, tyger, atnd panther, but is said to have striking relations in all parts of its body with the bradypus, dasypus, pangolin, &c. According to analogy then, it probably was not carnivorous, had not the phosphoric eye, nor leonine roar. But to solve satisfactorily the question of identity, the discovery | of fore-teeth, or of a jaw bone shewing it had, or had not, such teeth, must be waited for, and hoped with patience. It may be better, in the mean time, to keep up the difference of name” (Jefferson 1799:259-260).

„Zweyter Theil. Die Anthropologische Charakteristik. Von der Art, das Innere des Menschen aus dem Außeren zu erkennen“ (Kant 1799:269-356)

„A. Charakter der Person ...“ (Kant 1799:271-301)

„B. Charakter des Geschlechts“ (Kant 1799:301-315)

„C. Charakter des Volks“ (Kant 1799:315-332)

„D. Charakter der Rasse“ (Kant 1799:332-333)

„E. Charakter der Gattung“ (Kant 1799:333-349)

„Grundzüge der Schilderung des Charakters der Menschengattung“ (Kant 1799:350-356)

„Auf die Weise werden die zwey civilisirtesten Völker auf Erden, die gegeneinander im Contrast | des Characters und vielleicht hauptsächlich darum mit einander in beständiger Fehde seyn, England und Frankreich, auch ihrem angeborenen Character nach, von dem der erworbene und künstliche nur die Folge ist, vielleicht die einzigen Völker seyn, von denen man einen bestimmten, und so lange sie nicht durch Kriegsgewalt vermischt werden, unveränderlichen Charakter annehmen kann. – Daß die französische Sprache die allgemeine Conversations-Sprache vornehmlich der weiblichen feinen Welt, die englische aber die ausgebreiteteste Handels-Sprache der commercirenden geworden ist, liegt wohl in dem Unterschiede ihrer continental- und insularischen Lage. Was aber ihr Naturell, was sie jetzt wirklich haben und dessen Ausbildung durch Sprache betrifft, das müßte von dem angeborenen Character des Urvolks ihrer Abstammung hergeleitet werden; dazu uns aber die Documente mangeln“ (Kant 1799:316-318).

1800

„Die Philosophie muß dem Trennen in Subjekt und Objekt sein Recht widerfahren lassen; aber indem sie es gleich absolut setzt mit der der Trennung entgegengesetzten Identität, hat sie es nur bedingt gesetzt, so wie eine solche Identität – die durch Vernichten der Entgegengesetzten bedingt ist – auch nur relativ ist. Das Absolute selbst aber ist darum die Identität der Identität und der Nichtidentität; Entgegensetzen und Einssein ist zugleich in ihm“ (Hegel [1801] 1979:95).

“The variations at Iakutz, proceeding from a different effluence, namely, the supra-marine, have no connexion with the preceding ; this the table sufficiently indicates in every instance, but in none so remarkably as on the 31st of May, for while the mercury in all the

other above-mentioned places is on the fall, (which proves its identity of the influence to which they are subjected) it rises at Iakutz” (Kirwan 1802:390).

“One law of attraction carries all the different planets about the sun. This philosophers demonstrate. There are also other points of agreement amongst them, which may be considered as marks of the identity of their origin, and of their intelligent author” (Paley 1802:335).

“Now an oeconomy which nature has adopted, when the purpose was to transfer an organization from one individual to another, may have something analogous to it, when the purpose is to transmit an organization from one state of being to another state: and they who found thought in organization, may see something in this analogy applicable to their difficulties; for, whatever can transmit a similarity of organization will answer their purpose, because, according even to their own theory, it may be the vehicle of consciousness, and because consciousness, without doubt, carries identity and individuality along with it through all changes of form or of visible qualities” (Paley 1802:399-400).

„Identität des Gegenstandes mit der Vorstellung“ (Schelling 1803:8).

„Identität des Endlichen und Unendlichen“ (Schelling 1803:38).

„Identität des Subjektiven und Objektiven“ (Schelling 1803:71).

„Indem wir Hörer und Redner in ihrem reinen Verhältnisse gegeneinander hier aufgestellt haben, waren wir selbst mit unsern einsichtsvollen Lesern ganz in demselben Verhältniß. Wir dürfen daher unser Beispiel für das nächste und passendste halten, und an dasselbe unsre Widerlegung des berühmten Mißverständnisses von einer *absoluten Identität* des Subjekts und Objekts, mit Verwechslung unsrer vorigen Bezeichnung anschließen“ (Müller 1804:40-41).

« Cette identité dans les principes des deux sociétés, religieuse et politique, est fondée sur la parfaite analogie que l’ordonnateur suprême a mise dans les deux ordres de lois qui doivent régir l’homme intérieur et l’homme *sensible* » (Bonald [1805] 1859 :483).

„Ich verstehe hier unter Sentimentalität das Nachahmen und Aufsuchen des Gefühls, das Schauspielen mit dem Edelsten, was nur im Spiele damit verloren gehen kann, nicht verstehe ich darunter jene Sentimentalität, das menschliche Gefühl wie es im Einzelnen sich ausdrückt, wogegen die Neuntöchter, die philosophischen Schüler wohl schreiben (auch wohl wirken, wenn kein lebendiger Volksgeist es aufhebt), und darinn zusammen kommen, mit der ersten schimpflichen Sentimentalität zu demselben Mittelpunkte, zur Seligkeit eines Steins in Unempfänglichkeit und Unfruchtbarkeit der Lust. Keine Schule ist hiemit besonders bestimmt, sondern alle, denn wie die Begeisterung der Pythia mit Ermattung verbunden, so den Philosophen die Schüler. Die Philosophen | sind ewige Nilmesser einer entwichenen Gottesfluth und Erhebung, ihre Schüler wollen aber das Unmögliche leisten, zu messen was nicht mehr vorhanden ist. (Arnim und Brentano 1806:426-427 footnote).

„Nicht auf dieser Stufe von Gediegenheit hat in neuern Zeiten sich das Volk erhalten; schon dadurch daß eben ein höherer Anflug aus der Masse sich heraus verflüchtigte, | und gerade das Geistigste ihm entführte, mußte der Rückstand im Gegensatz mit diesem Flüchtigen gewissermaßen einen mehr phlegmatischen und minder elastischen Character annehmen, und

manche der ältesten Volksbücher, die dem früheren, antiken Volksgeist rein zusagten, sind dem Gegenwärtigen fremd geworden; und manche Neuere, indem sie jenem veränderten Genius sich anschmiegen, traten zugleich in einer Form hervor, die nicht ganz mehr mit jener Normalen zusammenstimmen will“ (Görres 1807: 23-24).

„Nun ist es die natürliche Krafft, und das, was als Zufall des Glücks erscheint, welche über das Daseyn des sittlichen Wesens und die geistige Nothwendigkeit entscheiden; weil auf Stärke und Glück das Daseyn des sittlichen Wesens beruht, so ist schon entschieden, dass es zu Grunde gegangen. — Wie vorhin nur Penaten im Volksgeiste, so gehen die lebendigen Volksgeister durch ihre Individualität, itzt in einem allgemeinen Gemeinwesen zu Grunde, dessen einfache Allgemeinheit geistlos und todt, und dessen Lebendigkeit das einzelne Individuum, als einzelnes, ist“ (Hegel 1807:420).

„Dies nun ist in höherer vom Standpunkte der Ansicht einer geistigen Welt überhaupt genommener Bedeutung des Worts, ein Volk: das Ganze der in Gesellschaft mit einander fortlebenden, und sich aus sich selbst immerfort natürlich und geistig erzeugenden Menschen, das insgesamt unter einem gewissen besondern Gesetze der Entwicklung des göttlichen aus ihm steht ... | Jenes Gesez bestimmt durchaus und vollendet das, was man den National-Charakter eines Volks genannt hat; jenes Gesez der Entwicklung des ursprünglichen, und göttlichen. Es ist aus dem leztern klar, daß Menschen, welche so wie wir bisher die Ausländerei beschrieben haben, an ein ursprüngliches, und an eine Fortentwicklung desselben gar nicht glauben, sondern bloß an einen ewigen Kreislauf des scheinbaren Lebens, und welche durch | ihren Glauben werden, wie sie glauben, im höhern Sinne gar kein Volk sind, und da sie in der That eigentlich auch nicht da sind, eben so wenig einen Nationalcharakter zu haben vermögen“ (Fichte 1808:251-253).

„Die geistige Natur vermochte das Wesen der Menschheit nur in höchst mannigfaltigen Abstufungen an Einzelnen, und an der Einzelheit im Großen, und Ganzen, an Völ- | kern, darzustellen. Nur wie jedes dieser lezten, sich selbst überlassen, seiner Eigenheit gemäß, und in jedem derselben, jeder Einzelne jener gemeinsamen, so wie seiner besondern Eigenheit gemäß, sich entwickelt, und gestaltet, tritt die Erscheinung der Gottheit in ihrem eigentlichen Spiegel heraus, so wie sie soll; und nur der, der entweder ohne alle Ahnung für Gesezmäßigkeit, und göttliche Ordnung, oder ein verstockter Feind derselben wäre, könnte einen Eingriff in jenes höchste Gesez der Geisterwelt wagen wollen. Nur in den unsichtbaren, und den eignen Augen verborgenen Eigenthümlichkeiten der Nationen, als demjenigen, wodurch sie mit der Quelle ursprünglichen Lebens zusammen hängen, liegt die Bürgschaft ihrer gegenwärtigen und zukünftigen Würde, Tugend, Verdienstes; werden diese durch Vermischung und Verreibung abgestumpft, so entsteht Abtrennung von der geistigen Natur, aus dieser Flachheit, aus dieser die Verschmelzung aller zu dem gleichmäßigen und an einander hangenden Verderben“ (Fichte 1808:422-423).

„Die Identität, die Einerleiheit. Identische Sätze, Sätze von einerlei Sinn, wenn auch von verschiedenem Ausdrucke“ (Conversations-Lexikon 1809:227).

“In pourtraying Irish manners we must distinguish between the commer- | cial character, more, especially as it is blended in the northern province with a similarity to Scotland, from our contiguity to that country, and an identity of circumstances and interests; and the character which more peculiarly belongs to the Irish nation” (K. 1809:162-163).

“On the Identity of Columbium and Tantalum” (Wollaston 1809:336 title)

1810

“The identity of this shrub with the Tea of China ...” (Southey 1810:320, footnote 9).

“THE POINT OF IDENTITY

“The seat of sensation hath long been disputed,
“And puzzled philosophers labour’d in vain,
“To find out a something that might be com puted
“The point of identity, certain and plain,
“That something, which proves a man's personal being,
“And serves from the rest to distinguish him so
“That still his own self he might know he is seeing,
“Although he’s so changed he can scarce himself know” (H.H.H. 1812).

„Die Analyse des Anfangs gäbe somit den Begriff der Einheit des Seyns und des Nichtseyns, – oder in reflectirterer Form, der Einheit des Unterschieden- und des Nichtunterschiedenseyns, – oder der Identität der Identität und Nichtidentität. Dieser Begriff könnte als die erste, reinste Definition des Absoluten angesehen werden“ (Hegel 1812:13).

„Damit ein *Volk* möglich sey, wurden Gesetze gegeben,‘ u. s. f. Ganz richtig: die blosse Rechtsform ist nur negativ, blosse Formalität. *Mit* und *in* dieser soll nur der Vernunftzweck befördert werden. Aus Uebersehen dieses Punctes rührt die Schmalzische Polemik gegen die, welche hoch denken vom Staate. – Die *Volksform* selbst ist von der Natur oder Gott: eine gewisse hoch individuelle Weise, den Vernunftzweck zu befördern. Völker sind Individualitäten, mit eigenthümlicher Begabung und Rolle dafür” (Fichte [1813] 1846:467).

“Our first and most important attempt [...] this pursuit must be the solution of the inquiry whether all mankind are to be considered as of one natural species, or not ; or whether the physical diversities which so curiously distinguish the several races of men are, to borrow a term which is chiefly used in abstract reasonings, specific differences or only varieties. And here it will be advantageous to extend our view to the other departments of animated nature, and to consider the general question, how we are to determine on the identity or diversity of species, in races of animals which differ enough in their appearance to excite our doubt on this point” (Prichard 1813:6).

“There can be no doubt that the same religious scheme, together with the same cast of manners would be found to prevail in all the colonies sent out from Java, and since the period of the Malayan people is posterior to that of the Javanese, and the former derived their national character from the latter, the same traits would no doubt be found to pervade all the extensions of that stock till they were new-modelled by the introduction of Islamism” (Prichard 1813:306).

“Such was the spirit of the political systems | established of old in Egypt and in India; institutions so curious and artificial, and so far, and so singularly removed from nature, that our surprize is excited in considering them as individual objects. (Prichard 1813:319-320).

“All the countries from the Tigris to the confines of Lybia were at first occupied by tribes of similar character and of cognate descent, which being disjoined by distance of situation and

other circumstances gradually acquired national distinctions, but still retained in different places more or less evident proofs of their former connexion” (Prichard 1813:453).

“The identity of the Getæ and Goths was never called in question till Cluverius set up a contrary opinion and endeavoured to prove that the Guttones or Gothones whom he places on the shores of the Baltic were the true Goths, and that these people were altogether distinct from the Getæ, but were mistaken for them by the Romans from the circumstance of their having entered the empire through the territories occupied of old by that nation” (Prichard 1813:491).

„Aber dieser organische Zusammenhang des Rechts mit dem Wesen und Character des Volkes bewährt sich auch im Fortgang der Zeiten, und auch hierin ist es der Sprache zu vergleichen“ (Savigny 1814:11).

„Schwerlich hätten sich Bücher über Römisches Recht erhalten, wenn nicht diese Gesetzbücher gewesen wären, und schwerlich hätte Römisches Recht im neueren Europa Eingang gefunden, wären nicht unter diesen Gesetzbüchern die von Justinian gewesen, in welchen unter jenen allein der Geist des Römischen Rechts erkennbar ist“ (Savigny 1814:35).

„In der Geschichte aller bedeutenden Völker nämlich finden wir einen Uebergang von beschränkter, aber frischer und lebensvoller, Individualität zu unbestimmter Allgemeinheit. Auf diesem Wege geht auch das bürgerliche Recht, und auch in ihm kann zuletzt das Bewußtseyn der Volkseigenthümlichkeit verloren gehen: so geschieht es, wenn bejahrte Völker darüber nachdenken, wie viele Eigenheiten ihres Rechts sich bereits abgeschliffen haben, daß sie leicht zu dem so eben dargestellten Irrthum kommen, indem sie ihr ganzes noch übriges Recht für ein *jus quod naturalis ratio apud omnes homines constituit* halten“ (Savigny 1814:116).

“Eon, who is described as a male, I take to be really the same character as Protogonus. The Greek title, which he bears, and which we may conclude to be a translation of the corresponding Phenician word, sufficiently points out his real character; and at the same time proves his identity with the Grecian Cronus and the Indian Cali: for *Eon* signifies an *Age* or *Cycle*; and *Cronus* and *Cali* equally denote *Time*, which is nearly equivalent to it” (Faber 1816:226).

“After twenty days they passed the rapids, and got into smooth water; and in eight days more they reached the *Povoçam de Caniavieiras*, the highest Portugueze settlement upon the Rio Pardo, there called the Patipé, . . . their identity, which till that time had only been conjectured, being thus ascertained” (Southey 1819:694).

1820

„alle Fäden des Zusammenhangs sollen durch sie aufgesucht und verknüpft werden, und es gehen von diesen einige, gleichsam in der Breite, durch die gleichartigen Theile aller Sprachen und andere, gleichsam in der Länge, durch die verschiedenen Theile jeder Sprache. Die ersten erhalten ihre Richtung durch die Gleichheit des Sprachbedürfnisses und Sprachvermögens aller Nationen, die letzten durch die Individualität jeder einzelnen“ (W. von Humboldt [1820-21] 1843:250).

„Es giebt Nationen, welche, nach der Individualität ihres Charakters, den einen oder andern dieser falschen Wege einschlagen, oder dieser richtigen einseitig verfolgen; es giebt solche, die ihre Sprache mehr oder minder glücklich behandeln; und wenn das Schicksal es fügt, dass ein dem Gemüthe, Ohr und Tone nach vorzugsweise für Rede und Gesang gestimmtes Volk gerade in den entscheidenden Congelationspunkt des Organismus einer Mundart eintritt, so entstehen herrliche und durch alle Zeit hin bewunderte | Sprachen. Nur durch einen solchen glücklichen Wurf kann man das Hervorgehen der Griechischen erklären“ (W. von Humboldt [1820-21] 1843:266-267).

„Griechenland stellt ... eine, weder vorher, noch nachher jemals da gewesene Idee nationeller Individualität auf, und wie in der Individualität das Geheimniss alles Daseins liegt, so beruht auf dem Grade der Freiheit, und der Eigenthümlichkeit ihrer Wechselwirkung alles weltgeschichtliche Fortschreiten der Menschheit“ (W. von Humboldt [1820-21] 1841:20).

“I am sensible that attempts have been made to excite great prejudices against the common law, as a barbarous system, and a relict of foreign authority. This law is, however, not otherwise an English system, than as our language, which is an essential part of our national identity, is the English language, or than as the laws of nature are English, because Newton, their great discoverer, was an Englishman. The common law of which I speak, has been the law of the American people, in every generation; it is the basis of the institutions of every state; its principles were styled the birth right of the people; the attempts of the British government to pervert and abrogate the principles of this law, were the causes of the revolution, and they are still the best securities of our rights and property; our charters, declarations, institutions, statutes, and judicial decisions, cannot be understood without the explanations it affords; though sometimes called an unwritten law, its minutest rules exist in the most indisputable memorials; lawyers in every state, agree in nothing so well, as in the maxims by which it is governed, and the extent of their learning, and their reverence for its authority, are the only tests by which men estimate their science, ability, and professional fidelity” (Wolcott 1821:218).

„Ja man muss, glaube ich, noch weiter gehen und darf nicht verkennen, dass die geistige Individualität eines Volks zur Sprachbildung und zum formalen Denken (welche beide unzertrennlich zusammenhängen) vorzugsweise vor anderen geeignet seyn kann“ (W. von Humboldt [1822-23] 1843:286).

“*Wherein consisted the identity and completeness of a law? What the distinction, and where the separation, between a penal and a civil law? What the distinction, and where the separation, between the penal and other branches of the law?*” (Bentham [1823] 1907:x).

“A man’s goods, or his person, are consumed by fire. If this happened to him by what is called an accident, it was a calamity: if by reason of his own imprudence (for instance, from his neglecting to put his candle out) it may be styled a punishment of the physical sanction: if it happened to him by the sentence of the political magistrate, a punishment belonging to the political sanction; that is, what is commonly called a punishment: if for want of any assistance which his *neighbour* withheld from him out of some dislike to his *moral* character, a punishment of the *moral* sanction: if by an immediate act of *God’s* displeasure, manifested on account of some *sin* committed by him, or through any distraction of mind, occasioned by the dread of such displeasure, a punishment of the *religious* sanction (Bentham [1823] 1907:26).

“The word zeal, with certain epithets prefixed to it, might also be employed sometimes on this occasion, though the sense of it be more extensive; applying sometimes to ill as well as to good will. It is thus we speak of party zeal, national zeal, and public zeal. The word attachment is also used with the like epithets: we also say family-attachment. The French expression, *esprit de corps*, for which as yet there seems to be scarcely any name in English, might be rendered, in some cases, though rather inadequately, by the terms corporation spirit, corporation attachment, or corporation zeal” (Bentham [1823] 1907:113).

“The time for collecting materials to illustrate the past and present condition of the Indians, is rapidly passing away. The inquiries, which have heretofore been directed at this subject, have produced much authentic information; but it relates rather to the more prominent traits of Indian character, than to the constitution of their minds, or their moral habits” (Cass 1823:2).

“If this be the same star with II. 58, it must have sustained considerable alteration, both in angle and distance; as in 1783, its position was 25 12' np, and the distance sufficiently small to be estimated at 1½ diameter of the large star. This may raise a doubt as to its identity, though both BODE and STRUVE agree in making it the same. The star, however, should be watched” (Herschel and South 1824:47).

„Uns scheint dagegen noch obzuliegen, unter einen Gesichtspunkt zusammenzufassen, was bisher an verschiedenen Stellen über den eigentlichen Grundcharakter des Dorischen Stammes gesagt ist, und aus den Betrachtungen einzelner Richtungen desselben ein Endergebniß über dessen innerstes Wesen zu ziehn. So sehr ich diese Aufforderung anerkenne, so muß ich mich doch auf der andern Seite gegen Diejenigen verwahren, die diesen Grundcharakter wie einen Begriff aufgestellt haben wollen; und wenn sie gesagt haben: die Dorier seien subjectiv, die Ionier objectiv, damit den innersten Kern des Wesens dieser Stämme bezeichnet glauben. Ist es denn möglich, den Charakter | eines einzelnen Menschen auf diese Weise zusammenzufassen? und geben alle solche Prädikate dem, der ihn nicht kennt, eine Anschauung seines Wesens? und sollte dasselbe bei einer Nation, die doch nur wieder eine größere Person, statt finden? Womit wir aber keineswegs dem entgegengesetzten Irrthum freie Bahn geben wollen; welcher entweder ganz läugnet oder für geschichtlich unerkennbar hält, daß das Leben einer Nation überhaupt in sich eins, und die Eigenthümlichkeit derselben eine einige sei — ein Irrthum, den die Betrachtung der Griechischen Völkerstämme vielleicht am sichersten hebt. Aber wir werden diese allerdings vorhandne Einheit nie durch einen Begriff mathematisch decken, sondern immer nur annäherungsweise erkennen, indem wir ihr um desto näher kommen, je unbefangener wir uns das Gegebne anzueignen, und je hingebender wir dasselbe in sich zu verstehen suchen. Auf diesem Wege wird uns auch die Ueberzeugung werden, wie von diesem Kern aus das ganze Dasein und Leben des Volkes sich mit Nothwendigkeit gestaltet hat, und wenn wir in größerem Kreise forschen, vielleicht auch die Ahnung, daß das gefundene Ganze selbst nur ein nothwendiger Theil eines höhern ist: wovon wir aber ganz und gar die Anmaßung construirender Philosophen zu unterscheiden bitten, die einen andern Weg dieser Erkenntniß gefunden haben wollen als durch solche Aneignung, ohne doch je auch nur im Kleinsten die Idee eines bestimmten individuellen Lebens für sich erzeugen zu können. Geht uns nun aber auf die beschriebne Weise allgemach die Idee einer nationalen Individualität auf: so müssen wir dieselbe auch Andern auf mancherlei Weise näher rücken und deutlich machen können: einfach bezeichnen aber werden wir sie durch keinen andern Ausdruck, als durch den Eigennamen | selbst, für den es kein Synonymum giebt. So war den Alten selbst Δώριος ein sehr bestimmter Begriff im Kern, und doch nach Außen höchst mannigfach und vielseitig“ (Müller 1824:401-403).

“Looking at the facts presented to us by observation, the most obvious inference seems to be, that the mind consists of an aggregate of powers, and that one of them supplies the feeling of personal Identity, or the / of Consciousness, to which, as their substance, all the | other feelings and capacities bear reference (Combe 1825:51-52).

Note: Five other instances of „personal identity“ (Combe 1825:52, 53, 54, 252, 402); and there are multiple references to Locke and Hume.

“Baron LARREY’S Memoirs are chiefly intended to determine the question of the identity of the present race of Copts with the aboriginal Egyptians, whose descent he traces from the Abyssinians and Ethiopians by a comparative examination of the crania of several mummies he had collected in the desert of Saqqarah, and of those of the modern Copts found in a cemetery near Alexandria” (Granville 1825:287).

“‘It was all a chance !‘ he exclaimed; ‘none can shoot without an aim!’ |
‘Chance!’ echoed the excited woodsman, who was now stubbornly bent on maintaining his identity, at every hazard, and on whom the secret hints of Heyward to acquiesce in the deception were entirely lost. ‘Does yonder lying Huron, too, think it chance? Give him another gun, and place us face to face, without cover or dodge, and let Providence, and our own eyes, decide the matter atween us ? I do not make the offer to you, major; for our blood is of a colour, and we serve the same master.’

‘That the Huron is a liar, is very evident,’ returned Heyward, coolly; ‘you have, yourself, heard him assert you to be la Longue Carabine.’

It were impossible to say what violent assertion the stubborn Hawk-eye would have next made, in his headlong wish to vindicate his identity, had not the aged Delaware once more interposed.

‘The hawk which comes from the clouds, can return when he will,’ he said; ‘give them the guns’ (Cooper 1826, vol. III:165-166).

“In the first place, the identity of composition between the sugar of honey and arrow root, under the ordinary circumstances of the atmosphere, seems to show that the differences among the varieties of the amylaceous principles are precisely analogous to those existing among sugars, or in other words, that there are *low* starches as well as *low* sugars” (Prout 1827:378).

“It is not only important, but, in a degree necessary, that the people of this country, should have an *American Dictionary* of the English Language; for, although the body of the language is the same as in England, and it is desirable to perpetuate that sameness, yet some differences must exist. Language is the expression of ideas; and if the people of one country cannot preserve an identity of ideas, they cannot retain an identity of language” (Webster 1828, Preface).

“All languages having sprung from one source, the original words from which they have been formed, must have been of equal antiquity. That the Celtic and Teutonic languages in Europe are, in this sense, as old as the Chaldee and Hebrew, is a fact not only warranted by history and the common origin of Japheth and Shem, but susceptible of proof from the identity of many words yet existing, in both stocks. But there is a marked difference between the Shemitic and Japhetic languages; for even when the radical words are unquestionably the

same, the modifications, or inflections and combinations which form the compounds are, for the most part, different” (Webster 1828, Introduction: Origin of Language).

“IDENTITY, n. (Fr. identité) Sameness, as distinguished from similitude and diversity. We speak of the *identity* of goods found, the *identity* of person, or of personal *identity*. Locke. South” (Webster 1828)

“identity of race” (18, footnote), “identity with the languages of Mexico” (271), “identity of system” (273) – (McCulloh 1829); this book is about the origins of Native Americans; it displays 27 instances of “identity,” all in the sense of “sameness.”

Section title page: “Erste Abtheilung. Verwandtschaft der indisch – teutschen Sprachen“ (Rauch 1829:23). Chapter heading, with first sentence: „Gesetz der Lautverschiebung in dem indisch teutschen Sprachstamm ...“

„Wir geben die Vergleichung folgender Wörter nach diesem Gesetze der Lautverschiebung, wodurch die Verwandtschaft dieser Sprachen noch mehr außer allen Zweifel gesetzt wird“ (Rauch 1829:92).

1830

“Previous usages would change to suit the new and ever varying condition of the people. So might language. But being indispensable to the intercourse of every day and every moment, in all situations and emergencies, and unlike religious observances of such a nature, that what is spoken to day may, under any circumstances, with equal convenience, be spoken tomorrow, and with infinitely more facility than new signs can be invented or understood, is it not reasonable, that language, of all those things pertaining to men, by which their family identity might be marked, should change slowest and last?” (James in Tanner and James 1830:388).

“Identity of Electricities derived from different sources” (Faraday 1833:23; title of §. 7).

“The *general conclusion* which must, I think, be drawn from this collection of facts is, that *electricity, whatever may be its source, is identical in its nature*. The phenomena in the five kinds or species quoted, differ not in their character, but only in degree ; and in that respect vary in proportion to the variable circumstances of *quantity* and *intensity* which can at pleasure be made to change in almost any one of the kinds of electricity, as much as it does between one kind and another” (Faraday 1833:48).

« Son hypothèse sur l'identité originaire de ces deux nations a dû le conduire à ne voir dans l'étrusque et l'osque que deux dialectes d'une même langue primordiale » (Mennais 1833 :369).

The doctrine of personal identity and of the resurrection is explained by our chief judge and high priest, which, if John Locke or the Bishop of Worcester had read, that great matter of controversy would have been avoided, and they would both have been satisfied of their error” (Howe 1834:72).

« Mais ce nom de *Gall* n'était rien moins qu'inconnu à l'antiquité; sous la forme latine de *Gallus*, sous la forme grecque de *Galatès* il est inscrit dans les annales de tous les peuples

anciens; il y désigne génériquement les habitans de la Gaule d'où partirent à différentes fois des émigrations nombreuses en Italie, en Illyrie, en Espagne. D'après ces rapprochemens, il serait difficile de ne pas reconnaître l'identité des deux noms et par conséquent des deux peuples, et de ne pas regarder la race des *Galls*, parlant aujourd'hui la langue gallique, comme un reste de Tune des races dont se composait l'ancienne population gauloise » (Thierry 1835 :xviii).

« Bien que l'origine ibérienne des Ligures, d'après ce qui précède, soit, ce me semble, mise hors de doute, il faut avouer qu'ils ne portent pas dans leurs mœurs le caractère ibérien aussi fortement | empreint que les Aquitains: c'est qu'ils ne sont point restés aussi purs » (Thierry 1835 :xxvi-xxvii).

“The identity of language, along such an extent of coast [from the Bering Sea to northwest North America], contrasted with the great diversity found amongst small and adjacent tribes as we proceed farther south, is a remarkable phenomenon” (Gallatin 1836:10).

“The great similarity if not the identity of the languages from the Connecticut River eastwardly to the Piscataqua, seems to be admitted by all the earl writers” (Gallatin 1836:33).

“Chapter I. Analysis of the Different Methods of Determining on Identity and Diversity of Species” (Prichard 1836, Book Two:105).

„Sie [die Sprache] muss daher von endlichen Mitteln einen unendlichen Gebrauch machen, und vermag dies durch die Identität der Gedanken und Sprache erzeugenden Kraft“ (W. von Humboldt 1836:106).

„Diesem Versuch gegenüber, durch Beziehung der beiderseitigen Erzählungen auf ganz verschiedene Vorfälle den Widerspruch zu vermeiden, kehrt sich nun aber die in mehreren Zügen unverkennbare Identität beider Mahlzeiten heraus“ (Strauss 1836:104).

“It is, however, in the religious belief and ceremonies of the Indians that I propose showing some of the evidences of their being, as it is believed, the descendants of the dispersed tribes. This opinion is founded –

“1st. In their belief in one God.

“2d. In the computation of time by their ceremonies of the new moon.

“3d. In their divisions of the year in four seasons, answering to the Jewish festivals of the feast of flowers, the day of atonement, the feast of the tabernacle, and other religious holydays.

“4th. In the erection of a temple after the manner of our temple, and having an ark of the covenant, and also the erection of altars.

“5th. By the division of the nation into tribes with a chief or grand sachem at their head.

“6th. By their laws of sacrifices, ablutions, marriages ; ceremonies in war and peace, the prohibitions of eating certain things, fully carrying out the Mosaic institutions; – by their | traditions, history, character, appearance, affinity of their language to the Hebrew, and finally

by that everlasting covenant of heirship exhibited in a perpetual transmission of its seal in their flesh” (Noah 1837:8-9).

“The North American Indians are a strongly marked race of men, constituting a distinct class, and maintaining their identity as such, and their peculiarities in every vicissitude of existence, which neither circumstances nor time have conquered” ([Sparks, Jared, and Cornelius Conway Felton] in *North American Review* 1838:136).

“Identity of electricities from different sources” (Faraday 1839:vii, contents; title of Series III, §. 7, pp. 76-109). In subtitles of this section, Faraday lists the following: “voltaic electricity,” “ordinary electricity,” “magneto-electricity,” “thermo-electricity,” and “animal electricity.”

“The progress of the electrical researches which I have had the honour to present to the Royal Society, brought me to a point at which it was essential for the further prosecution of my inquiries that no doubt should remain of the identity or distinction of electricities excited by different means” (Faraday 1839:76).

“identity of physical characteristics” (Morton 1839:2).

“The moral character of this [Arab] race blends some very opposite elements; they are the children of impulse, at one moment raising the sword against the unresisting traveller, and the next receiving, with open hospitality, the stranger whose necessities have driven him to their tents. They are indolent excepting in their wars and pastimes, and remarkable for their covetousness and duplicity. Vanity is characteristic of all classes, from the chief of a tribe to the humblest Bedouin. Their politeness is extreme, and sobriety is a national trait.

“Their intellectual character is conspicuous for a fertile imagination, and the successful cultivation of music, poetry and romance” (Morton 1839:19).

“Although the Nubians occasionally present their national characters unmixed, they generally show traces of their social intercourse with the Arabs, and even with the Negroes; and the long domination of the former has impressed on these people many of their peculiar traits, including their religious observances; for although the Nubians early embraced Christianity, they are now all Moslems, and boast that they have not a Christian among them.

“The *Abyssinians* ... inhabit the country to the south of Nubia, and appear to have been originally affiliated with the Egyptians and Nubians. But at present they have utterly lost their identity from their intercourse with various nations of different origin and language, but especially the Arabs, Gallas and Negroes” (Morton 1839:26).

“As Herodotus is chiefly appealed to by those who would merge the Egyptian in the Negro, I think some extracts from his work will show that he himself had no such view. He has for example the following passage: ‘The priests afterwards recited to me the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (successors of Menes:) in this continued series, eighteen were Ethiopians, and one a female native of the country – *all the rest were men and Egyptians.*’ Let us analyse this passage. It is admitted that these eighteen *Ethiopians* were foreigners; yet in all probability Nubians, and not Negroes. If it be contended, however, that they were real Negroes, then it will follow that only one eighteenth part of this long line of monarchs could have been of Negro origin. It is also reasonable to infer, that whatever may have been the national character of this exotic minority, they reigned in Egypt by usurpation or by conquest” (Morton 1839:30).

“The moral character of the Hindoos varies much in the different sections of India, whence the discrepant statements of modern travellers ... | ... The national temper is decidedly good, gentle and kind ... But their morality does not extend beyond the reach of positive obligations; and where these do not exist, they are oppressive, cruel, treacherous, and every thing that is bad” (Morton 1839:32-33).

Of the Uzbeks of Bokhara: “their features no longer identify them with the Tartar [sic] race” (Morton 1839:40).

“The Muskogee or Creek confederacy is composed of several nations or remnants of nations, among which the most prominent, at the present time, are the Seminoles ... ‘The SEMINOLES ... consist chiefly of Muskogees. The ancient possessors of the soil have become extinct, or at least have lost their identity among the wars, and changes and confusion incident to our aborigines’” (Samuel Forry, M.D., Medical Staff, U.S. Army, in a letter quoted in Morton 1839:144).

“The theory usually advanced to account for these differences of national character is, that they are produced by diversities of soil and climate. But, although these may reasonably be supposed to exert a certain influence, they are altogether inadequate to explain the whole phenomena ... If we survey a map of the world, we shall find nations whose soil is fertile and climate temperate, in a lower degree of improvement than others who are less favored. In Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales, a few natives have existed in the most wretched poverty, ignorance and degradation, in a country that enriches Europeans as fast as they possess it. In America, too, Europeans and native Indians have lived for centuries under the influence of the same physical causes; the former have kept pace in their advances with their brethren on the old continent, while the latter, as we have seen, remain stationary in savage ignorance and indolence ... | ... The phrenologist is not satisfied with these common theories of national character; he has observed that a particular size and form of brain is the invariable concomitant of particular dispositions and talents, and that this fact holds good in the case of nations as well as of individuals” (Combe 1839:273-274; appendix to Morton 1839).

“the Algic tribes ... were marked by peculiarities and shades of language and customs deemed to be quite striking among themselves. They were separated by large areas of territory, differing considerably in their climate and productions. They had forgotten the general points in their history, and each tribe and sub-tribe was prone to regard itself as independent of all others, if not the leading or parent tribe. Their languages exhibited diversities of sound, where there was none whatever in its syntax. Changes of accent and interchanges of | consonants had almost entirely altered the aspect of words, and obscured their etymology. Some of the derivatives were local, and not understood beyond a few hundred miles, and all the roots of the language were buried, as we find them at this day, beneath a load of superadded verbiage. The identity of the stock is, however, to be readily traced amid these discrepancies” (Schoolcraft 1839:17-18; *sic*).

“They were ever prone to divide and assume new names ... the farther they wandered, the more striking were their diversities, and the more obscure became every link by which identity is traced” (Schoolcraft 1839:23).

1840

Occurrence of “identity” in quotation from Anonymous 1838:136, in the *North American Review* (McCoy 1840:578 & 579).

“The identity of these two kinds of polarity (crystalline and optical) is too obvious to need insisting on; and it is not necessary for us here to decide by what hypothesis this identity may most properly be represented” (Whewell 1840, vol. I:354).

“Complaint has been made that the character of the Roman church, as shown in its behaviour towards Galileo, is misrepresented in the account given of it in the *History of Astronomy*” (Whewell 1840, vol.II:154).

“Where there exists so much resemblance in form, it is not always easy to distinguish the ancient tumuli from those thrown up by the Indians. The superior dimensions of the former usually present one mark of distinction, not always, however, satisfactory. In their contents we perceive surer indications of their origin, especially in the traces of the incineration of the dead, a custom not usually prevailing at present with the Indians. Another characteristic difference, but one not invariable, is exhibited in the nature of their materials – those of ancient workmanship appearing often to have been erected with alluvion dissimilar from the neighboring soil. It may be added also that the association of the ancient tumuli in | groups, and their proximity to the fortified enclosures, indicate an identity of origin. The regular form, and position of those groups more isolated, and the symmetrical manner in which they are generally arranged, prevent any confusion between them and the less ancient structures proceeding from the Indians, which usually occur singly” (Bradford 1841:51-52).

“Del Rio ... observed, that the identity of the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan and Palenque is evidently proved by the strong analogy of their cus- | toms, buildings, and acquaintance with the arts, – a conclusion which conforms to a tradition of a migration into Yucatan from the west” (Bradford 1841 201-202).

“... the Jews, though scattered through every region and climate, ever remain a peculiar people, needing no argument to prove their lineage. In consideration of their national character, it is absolutely impossible to suppose that a race adhering so tenaciously to their ancient institutions and customs, after wandering into the new world should have lost every memorial of their history, laws, and religion” (Bradford 1841:240).

« C'est ainsi que la sculpture représente un individu par un buste. L'identité est parfaitement reconnue. Supposez maintenant qu'on le décrive dans des termes clairs et précis.: la description s'appliquera bien à l'individu, mais ne le distinguera pas comme tel. La parole ne saurait rendre les nuances qui constituent l'individualité mais la description embrassera tous ceux qui seront formés pour ainsi dire sur le même modèle, c'est-à-dire tous ceux qui se ressemblent le plus possible. On ne saurait, je crois, arriver par un moyen plus rigoureux à déterminer l'identité de race, puisqu'il présente la plus grande approximation aux caractères de l'individualité, en faisant abstraction des nuances que j'ai indiquées, et que je considère, pour ainsi dire, comme fugitives; car la même personne peut varier à leur égard sans devenir méconnaissable. Je ne néglige pas les modifications relatives à la chevelure, à la coloration de la peau, à la taille, lorsqu'elles sont assez générales; elles acquièrent alors par cette association une grande valeur mais je les regarde toujours comme très-secondaires et absolument impropres à fonder par elles-mêmes des caractères de race, excepté dans les cas extrêmes» (Edwards 1841 :38).

« Mezzofante, en me parlant du gallois, y rapporta l'origine de ce caractère particulier de la langue anglaise. Je n'avais pas besoin de lui demander par quelle filière je savais comme lui que les Anglais ne l'avaient pu emprunter aux Gallois, et que les Bretons, avant l'invasion des Saxons, parvient la même langue. Ainsi il m'a donné de lui-même, et sans qu'e je la cherchasse, une nouvelle preuve tout-à-fait indépendante des raisons qui m'avaient déjà persuadé que les Bretons n'avaient pas cessé d'exister en Angleterre malgré la conquête des Saxons.

« On les avait crus éteints depuis tant de siècles, et il reconnoît leurs descendants pour ainsi dire au son de la voix je les ai reconnus à leurs traits que manquerait-il à leur identité? » (Edwards 1841 :85-86).

„Dem Juden war der Israelite der Mittler, das Band zwischen Gott und Mensch; er bezog sich in seiner Beziehung auf Jehovah auf sich als Israeliten; Jehovah war selbst nichts andres als die Identität, das sich als absolutes Wesen gegenständliche Selbstbewußtsein Israels, das Nationalgewissen, das allgemeine Gesetz, der Centralpunkt der Politik. Lassen wir die Schranke des Nationalbewußtseins fallen, so bekommen wir statt des Israeliten – den Menschen. Wie der Israelite in Jehovah sein Nationalwesen vergegenständlichte, so vergegenständlichte sich der Christ in Gott sein von der Schranke der Nationalität befreites, menschliches und zwar subjectiv menschliches Wesen“ (Feuerbach 1841:154-155).

„Der unzweideutigste Ausdruck, das charakteristische Symbolum dieser unmittelbaren Identität der Gattung und Individualität im Christenthum ist Christus, der reale Gott der Christen.“ (Feuerbach 1841:204).

„Der Mensch ist, was er ist, durch die Natur, so viel auch seiner Selbstthätigkeit angehört; aber auch seine Selbstthätigkeit hat in der Natur, respective seiner Natur, ihren Grund. Seid dankbar gegen die Natur! Der Mensch läßt sich nicht von ihr abtrennen. Der Germane, dessen Gottheit die Spontaneität ist, verdankt seinen Charakter eben so gut seiner Natur, als der Orientale“ (Feuerbach 1841:239-240).

Grant, Asahel. 1841. *The Nestorians; or The Lost Tribes: Containing Evidence of their Identity; an Account of their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies; Together with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, Media, and Mesopotamia; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy*. London: John Murray.

“I everywhere found myself an object of much curiosity, as I had exchanged the wide, flowing robes and turban, worn on my former visit, for my own proper costume, which I was accustomed to wear in Persia, retaining by beard to establish my identity” (Grant 1841:95).

“What changes, social, civil, and religious, may not have passed over the lost tribes during these revolving ages!

“But let us not too hastily infer that these changes, however great, have placed their identity beyond the reach of the clearest evidence. ‘He that keepeth Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep;’ and we may find that He has been guarding his chosen people with a watchful eye, and will glorify himself in their present condition and future prospects, as really as he has done in their past history” (Grant 1841:116).

“identity of language” (Grant 1841:126)

“I have already remarked that a small portion of the descendants of the ten tribes, by a special Providence, appeared to have been reserved, unconverted from Judaism, as witnesses to the identity of their converted brethren” (Grant 1841:153).

“The following testimony to the identity of the language spoken by the Nestorians and Jews of Ooroomiah is given by the Rev. A. L. Holladay, whose judgment in the case no one will question, when it is known that, after being for some time a professor of languages in one of the American colleges, he has prepared a grammar of the modern Syriac, the medium of communication which he has used in his intercourse with both Jews and Nestorians” (Grant 1841:154).

“a common language can in any circumstances identify one people with another” (Grant 1841:161).

“It is not simply the custom of offering sacrifices among the Nestorians, so much as their exact conformity to those of the Jews, in connexion with other evidence of their identity with them, that affords the strong proof of their Israelitish origin” (Grant 1841:180).

“the identity of the Nestorians with the lost tribes of Israel” (Grant 1841:207)

“Before dismissing this subject, we must beg leave to introduce one more proof that the beast of the 13th chapter and Mohammedanism are the same. The evidence is found in a comparison of the seven trumpets and the seven vials. — Ch. viii., ix., and xvi. The angels commissioned with the seven last plagues ‘pour out the vials of the wrath of God’ upon the same | places and objects that were affected by the blast of the seven trumpets, and in the same order ; the first upon the earth ; the second upon the sea ; the third upon the rivers and fountains of water; the fourth upon the sun; • • • the sixth upon the river Euphrates ; the seventh into the air. So far there can be no doubt of the identity of the localities ; and where six out of seven in the same order correspond, it is quite obvious that there was unity of design throughout” (Grant 1841:304-305; with reference to the Biblical book of *Revelations*).

“From these judgments poured out upon ‘the seat of the beast,’ we infer the identity of the Mohammedan power, which arose under the fifth trumpet, with ‘the beast’ of the fifth vial. And this we cannot doubt is the same as the beast of the thirteenth chapter” (Grant 1841:306).

“Of the identity of ‘the *dragon*’ that ‘old serpent called the devil,’ who had such confidence in the efficient cooperation of the beast as to ‘give him his seat and great authority,’ there can be no doubt. It appears, from his character and office, that the fake prophet is the same as the beast with two horns.

“That the Moslem hierarchy is a fake prophet or teacher, no Christian will question ; and so preeminently was this the character of the primitive head of this hierarchy, that he has ever received the appropriate title of THE false prophet. It is evident that the title is not confined to Mohammed as an individual, for it is applied to him and his successors until the time of the final decline and fall of his religion” (Grant 1841:307).

“there appears little room to doubt the identity of the beasts of chapters xiii:1, and xvi:10, 13” (Grant 1841:308).

“The main objects of the expedition were then specified to be: To gain information as to the real state of North-Western Australia, its resources, and the course and direction of its rivers

and mountain ranges; to familiarize the natives with the British name and character; to search for and record all information regarding the natural productions of the country, and all details that might bear upon its capabilities for colonization or the reverse; and to collect specimens of its natural history” (Grey 1841:4).

“The peculiar characteristic of this savage race appears to be that they in all cases act upon first impulses and impressions. I have repeatedly remarked this trait in their character; and undoubtedly when they found an unknown being in their native wilds, who fled from them in evident fear, it was to be expected that they would, in the first instance, feel very much inclined to run after, and throw a spear at him” (Grey 1841:157-158).

“On the other hand the *Canis australiensis* was common in some parts in a state of nature: of these I saw several myself and, from the descriptions given by other individuals of the party of dogs they had observed, I recognised their identity with the same species. We heard them also repeatedly howling during the night and, although they never attacked our sheep or goats, many portions of dead animals were carried off by them” (Grey 1841:240).

“Herr Bodmer zeichnete in meinem Boote einen jungen kräftigen Missouri. Dieser Stamm war ehemals zahlreich und mächtig, verlor aber durch eine von den Sacs, Foxes und Osagen ihnen beigebrachte Niederlage seine Selbständigkeit und lebt nun als kleiner Ueberrest mit den Otoes gemischt“ (Maximilian 1841:349).

“In a former Letter I gave some account of the form of the head peculiar to this tribe which may well be recorded as a national characteristic, and worthy of further attention, which I shall give it on a future occasion. This striking peculiarity is quite conspicuous in the two portraits of which I have just spoken, exhibiting fairly, as they are both in profile, the *semi-lunar* outline of the face of which I have before spoken, and which strongly characterizes them as distinct from any relationship or resemblance to, the Blackfeet, Shiennies, Knisteneaux, Mandans, or other tribes now existing in these regions. The peculiar character of which I am speaking, like all other national characteristics, is of course met by many exceptions in the tribe, though the greater part of the men are thus strongly marked with a bold and prominent anti-angular nose, with a clear and rounded arch, and a low and receding forehead ; the frontal bone oftentimes appearing to have been compressed by some effort of art, in a certain degree approaching to the horrid distortion thus produced amongst the Flatheads beyond the Rocky Mountains. I learned however from repeated inquiries, that no such custom is practiced amongst them, but their heads, such as they are, are the results of a natural growth, and therefore may well be offered as the basis of a national or tribal *character*” (Catlin 1842, vol. I:193).

“Book-making now-a-days, is done for money-making ; and he who takes the Indian for his theme, and cannot go and see him, finds a poverty in his matter that naturally begets error, by grasping at every little tale that is brought or fabricated by their enemies. Such books are standards, because they are made for white man's reading only ; and herald the character of a people who never can disprove them” (Catlin 1842, vol. II:7).

“At this place I was in the country of the Pawnees, a numerous tribe, whose villages are on the Platte river, and of whom I shall say more anon. Major Dougherty has been for many years the agent for this hostile tribe; and by his familiar knowledge of the Indian character, and his strict honesty and integrity, he has been able to effect a friendly intercourse with

them, and also to attract the applause and highest confidence of the world, as well as of the authorities who sent him there” (Catlin 1842, vol. II:11).

“I believe, with many others, that the North American Indians are a mixed people – that they have Jewish blood in their veins, though I would not assert, as some have undertaken to prove, ‘*that they are Jews,*’ or that they are ‘*the ten lost tribes of Israel.*’ From the character and conformation of their heads, I am compelled to look upon them as an amalgam race, but still savages; and from many of their customs, which seem to me, to be peculiarly Jewish, as well as from the character of their heads, I am forced to believe that some part of those ancient tribes, who have been dispersed by Christians in so many ways, and in so many different eras, have found their way to this country, where they have entered amongst the native stock, and have lived and intermarried with the Indians, until their identity has been swallowed up and lost in the greater numbers of their new acquaintance, save the bold and decided character which they have bequeathed to the Indian races; and such of their customs as the Indians were pleased to adopt, and which they have preserved to the present day” (Catlin 1842, vol. II:231).

“The Uchees were once a distinct and powerful people, but were subdued by the Creeks upwards of a century ago, and those who escaped the massacre, which usually attends an Indian victory, were taken into the country of the victors, and held in | servitude. Being unaccustomed to labour, they were probably of little value as slaves, especially to a people who had no agriculture, and who needed warriors more than servants. They gradually became emancipated, and incorporated with the Creek nation, with whom they have ever since remained in close and cordial union, although, as is customary with the Indians, they have preserved their identity as a tribe, and retained their language” (McKenney & Hall 1842:25-26; chapter on TIPOOCHEE BARNARD).

In chapter WAPELLA (beginning p. 51): “WAPELLA, whose name signifies the *Prince*, or the *Chief*, is the head man of the Musquaquee, or Fox tribe. He was one of the delegation led by Keokuk to Washington in 1837, and made a favourable impression by the correctness of his deportment on that occasion. In stature he is shorter, and more heavily built than most of the Indians, and has the appearance of great strength and activity. In the council held by the Secretary of War, for the purpose of reconciling the Sioux with the Sauks and Foxes, Wapella spoke next after Keokuk, and acquitted himself well. Although he possessed not the fine form and striking manner of Keokuk, many thought his speech not inferior to that of the principal chief: It was well digested, sensible and pertinent. We remarked that, in the opening of his harangue, the authority of Keokuk was distinctly recognised, as well as the identity of interest of the tribes represented respectively by these two chiefs. ‘My father,’ said Wapella, ‘you have heard what my chief has said. He is the chief of our nation. His tongue is ours. What he says we all say – whatever he does we will be bound by it’” (McKenney & Hall 1842:51).

In chapter KEOKUK (beginning p. 63): “The word Sauk is derived from the compound *asawwekee*, which signifies *yellow earth*, while Musquaquee comes from *mesquawee*, or red earth-showing a similarity of name which strongly indicates an identity of origin” (McKenney & Hall 1842:63).

“It may be said that these features of the Indian character are common to all mankind in the savage state: this is generally true; but in the American race they exist in a degree which will fairly challenge a comparison with similar traits | in any existing people; and if we consider also their habitual indolence and improvidence, their indifference to private property, and the

vague simplicity of their religious observances, – which, for the most part, are devoid of the specious aid of idolatry, – we must admit them to possess a peculiar and eccentric moral constitution” (Morton 1842:10-11).

“The Fuegian bears a coarse but striking resemblance to the race to which he belongs, and every feature of his character assists in fixing his identity. The extremes of cold, with their many attending privations, by brutifying the features and distorting the expression of the face, reduce man to a mere caricature, a repulsive perversion of his original type” (Morton 1842:27).

“The theories to which we have thus briefly adverted, would | each derive the whole American population from a single source; but various others have been hazarded of a much more complex nature, by which the Indian nations are referred to a plurality of races, not even excepting the Caucasian. For example, the Peruvians, Muyscas and Mexicans, are by some advocates of this system, supposed to be Malays or Polynesians, and all the savage tribes Mongolians; whence the civilization of the one and the barbarism of the other. But we insist that the origin of these two great divisions must have been the same, because all their ethnographic characters, not excepting the construction of their numberless languages, go to enforce an identity of race” (Morton 1842:34).

“February 24th [1842] Much pained at our Leaders’ Meeting (held after the usual service) with the accounts given respecting several of our Tonguese members. Some of the Tonguese who have a little authority take very unwarrantable liberties with the Feejeeans’ property and even with their persons. Their conduct produces a most unfavourable impression of the spirit of Christianity on the minds of our Feejeeans” (Williams 1842, in Williams [1840-53] 1931:68).

„Diese Gesinnungen und Empfindungen sind im Volke und bei allen, welche noch nicht den Nationalcharakter durch fremde Ausbildung verloren haben, allgemein, sie sind von ihren Vätern auf sie übergegangen; und wo dieselben in einer Nation herrschen, und ausserdem bürgerlicher Wohlstand, eine dem Lande angemessne Verfassung und fast völlige Gleichheit der Stände hinzukommt, da muss heiteres und gesundes Blut in den Adern rollen und der Mensch gleich bereit zu den Beschwerden der Arbeit und den Erholungen des Vergnügens seyn“ (W. von Humboldt 1843:232).

“Absolute Identity of the Languages of the Four Continents when compared collectively” (Johnes 1843:viii – Table of Contents).

Jones, George. 1843. *The History of Ancient America, Anterior to the Time of Columbus: Proving the Identity of the Aborigines with the Tyrians and Israelites; and the Introduction of Christianity into the Western Hemisphere by the Apostle St. Thomas*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

“A sufficient identity of the Northern native is now required, in order to establish the national distinction between the Aborigines of the two Americas” (Jones 1843:6).

“Granting then, that when the *lex scripta* will not cover a subject, the *lex NON scripta* must be investigated to establish a position; – the first, then, will not apply to the Aborigines of the *north*, for it does not exist; the latter only, or the unwritten history of their race must be had

recourse to, to prove their originality and identity; traceable back to time immemorial, from their present customs and traditions” (Jones 1843:7).

“We think that it will instantly be admitted, that all | religious ceremonies are the strongest proofs of the characteristics of a people or race, of which no written history exists; for there is something so indescribably sacred in the conscientious actions of man with the Supreme God, that none but the maniac-atheist could doubt, that those actions should be received as the living features of a nation, when seen to be recognised and acknowledged, with as much certainty of identity, as when a mother gazes upon her fondly-cherished child!” (Jones 1843:7-8).

“We, therefore, discard the name of Indian as applied to the natives of the Western continent, ... and write of them as the Aborigines, until, as we advance in this History, they can be identified by a national name, founded upon facts and conclusions” (Jones 1843:10).

“If all other evidences were not received, that of Circumcision, as a religious ceremony, must be viewed by the most sceptical, as direct proof of identity between the Northern Aborigines and the ancient Hebrews” (Jones 1843:16).

“Here follows, then, his own description, where the fact of identity is established at Palenque!” (Jones 1843:113).

“Now when the above learned writer penned that general remark, he little thought that it would be brought to bear upon the identity of the Tyrians in the Western Hemisphere” (Jones 1843:154).

“Zechariah wrote [ch. ix.] ‘And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold [the Island-Citadel], and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the street;’ – but her Pride was as subtle, ‘as broad and general as the casing air’ – it was in and around her, – it was her nature, – to have been otherwise would have destroyed her identity and nationality. It was, however, upon one occasion, exerted as a noble spirit, and atoned for her errors past, – it proved that Freedom was not dead within the walls of Tyrus; – and the now noble exertion of the only Pride justifiable in any country, – that of National Freedom, – led to the first and only Revolution in the annals of the Tyrians in Asia. [475 B.C.]” (Jones 1843:330-331).

“Now all these Prophecies, and their several parts, are proved by authenticated history to have been accomplished; – no sceptic, therefore, in regard to the startling character (perhaps boldness) of this History, can deny to the Author the right to claim and employ a seventh and a last Prophecy by Isaiah, to support | conclusions of Tyrian identity in the Western Hemisphere” (Jones 1843:389-390).

“An additional claim we now with confidence advance, for receiving an acquiescence in the entire Work, and as a necessity, in this portion of it, – viz., That the first Prediction in the Bible concerning the Human Family, together with the Malediction of Noah upon a branch of it, *are both proved to have been fulfilled by the Tyrian and Israelitish identity in the Western Hemisphere, and their Conquerors being of the Spanish and Anglo-Saxon race*; – therefore, the last words of the Diluvian Patriarch sustain the present summary of our evidence” (Jones 1843:431).

“After the insult to his person by his youngest Son, the Patriarch uttered the Curse upon his youngest grandson – Canaan ... The last recorded words of Noah are as follows: viz. –

“Cursed be Canaan! a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, [the eldest] and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his [Japheth's] servant.’ – We offer the following brief analysis ...” (Jones 1843:447).

Note: See Genesis 9:24-27; Jones then proceeds to identify the Tyrians (Mexicans, Central, and South Americans) as Canaanites and the North Americas as descendants of Shem; both are conquered by descendants of Japheth, i.e., Europeans, whether “Spaniards” or “Anglo-Saxons.”

“ ‘this analogy is not accidental, since it does not rest merely upon imitative harmony, or on that conformity of organs which produces almost a perfect identity in the first sounds articulated by children’” (Forry 1843:77; quoting from Wilhelm von Humboldt).

“This tribe was formerly numerous and | powerful, but, being defeated by the Foxes, Saukies, and Osages, it lost its independence, and the few that remain have intermingled with the Otos” (Maximilian 1843:467-468).

“we should be very slow to infer identity, or even correspondence, between nations, from a partial resemblance of habits and institutions” (Prescott [1843] no date:699).

“Identity of the Ruined Cities” (Stephens 1843:375; page heading).

“Mr. Clay in all his public acts, evinces a patriotic inflexibility of purpose, with an extraordinary zeal in the successful termination of their intended effects. He stamps his own identity on his measures, and never shrinks from any responsibility incurred” (Anonymous 1844:14).

“Is our race but the initial of the grand crowning type? Are there yet to be species superior to us in organization, purer in feeling, more powerful in device and act, and who shall take a rule over us! There is in this nothing improbable on other grounds. The present race, rude and impulsive as it is, is perhaps the best adapted to the present state of things in the world ; but the external world goes through slow and gradual changes, which may leave it in time a much serener field of existence. There may then be occasion for a nobler type of humanity, which shall complete the zoological circle on this planet, and realize some of the dreams of the purest spirits of the present race” (Chambers 1844:276).

“ ... elegant and commodious dwellings, cleanly habits, comfortable clothing, and being exposed to the open air only as much as health requires, co-operate with food in increasing the elegance of a race of human beings.

“Subject only to these modifying agencies, there is, as has been said, a remarkable persistency in national features and forms, insomuch that a single individual thrown into a family different from himself is absorbed in it, and all trace of him lost after a few generations” (Chambers 1844:281).

“Crossing the Pacific, we come to the last great family in the languages of the aboriginal Americans, which have all of them features in common, proving them to constitute a group by themselves, without any regard to the very different degrees of civilization which these

nations had attained at the time of the discovery. The common resemblance is in the grammatical structure as well as in words, and the grammatical structure of this family is of a very peculiar and complicated kind. The general character in this respect has caused the term Polysynthetic to be applied to the American languages” (Chambers 1844:290).

“It has been found that simple electricity, artificially produced, and sent along the nerves of a dead body, excites muscular action. The brain of a newly-killed animal being taken out, and replaced by a substance which produces electric action, the operation of digestion, which had been interrupted by the death of the animal, was resumed, shewing the absolute identity of the brain with a galvanic battery” (Chambers 1844:334).

“One of the first and simplest functions of mind is to give *consciousness* – consciousness of our identity and of our existence. This, apparently, is independent of the *senses*, which are simply media, and, as Locke has shewn, the only media, through which ideas respecting the external world reach the brain” (Chambers 1844:340).

« Pour bien comprendre l’esprit, purement théologique, résultat du développement, de plus en plus systématique, de cet état primordial, il ne faut pas se borner à le considérer dans sa dernière phase, qui s’achève, sous nos yeux chez les populations les plus avancées, mais qui n’est point à beaucoup près, la plus caractéristique: il devient indispensable de jeter un coup d’œil vraiment philosophique sur l’ensemble de sa marche naturelle, afin d’apprécier son identité fondamentale sous les trois formes principales qui lui sont successivement propres » (Comte 1844 :3).

« Or, le équivalence spontanée de ces deux voies encyclopédiques tient, en général, à l’identité fondamentale qui existe inévitablement entre l’évolution individuelle et l’évolution collective, lesquelles ayant une pareille origine, une semblable destination, et un même agent, doivent toujours offrir des phases correspondantes, sauf les seules diversités de durée, d’intensité, et de vitesse, inhérentes à l’inégalité des deux organismes » (Comte 1844 :97)

« Ce classement tire sa principale valeur philosophique, soit scientifique, soit logique, de l’identité constante et nécessaire qui existe entre tous ces divers modes de comparaison spéculative des phénomènes naturels , et d’où résultent autant de théorèmes encyclopédiques, dont l’explication et l’usage appartiennent à l’ouvrage cité, qui, en outre, sous le rapport actif, y ajoute cette importante relation générale, que les phénomènes deviennent ainsi de plus en plus modifiables , de façon à offrir un domaine de plus en plus vaste à l’intervention humaine » (Comte 1844 :98).

„Der gegebene Stoff jeder Philosophie ist demnach kein anderer, als *das empirische Bewusstseyn*, welches in das Bewusstseyn des eigenen Selbst (Selbstbewusstseyn) und in das Bewusstseyn anderer Dinge (äussere Anschauung) zerfällt. Denn dies allein ist das Unmittelbare, das wirklich Gegebene. Jede Philosophie, die, statt hievon auszugehen, beliebig gewählte abstrakte Begriffe, wie z. B. | Absolutum, absolute Substanz, Gott, Unendliches, Endliches, absolute Identität, Seyn, Wesen u. s. w. u. s. w. zum Ausgangspunkt nimmt, schwebt ohne Anhalt in der Luft, kann daher nie zu einem wirklichen Ergebniss führen“ (Schopenhauer 1844:101-102).

“... We believe that organised society has a standing before God distinct from that of its individual members – that it is possessed of a permanent identity – that, notwithstanding the changes taking place upon its members, it is regarded by God as one during the whole

course of its existence, just as an individual is morally one during his whole immortality, in despite of the changes taking place upon him during every period of his being. From the fact that society has this permanent character, it follows that every succeeding age is bound to fulfil all the unfulfilled engagements of those which preceded; and in doing so, it is not one class of persons discharging obligations come under by another class of persons; it is one society fulfilling the obligations contracted by itself – the same society represented by different members.

“... If ... it can be proved that society is possessed of a permanent moral identity, it follows, that British society, at the present day, is the same moral agent that entered into these covenants; and as an individual is bound in old age to implement the unexhausted obligations come under by him in youth, so is British society at the present day bound to fulfil the unexhausted obligations of those covenants into which it entered in the days of our fathers.

“The point, then, to be investigated, is the permanent identity of nations. By national identity, we mean the oneness or sameness of a nation in the sight of God, amid all the changes taking place upon its members ... It may be asked, ‘Wherein does the identity of a nation consist? ...

“... Personal identity is involved in the very idea of persons. We cannot define what a person is, without having recourse to terms that necessarily include its sameness or identity. And in like manner, national identity is involved in the logical idea of a nation. The definition of what a nation is, as distinguished from the persons of whom it is composed, necessarily implies, that while human beings collectively are essential to the existence of a nation, individually they are not, and, therefore, that it is not affected by the death of individuals and generations, but remains the same society, though its members are totally altered.

“... Personal identity is proved by our feelings. Amid all the changes that take place on his body, his mind, or his circumstances, a man cannot avoid believing that he is the same person. And national identity is proved by national feeling. Notwithstanding the changes that have taken place upon our own land, for good or for evil, we feel that we and our ancestors were one society, that their success was our success, that their calamity was our calamity, that our moral condition is intimately and inseparably connected with their conduct and with their character, and that we have duties to discharge unto God arising from his dealings with our fathers, and the dealings of our fathers with him in the earliest stages of our history” (White 1844:62-64).

„Identität der electrischen und magnetischen Anziehung“ (A. von Humboldt 1845:194).

“I allude to the institution of the Totem, which has been well known among the Algonquin tribes ... By this device, the early missionaries observed, that the natives marked their division of a tribe into clans, and of a clan into families, and the distinction was thus very clearly preserved ... | This distinction, which is marked with much of the certainty of heraldic bearings in the feudal system, was seen to mark the arms, the lodge, and the trophies of the chief and warrior. It was likewise employed to give identity to the *clan* of which he was a member, on his ad-je-da-teg or grave-post” (Schoolcraft 1845:28-29).

“With favourable opportunities of observation among the tribes, we have but to add our testimony to the difficulties of making collections in these departments, which shall not compromise the intellectual character of the tribes, whose efforts are always oral, and very commonly extemporaneous” (Schoolcraft 1845:41).

“Judging from peculiarity of features, manners and dress, it would seem to be impossible that any people, should have remained so long in contact with or juxtaposition to the European

racess and changed so little, in all that constitutes national and personal identity” (Schoolcraft 1845:115-116).

“CHARACTER OF THE RED MAN OF AMERICA

“Inquiry I. What kind of a being is the North American Indian? – Have we judged rightly of him? – What are his peculiar traits, his affections, and his intellectual qualities? – Is he much influenced by his religion, his mode of government, and his complicated language” (Schoolcraft 1845:129 – chapter title & subtitle).

“The most powerful source of influence, with the Red man, is his religion. Here is the true groundwork of his hopes and fears, and, it is believed, the fruitful source of his opinions and actions. It supplies the system of thought by which he lives and dies, and it constitutes, indeed, the basis of Indian character. By it he preserves his identity as a barbarian, and when this is taken away, and the true system substituted, he is still a Red Man but no longer in the popular sense, an *Indian* – a barbarian, a pagan” (Schoolcraft 1845:132).

“They are but the van of an extensive race. All that gives identity to their general traditions, and distinctive character and language, relates as well to the Dogribs ... and other tribes located north of them” (Schoolcraft 1845:318).

“In short, in whatsoever department of knowledge thou wouldst perfect thyself, whether it be to contrast the manners, customs, laws, or opinions of the civilized and savage state – to acquire a just conception of their agriculture, commerce, and manufactures – their sources of national wealth – their system of domestic economy, and mode of transacting business – their sciences, their arts, their painting, their statuary, their poetry, their music, or their national character – the sea-board is thy field for observation, stricture, and comparison” (Wawanosh, in an undated letter, quoted in Schoolcraft 1845:461).

“The national character of the Indians is eminently suspicious. There is a fear to trust others, even themselves” (Schoolcraft 1845:508).

“Immutability is the most striking characteristic of the East ... | ... While we look upon the very scenes wherein Paradise was Lost and was Regained – where the Pyramids and Karnac rose, and still vindicate their early fame – we find that scenery still peopled by the Ishmaelite; and the stranger still received by Sheikhs of Abraham’s fashion, who feast him on the fare that was set before the Angels.

“This identity of the Present with the Past lends a solemnity to the former, and a vitality to the latter that no other country can inspire ...” (Warburton 1845, vol. I:vi).

“Buonaparte, after having defeated the Mamelukes at the Pyramids, had taken possession of Cairo. Having denied Christ in Europe, he acknowledged Mahomet in Asia; having butchered his prisoners at Jaffa, he was defeated by the Butcher Pasha and Sir Sydney Smith, at Acre; having poisoned part of that army whom he called his ‘children,’ he started for Paris, and left the remainder to encounter alone those

“ ‘Storms that might veil his fame’s ascending star.’

“That remainder occupied Cairo, under the gallant and ill-fated Kleber. He had accepted, and was preparing to act upon, terms of capitulation from the Turks, which Lord Keith had,

however, refused to ratify. The moment Sir Sydney Smith learned the English admiral's determination, he took upon himself to inform Kleber of the fact, and advised him to hold his position. The Turks exclaimed against this chivalrous notice as a treachery, and there were not a few found in England to echo the same cry; but the spirit that dictated the British sailor's act was understood in the deserts – a voice went forth among the tents of the Bedouin and the palaces of the despot, that England preferred honour to advantage. Battles, since then, have been fought, and been forgotten – nations have come and gone, and left no trace behind them – but the memory of that noble truthfulness remained, expanding into a national characteristic; and our countrymen, at this hour in the streets of Cairo, may hear the Arabs swear 'by the honour of an Englishman' ” (Warburton 1845, vol. I:48).

“The spirit of all Europe was warlike then: sometimes vainly struggling at home in instinctive endeavours to arrive at freedom; sometimes expatiating in any vague enterprise that promised exercise for its restless energy. The summons of the hermit Peter turned this spirit into a new channel, and the Cross became the emblem of devotion in the cause of chivalry, as well as of religion” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:6).

“In whatever point of view this chosen race is considered, it is by far the most remarkable of all those that inhabit earth. Their *completeness* and wonderfully preserved individuality; their unequalled persecutions; their undying hope, and their proud confidence that they shall be yet a great people – all these are characteristics peculiar to themselves” (Warburton, 1845, vol. II:175, chapter XIII, “The Jew”).

“In Jerusalem, the Hebrews are divided into two great sects, as much at rivalry with each other, as the Greek and the Latin Churches: they follow generally the national distinctions of the Polish and the German Jew” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:181).

“... the Jew has no relation with either the Crescent or the Cross, and would scarcely belong to my subject, but for his enmity against both. The quarter of the city that his people occupies lies between our church on Zion and the Mosque of Omar on Mount Moriah, typical of his own position. It is something vindicatory of his character that the same obstinacy with which he rejected the Cross has been extended to the Crescent, which glitters over his humble dwelling, uninviting to him, except perhaps from the gilding that adorns it” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:188-189).

“I thought Damascus was a great improvement upon Cairo, in every respect. It is much more thoroughly Oriental in its appearance, in its mysteries, in the look and character of its inhabitants. The spirit of the Arabian Nights is still quite alive in these, its native streets; and not only do you hear their fantastic tales repeated to rapt audiences in the coffee-houses, but you see them hourly exemplified in living scenes” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:223).

“After some hours' sailing, I came in sight of the European shore, and gazed eagerly for some object that might assure me of its identity; when, lo! slowly emerging from the bright horizon, minaret after minaret starts into view; mosque domes and masses of dark foliage follow: with every wave we bound over, some new feature is developed, and at length Constantinople stands revealed in all its unrivalled magnificence and beauty” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:262).

“Ithaca is the most Homeric spot existing, except the Plains of Troy: its identity has been at length, satisfactorily proved, after centuries of suspicion: Leucadia’s pale cliff vindicates its own authenticity” (Warburton 1845, vol. II:311).

“From the BRITANNIA.

“ ‘Mr. Warburton sees with the strong clear vision with which Heaven has endowed him, but with this there are always blended recollections of the past, and something – though dashed in unconsciously – of poetic feeling. He brings to his work of observation an accomplished mind, and well-trained and healthful faculties. We are proud to claim him as a countryman, and are content that his book shall go all the world over, that other countries may derive a just impression of our national character’ ” (Colburn, citing “Critical Opinions” regarding *The Crescent and the Cross*, in Warburton 1845, vol. II, back matter).

“I-DEN“TI-TY, n. [*identité*, Fr.] State of being the same; sameness” (Worcester 1846:358).

“Connected with this subject and in evidence of the identity of these tribes with the Aztecs, it should be stated that there exists numerous edifices of stone in a ruined state, on the banks of the Gila, some of great extent, resembling the terraced edifices and teocallis of Mexico and Yucatan” (Bartlett 1847:20).

„Die Identität der Geten und Gothen hat Jacob Grimm ... erwiesen“ (A. von Humboldt 1847:420-421, footnote 62).

“The exploits of the two monarchs are so blended together by the different annalists, as in a manner to confound their personal identity” (Prescott 1847; in Prescott no date:739, footnote 17).

“The first part of this treatise [*Memorias antiguas historiales del Peru* by Fernando Montesinos] is chiefly occupied with an argument to show the identity of Peru with the golden Ophir of Solomon’s time!” (Prescott 1847; in Prescott no date:1035).

„Der Proletarier ist eigenthumslos; sein Verhältniß zu Weib und Kindern hat nichts mehr gemein mit dem bürgerlichen Familienverhältniß; die moderne industrielle Arbeit, die moderne Unterjochung unter das Kapital, dieselbe in England wie in Frankreich, in Amerika wie in Deutschland, hat ihm allen nationalen Charakter abgestreift“ (Marx and Engels 1848:10).

„In Deutschland kämpft die kommunistische Partei, sobald die Bourgeoisie revolutionär auftritt, gemeinsam mit der Bourgeoisie gegen die absolute Monarchie, das feudale Grundeigenthum und die Kleinbürgerei.

„Sie unterläßt aber keinen Augenblick bei den Arbeitern ein möglichst klares Bewußtsein über den feindlichen Gegensatz zwischen Bourgeoisie und Proletariat herauszuarbeiten, damit die deutschen Arbeiter sogleich die gesellschaftlichen und politischen Bedingungen, welche die Bourgeoisie mit ihrer Herrschaft herbeiführen muß, als eben so viele Waffen gegen die Bourgeoisie kehren können, damit, nach dem Sturz der reaktionären Klassen in Deutschland, sofort der Kampf gegen die Bourgeoisie selbst beginnt“ (Marx and Engels 1848:23).

On the “physical identity” of Native Americans of the northern and southern hemispheres (Pickering 1848:19).

Note: Several other instances of “identity” as “sameness” in Pickering 1848.

“Judging from peculiarity of features, manners and dress, it would seem to be impossible that any people, should have remained so long in contact with or juxtaposition to the European races and changed so little, in all that constitutes national and personal identity” (Schoolcraft 1848:47-48).

“The most powerful source of influence, with the Red man, is his religion. Here is the true groundwork of his hopes and fears, and, it is believed, the fruitful source of his opinions and actions. It supplies the system of thought by which he lives and dies, and it constitutes, indeed, the basis of Indian character. By it he preserves his identity as a barbarian, and when this is taken away, and the true system substituted, he is still a Red Man but no longer in the popular sense, an *Indian* – a barbarian, a pagan” (Schoolcraft 1848:67).

“They are but the van of an extensive race. All that gives identity to their general traditions, and distinctive character and language, relates as well to the Dogribs ... and other tribes located north of them” (Schoolcraft 1848:201).

“I allude to the institution of the Totem, which has been well known among the Algonquin tribes ... By this device, the early missionaries observed, that the natives marked their division of a tribe into clans, and of a clan into families, and the distinction was thus very clearly preserved ... | This distinction, which is marked with much of the certainty of heraldic bearings in the feudal system, was seen to mark the arms, the lodge, and the trophies of the chief and warrior. It was likewise employed to give identity to the *clan* of which he was a member, on his ad-je-da-teg or grave-post” (Schoolcraft 1848:294-295).

“These heads are valuable as being the only ones taken from the mounds, the ancient date of which is clearly established. In the same mounds in which they were found, it has already been observed, were also found upwards of a hundred miniature sculptures of animals, most of which are indigenous. The fidelity to nature observed in the latter fully warrant us in believing that the sculptures of the human heads discovered with them are also faithful copies from nature, and truly display not only the characteristic features of the ancient race, but also their method of wearing the hair, the style of their head-dresses, and the character and mode of adjustment of a portion of their ornaments. This conclusion will appear the more reasonable, when we come to observe the exactness displayed in the effigies of animals” (Squier and Davis 1848:246).

“With the facts presented in the foregoing chapters before him, the reader will be able to deduce his own conclusions, as to the probable character and condition of the ancient population of the Mississippi valley. That it was numerous and widely spread, is evident from the number and magnitude of the ancient monuments, and the extensive range of their occurrence. That it was essentially homogeneous in customs, habits, religion, and government, seems very well sustained by the great uniformity which the ancient remains display, not only as regards position and form, but in respect also to those minor particulars, which, not less than more obvious and imposing features, assist us in arriving at correct conclusions. This opinion can be in no way affected, whether we assume that the ancient race was at one time diffused over the entire valley, or that it migrated slowly from one portion of

it to the other, under the pressure of hostile neighbors or the attractions of a more genial climate. The differences which have already been pointed out between the monuments of the several portions of the valley, of the northern, central, and southern divisions, are not sufficiently marked to authorize the belief that they were the works of separate nations. The features common to all are elementary, and identify them as appertaining to a single grand system, owing its origin to a family of men, moving in the same general direction, acting under common impulses, and influenced by similar causes” (Squier and Davis 1848:301).

“If we are not mistaken in assigning a religious origin to that large portion of ancient monuments, which are clearly not defensive, nor designed to perpetuate the memory of the dead, then the superstitions of the ancient people must have exercised a controlling influence upon their character” (Squier and Davis 1848:304).

“the inhabitants of Europe more courageous than those of Asia; for a climate which is always the same induces indolence, but a changeable climate, laborious exertions both of body and mind; and from rest and indolence cowardice is engendered, and from laborious exertions and pains, courage. On this account the inhabitants of Europe are more warlike than the Asiatics, and also owing to their institutions, because they are not governed by kings like the latter, for where men are governed by kings there they must be very cowardly, as I have stated before; for their souls are enslaved, and they will not willingly or readily undergo dangers in order to promote the power of another; but those that are free undertake dangers on their own account, and not for the sake of others; they court hazard and go out to meet it, for they themselves bear off the rewards of victory, and thus their institutions contribute not a little to their courage. | Such is the general character of Europe and Asia” (Hippocrates 1849:219-220).

1850

„Die Identität des amerikanischen und scandinavischen Wotan, freilich nicht auf bloße Klangähnlichkeit gegründet, ist noch eben so zweifelhaft als die Identität von Wuotan (Odinn) und Buddha oder die der Namen des indischen Religionsstifters und des Planeten Budha“ (A. von Humboldt 1850:476).

“That the southern hemisphere of this globe should differ in many respects from the northern in its fauna and its flora, will cause no surprise to men in quest of truth ; but that it differs so widely as it really does, is not generally known ... Of the exceptions, real or only seeming, I shall speak here-after ; the most remarkable being the asserted identity of the Red Indian throughout the entire range of continental America : this I doubt, but avoid discussing the doubt here” (Knox 1850:88).

“But the land of Egypt still abounds with its ancient monuments ; the race was quite peculiar, and was, I think, African, or at least allied to the African races. The mouth and lips all but prove this. Nevertheless, their identity with a great section of the present Jewish race cannot be doubted; the young Jew of London or Amsterdam might readily sit for a likeness of the bust of Amenoph” (Knox 1850:126).

“The monstrous creations of the disordered Hindoo, Chinese, and Saxon minds; these are ideal, fictitious, false; the Venus is real. Let us now attend to the universal law of nature, the law of unity of the organization ; that universal principle – identity of life, identity of structure, identity of result for all living things, at their origin, in space and in time. For all individuals are connected, as we shall find, with space and time ; specializations have only

their day; they form a part, no doubt, of nature's great plan ; they are, in fact, the result” (Knox 1850:280).

“Identität (v. Lat., Philos.), Einerleiheit, Gleichheit zweier Gegenstände oder Begriffe, entweder in allen ihren Theilen (*absolute I.*) oder in einigen (*relative I.*) ... (Meyer 1850:403).

„Identität des Klaggrundes (Rechtsw.), ...“ (Meyer 1850:404).

“The Hitchies, once a distinct and isolated tribe, have so intermarried with their neighbor bands, that they have lost their identity, and may be considered as merged into the common stock” (Schoolcraft 1851:240).

“The almost exact identity of the sound of this word with the Hebrew verb To Be ... has not escaped notice” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Historical and Statistical Information*:299, footnote 2).

Schoolcraft 1851, *Historical and Statistical Information*:335 = Schoolcraft 1848:294-295 with minor changes.

“It is found that very few essential changes in their forest arts or character have taken place among the North American tribes for several centuries. There is scarcely anything more worthy of remark than this general fixity of character, and indisposition to change, or adopt new traits, or abandon any old ones ... One of the great causes of this fixity and identity ... is to be found in their system of religious belief and worship” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Historical and Statistical Information*:412).

“The totem is employed as the evidence of the identity of the family and of the clan ... The totem is in fact a device, corresponding to the heraldic bearings of civilized nations, which each person is authorized to bear, as the evidence of his family identity” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Historical and Statistical Information*:420).

Note: This is the passage quoted by Durkheim 1915:134.

“178. WHAT MEANS ARE TAKEN TO PRESERVE THE FAMILY IDENTITY? – If the clan-marks or totems denote affinity, is it not rather the evidence of a general and not a near family connexion?” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Historical and Statistical Information*: Appendix, 547).

“[June] 17th [1839]. The *Detroit Daily Advertiser*, of this day, has the following critical notice on the work of *Algie Researches* ... ‘This work has just been offered for sale at our bookstores, and we strongly recommend it to all those who feel an interest in the character of our aborigines. It is well known to many of us here that Mr. Schoolcraft has, for the last several years, been industriously engaged in collecting facts which illustrate the mythology, distinctive opinions, and intellectual character of the Indians. His researches have embraced their oral tales, fictitious and historical ; their hieroglyphics, music, and poetry and the grammatical structure of their languages, the principles of their construction | and the actual state of their vocabulary’” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Memoirs*:651-652).

“[June] 21st [1839]. *The Detroit Free Press*, of this day, has the follow remarks: – ‘Much interest is manifested in this work of Mr. Schoolcraft, as a timely rescue from oblivion of an important portion of the great world of mind – important inasmuch as it is a manifestation of

two principles of human nature prominent in an interesting variety of the human race, the sense of the marvelous and the sense of the beautiful, or the developments of wonder and ideality. The character of a people cannot be fully understood without a reference to its tales of fiction and its poetry. Poetry is the offspring of the beautiful and the wonderful, and much of it the reader will find embodied in the Indian tales to which the author of the *Algie Researches* has given an enduring record.

“ ‘Much of this work strongly reminds the reader of the Grecian Mythology and the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* ...

“ ‘Catlin may be called the red man’s painter; Schoolcraft his poetical historian” (Schoolcraft 1851, *Memoirs*:654).

“Classes quarrel about their respective ‘interests;’ and corruption is defended by those who profit from it. The spirit of caste morally tortures its victims with as much coolness as the Indian tortures his enemy. Gamblers pocket their gains with unconcern: and your share-speculator cares not who loses, so that he gets his premium” (Spencer 1851:199).

“As with forms of government, so with forms of law ; it is the national character that decides” (Spencer 1851:261).

“Whoso is placed amongst the savage will in process of time get savage too; let his companions be treacherous, and he will become treacherous in self-defence; surround him with the kind-hearted and he will soften; amidst the refined he will acquire polish; and the same influences which thus rapidly adapt the individual to his society, ensure, though by a slower process, the general uniformity of a national character” (Spencer 1851:279).

“That multiplication of sects which has been going on in these latter times with increasing rapidity, and which is now so abundantly exemplified by the severing of the Establishment into Evangelical, High Church, and Puseyite; again, by the Free Church secession; again, by the schism of the Methodists; again, by Unitarian differences; again, by the splitting off of numberless local congregations not to be classed; and, again, by the preaching that identity of opinion should not be the bond of union – the universal tendency to separate thus exhibited, is simply one of the ways in which a growing assertion of individuality comes out” (Spencer 1851:435).

“Still more clearly seen is this ultimate identity of personal interests and social interests, when we discover how essentially *vital* is the connection between each person and the society of which he is a unit” (Spencer 1851:448).

On “the essential identity of some of the elementary religious conceptions of the primitive nations of the Old and New Worlds” (Squier 1851:viii).

“It seems very probable that the distinctive character of the American families would never have been called in question, had it not been for the necessity which many learned and pious men have thought to be imposed by the Bible, of deriving all varieties of the human species from a single pair on the banks of the Euphrates. Taking it for granted that the American aborigines are the descendants of some one or more of the diversified nations to which earliest history refers, they have directed their inquiries to which of these their progenitors may be with most exactness referred. The hypotheses to which these assumptions have given rise are almost innumerable. That ascribing to them a Jewish origin has received the widest

assent, not because it is one whit better supported than any of the others, but simply because the knowledge which is generally possessed of the character, habits, customs, religion, etc., etc., of primitive nations is derived from the scriptural account of the Jews” (Squier 1851:16-17).

On the “identities” between “the primitive mythological systems” of America and Asia (Squier 1851:18).

“the more civilized aboriginal nations of America exhibit a striking identity with the primitive nations of the Old World” (Squier 1851:74).

“a general identity between the American and Asiatic structures” (Squier 1851:83).

“identity ... in the elementary religious conceptions of the Old and New World” (Squier 1851:251).

“ ... no other country rests under the same manifest duty to form a complete ethnological museum as Britain: with her hundred colonies, and her tribes of subject aborigines in every quarter of the globe, losing their individuality where they escape extinction, by absorption and assimilation to their European masters” (Wilson 1851:xvii).

“ ... the Hebrideans, like the natives of Man, fled on the occupation of their islands by the pirate Norsemen, and only very partially returned after the establishment of law and order under Ketil, the independent Norwegian jarl; so that these islands have been to a great extent colonized anew from the neighbouring mainland. Still extensive and durable traces remain to commemorate the intrusion of this race of northern warriors on the older colonists of Scotland, nor can we hesitate to ascribe somewhat of our peculiar national character and physical conformation to that intimate intercourse which prevailed more or less extensively for nearly two centuries, and indeed in the Orkney and Shetland Islands for a much longer period, between the Norwegian and Celtic races” (Wilson 1851:494).

“Danish antiquaries have naturally been little inclined to dispute the idea of a Scandinavian origin assigned on such high authority to the beautiful specimens of carved chessmen found in Scotland. A keen spirit of nationality has been enlisted with the happiest effects in the cause of Northern Archaeology, and however honestly bent on the discovery of truth, it was scarcely to be looked for that the Danish archaeologist should search too curiously into the evidence by which such valuable relics were handed over to him” (Wilson 1851:575-576).

“When we consider the close resemblance between the round towers of Brechin and Abernethy, and many of those of Ireland, amounting to a complete identity of style, it seems strange that Scottish antiquaries should have hesitated in ascribing to the former a Christian origin, after the obscure annals of the Dalriadic Scots had been cleared up” (Wilson 1851:593).

“The isolation of the elder nations was universal prior to the diffusion of Christianity. Egypt, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, Judea, Greece, Carthage, and even Rome, each stood solitary amid its vastest conquests. It was reserved for the Popedom – that great fact of medieval history – to create a unity by means of which the isolation of the nations came to an end without the sacrifice of their individuality” (Wilson 1851:696).

“The agents in this history are Namaqua ‘Oerlams,’ or Namaquas born, in or near the colony, often having Dutch blood and a good deal of Dutch character in their veins” (Galton 1853:67).

“The sort of names these negroes answered to will perhaps convey a better notion of their character and style than a longer description – there was a ‘Grub,’ a ‘Scrub,’ a ‘Nicodemus,’ a ‘Moonshine,’ and a ‘Toby’” (Galton 1853:129).

“There is hardly a particle of romance, or affection, or poetry, in their character or creed; but they are a greedy, heartless, silly set of savages” (Galton 1853:189).

“On going to our canoe however, one of our men, Domingo the pilot, was absent ; but the tide serving, Senhor Le Roque set off, and we promised to follow as | soon as we could find our pilot, who was, no doubt, hidden in some *taverna*, or liquor-shop, in the town. But after making every inquiry, and search for him in vain, waiting till the tide was almost gone, we determined to start without him, and send back word by Senhor Le Roque, that he was to come on in a *montaria* the next day. If we had had more experience of the Indian character, we should have waited patiently till the following morning, when we should, no doubt, have found him” (Wallace 1853:54-55).

“ ... as far as I myself have been able to observe, their national character has not changed. The Portu- | guese, and their descendants, exhibit here the same perseverance, the same endurance of every hardship, and the same wandering spirit, which led and still leads them to penetrate into the most desolate and uncivilized regions in pursuit of commerce and in search of gold. But they exhibit also a distaste for agricultural and mechanical labour, which appears to have been ever a part of their national character, and which has caused them to sink to their present low condition in the scale of nations, in whatever part of the world they may be found” (Wallace 1853:376-377).

“The Indians of the Amazon and its tributaries, are of a countless variety of tribes and nations; all of whom have peculiar languages and customs, and many of them some distinct physical characteristics. Those now found in the city of Pará, and all about the country of the Lower Amazon, have long been civilized, – have lost their own language, and speak the Portuguese, and are known by the general names of Tapúyas, which is applied to all Indians, and seems to be a corruption of ‘Tupis,’ the name applied to the natives of the coast-districts, on the first settlement of the country” (Wallace 1853:477).

“*The Baniwa of Javita.* – The relation of this to the other Baniwas must be determined by the vocabulary itself: since (as has been already suggested) the identity of name goes for nothing either way. It proves nothing in favour of affinity; nothing in favour of difference” (Latham in Wallace 1853:529).

“Struggles there must have been in India also. Old dynasties were destroyed, whole families annihilated, and new empires founded. Yet the inward life of the Hindu was not changed by these convulsions. His mind was like the lotus leaf after a shower of rain has passed over it; his character remained the same, passive, meditative, quiet, and thoughtful. A people of this peculiar stamp was never destined to act a prominent part in the history of the world; nay, the exhausting atmosphere of transcendental ideas could not but exercise a detrimental influence on the active and moral character of the Indians” (Bunsen 1854, vol. I:131).

“The identity of this alphabet with that of the Gheez or ancient Abyssinian, the language of Azum, or the old Tigráni idiom, has never been contested” (Bunsen 1854, vol. I:221).

“Now it | is a well-known fact, – well known, at least, since Wilhelm von Humboldt explained and proved it, – that language is the outward expression of what he calls the spirit or individuality of a nation” (Müller in Bunsen 1854, vol. I:281-282).

“These three early colonies exhibit the Semitic in its struggle towards grammatical form and consistency ; and the individuality of Shem has not yet in them obscured those traces of a common past which enable us to connect the radical elements of the Semitic with the Turanian, and through it with the Arian family” (Bunsen 1854, vol. I:485).

“The Arian language, which grew, or became nationalised, into Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Slavonic, and Celtic, must have been a language richer perhaps than any of its descendants, but a language with such settled principles, and such intense individuality | in grammar and dictionary, that the national, or, as we may here call it, the individual character of its descendants, though widely different as the meditative Hindu and active Greek, could never obliterate or efface the stamp of their common parent” (Müller in Bunsen 1854, vol. I:485-486).

“Thus, by the combined energies of Shem and Japhet, the way has been prepared for a philosophical alphabet, founded upon the Roman alphabet, the exponent of modern civilization. The German character, happily already dropped by the Dutch and Swedes, is only a monkish form of the same, kept up by idiosyncrastic provincialism. The European alphabet is the only basis for transcribing all Asiatic idioms, into a standard alphabet for all the tribes, henceforth receiving the torch of civilization from Japhet’s favoured hands” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:15) [*sic*].

“The best method to understand the gradual formation of a language, the extent of alterations it can undergo without losing the unity of its existence, its individuality as it were, and the changes to which it can be subjected in consequence of a violent crisis, seems therefore to be to examine the origin and gradual formation of those languages where the necessary facts are generally known, or at least most easily ascertainable. These are the daughters of Latin, and the modern German and Scandinavian languages” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:31).

“In every human soul there are, consequently, two factors; the infinite, in so far as the soul is a part of the self-consciousness of God before all finite existence; and the finite, in so far as man has the immediate or nearest cause of his existence in another created being, or (in the first instance) in the agency of an elementary power in earth ... The nature of the finite factor, in generation and development, may be explained by the nature of the parents, the tribe, the national character, the language, the spirit of the age, the climate, education, events, and all concurrent external circumstances. But the infinite factor is the enigma of every man’s existence. It is incalculable and inexplicable, as is every thing which is neither finite nor the work of finite causes” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:158).

“The religious ideas were as essentially an integral part of the national life as language, forming the groundwork and necessary foundation of national life. Providence has destroyed this identity: and this destruction has become, and continues to be, the great lever of the history of the world. So far as the progress of the human race is concerned, universal history

is nothing but the history of two marvellous tribes, or families of nations: the Aramaic and the Iranian, or the Semitic and Japhetic” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:190).

“The seventeenth century fell back into scholasticism, deprived of most of its depth, and as much alienated from the philosophy of the primitive Church, as it was from the medieval system.

The consequence was, that the national spirit, wherever it could act, withdrew in disgust from theological controversies. The nations left divines to their narrow and exclusive systems, except in so far as they were connected with their national existence, and endeavoured to secure for themselves civil liberty, more fiercely than ever attacked by the despotism of three dynasties, and by papal encroachment. A war of extermination was waged: the Germanic nations came out of it in a state of deep exhaustion: Germany in ruins. One honest man [Spinoza] arose at the end of the struggle; he was a Jew, was held to be an atheist, and had an unhistorical mind. One spiritual sect arose in the same terrible period; it was a Society which, after having spiritualized the form, formalized its own spiritual negation of form, and consequently never became national. Still it exhibits vitality in every great national crisis, and lives to see the triumph of those ideas of truly practical Christianity, and of the Christian dignity and liberty of man, for which its fathers became martyrs in the old world, and apostles in the new” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:267).

“The identity of many words in Latin and Sanskrit becomes palpable at once, if, instead of writing this modified guttural, or, as we may now call it, palatal sound, by a new type, we write it by a modified k” (Bunsen 1854, vol. II:448).

„Um einen uralten Kern hat sich nach und nach eine mannigfaltige Genossenschaft angesetzt, welche die Ueberlieferungen desselben, so weit sie in ihrer Bedeutung noch lebendig sind, mit aufnahm und sich bestrebt, sie fortwährend in gangbare Münze umzusetzen. Aehnliche Neigungen in der durchweg | ähnlichen, schönen Landschaft, eine Menge nachbarlicher Berührungen bei der gemeinsamen Zähigkeit, den Boden unabhängig zu erhalten, haben ein von jedem andern Nationalleben unterschiedenes Bundesleben hervorgebracht, welches allen seinen Theilnehmern wieder einen gleichmäßigen Charakter bis in die feineren Schattirungen der Sitten und Sinnesart verliehen hat. Und je mehr wir uns in diesem Zustande geborgen glauben vor der Verwirrung, die uns überall umgibt, je mehr wir die träumerische Ohnmacht der altersgrauen großen Nationalerinnerungen, welche sich auf Sprache und Farbe der Haare stützen, rings um uns zu erkennen glauben, desto hartnäckiger halten wir an unserem schweizerischen Sinne fest“ (Keller 1854, vol. I:76-77).

„Ich kann mich nun,‘ versetzte der Graf, ,allerdings schon leichter in dieses sonderbare Nationalgefühl hineindenken, muß aber um so | eher darauf bestehen, daß die Schweizer folgerechter Weise auch einer eben so eigenthümlichen, aus ihren Verhältnissen erwachsenden Geistescultur bedürfen sollten!“ (Keller 1854, vol. I: 77-78).

“Most ethnologists, with the high authority of Prichard at their |head, ascribed the Nilotic family to the African race; while the great body of Archæologists were disposed to consider the aborigines of Egypt as (probably black) Troglodytes, from the Upper Nile, whose first halting-place and seat of civilization was at Meroë. But Morton took counsel with none of those authorities of the day. *Optimi consultores mortui*; and these dead, but still eloquent witnesses of the past, taught him clearly the identity of cranial conformation in the ancient Egyptian and the modern white man. He established, beyond question, that the prevailing

type of skull must come into the Caucasian category of Blumenbach” (Patterson in Nott and Gliddon 1854:xl-xli).

“In the course of these discussions it became necessary to define, with greater precision, certain terms in constant use. This was especially the case with the word *species*, the loose employment of which occasioned much confusion. According to the prevalent zoological doctrine, the production of a prolific offspring is the highest evidence of specific identity, and *vice versa*” (Patterson in Nott and Gliddon 1854:liii).

USE THIS ONE: “The ground upon which these animals are considered as distinct species is simply the fact, that, since they have been known to man, they have always preserved the same characteristics. To make specific difference or identity depend upon genetic succession, is begging the principle and taking for granted what in reality is under discussion. It is true that animals of the same species are fertile among themselves, and that their fecundity is an easy test of this natural relation; but this character is not exclusive, since we know that the horse and the ass, the buffalo and our cattle, like many other animals, may be crossed; we are, therefore, not justified, in doubtful cases, in considering the fertility of two animals as decisive of their specific identity” (Agassiz in Nott and Gliddon 1854: lxxiv).

“ ‘The head of the celebrated *Guadaloupe skeleton* forms no exception to the type of the race. The skeleton itself, which is in a semi-fossil state, is preserved in the British Museum – but wants the cranium, which, however, is supposed to be recovered in the one found by M. L’Héminier, in Guadaloupe, and brought by him to Charleston, South Carolina. Dr. Moultrie, who has described this very interesting relic, makes the following observations: <Compared with the cranium of a Peruvian presented to Professor Holbrook, by Dr. Morton, in the Museum of the State of South Carolina, the craniological similarity manifested between them is too striking to permit us to question their national identity, There is in both the same coronal elevation, occipital compression, and lateral protuberance, accompanied with frontal depression, which mark the American variety in general>” (Moultrie, quoted by Morton, who is quoted in Nott and Gliddon 1854:293).

Note: Presumably, James Moultrie, a physician in Charleston, SC; see Gifford 1975:573, footnote 62.

“The commonly received opinion teaches, that all mankind have been derived from a primeval pair; and that the differences now observable among the several races, result from the operation of two principal causes:

“1. The influence of climate, locality, civilization, and other physical and moral agents, acting through long periods of time. The manifest inadequacy of this hypothesis, led the late learned and lamented Dr. Prichard to offer the following ingenious explanation.

“2. The diversities among mankind are mainly attributable to the rise of accidental varieties, which, from their isolated position and exclusive intermarriage, have rendered their peculiar traits permanent among themselves, or, in other words, indelible among succeeding generations of the same stock.

“The preceding propositions, more or less modified and blended together, are by many ethnologists regarded as adequate to the explanation of all the phenomena of diversity observable in Man.

“If, however, we were to be guided in this inquiry solely by the evidence derived from Nature, ... we would be led to infer that our species had its origin not in one, but in many creations; that these were widely distributed into those localities upon the earth’s surface as

were best adapted to their peculiar wants and physical constitutions; and that, in the lapse of time, these races, diverging from their primitive centres, met and amalgamated, and have thus given rise to those intermediate links of organization which now connect the extremes together. |

“In accordance with this view, what are at present termed the five races would be more appropriately called groups. Each of these groups is again divisible into a smaller or greater number of primary races, each of which has itself expanded from a primordial nucleus or centre. To illustrate this proposition, we may suppose that there were several centres for the American groups of races, of which the highest in the scale are the Toltecan nations – the lowest, the Fuegians. Nor does this view conflict with the general principle, that all these nations and tribes have had, as I have elsewhere expressed it, a common origin; for by this term is only meant an indigenous relation to the country they inhabit, and that collective identity of physical traits, mental and moral endowments, language, &c., which characterise all the American races” (Morton in Nott and Gliddon 1854:305-306).

“The immense number of Jews in Egypt, even after the Exode (b. c. 1528), and especially during the Greek dominion of the Lagidæ, would lead us to search for the embalmed bodies of this people in the catacombs; and hence it was no surprise to me to identify, with considerable certainty, seven Semitico-Egyptian heads, in all of which | the Hebrew physiognomy is more or less apparent, and in some of them unquestionable. This identity is further confirmed by the fact, that the Jews in Egypt adopted the custom of embalming at a very early period of time (Genesis 1.26). And again, the two nations appear to have fraternized in a remarkable manner; for Adad married the sister of Pharaoh’s wife, and one of Solomon’s wives was the daughter of an Egyptian king, who is supposed to have been Osorkon. To these facts we may add the marriage of Joseph, at a far earlier period of history, with a daughter of the priest of Heliopolis. For these reasons, I repeat, the Hebrew nation should be largely represented in the catacombs (Morton in Nott and Gliddon 1854:316-317).

“Turnspit (C. Vertagus.)

“Wilkinson, Blainville, Martin, and all, I believe, are agreed upon the identity of this dog. The portrait (Fig. 248), and others of the same well-marked character, are faithful representatives of the modern turnspit, which is still common in Asia and Europe” (Nott and Gliddon 1854:391).

“While, on the one hand, it must be admitted, that animals possess a limited degree of *reason*, it is equally true, on the other, that the races of men also have their *instincts*. They reason, but this ‘reason,’ as we term it, is often propelled by a blind internal force, which cannot be controlled. Groups of mankind, as we have abundantly seen, differ in their cranial developments; and their *instincts* drive them into lines diverging from each other – giving to each one its typical or national character.

“The Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Celts, the Chinese, or the Hindoos, have not been solely guided by simple *reason*. Each type possessed, at the start, mental instinct, which, driving reason before it, determined each national character” (Nott and Gliddon 1854:461).

“From Justin, the epitomizer of Trogus’s lost volumes, we descend to Bochart, and admire the subdued irony with which he disposes of commentators upon the word TsIDN: – ‘Quod vir qui in his literis paucos habuit æquales admirationem explicat vocem [Hebrew characters]

Sidon, non sine admiratione legi.’ The most recent, and incomparably the best qualified archéologue who has journeyed ‘round the Dead Sea and in the Bible Lands,’ is De Saulcy. He remarks on ‘Saydah – This is undoubtedly the [Greek characters] of Scylax, the Sidon of Pliny, the [Greek characters] of Strabo, who places it at 400 stadia from Berytus, the *Sidona* of Antonine’s Itinerary, the *Sydone* of Peutinger’s Table, and, lastly, the *Civitas Sidona* of the Pilgrim from Bordeaux. It would be quite useless to argue this identity, which proves itself’ (Nott and Gliddon 1854:527).

“Abundant instances are patent, even in king James's version, where Israel, or Jacob, is put for *all the Jewish community*; and so ASUR, for example, means *Assyria* in such passages as ‘ASUR shall come as a torrent; ASUR shall arise like a conflagration; Jehovah will raise up ASUR against *Moab*, against *Amman*, against *Judah*, against *Israel*.’ Now, none will suppose that *Asur*, *Moab*, *Amman*, or *Israel*, are individuals, human beings. It is evident that these are collective names, employed according to the genius of Oriental minds and tongues. And upon whose authority, let us ask, must we modern foreigners offend the spirit of old Oriental writers (apart from common sense itself), in order to find *men* in the seventy-nine ethnico-geographical appellatives of Xth Genesis?” (Nott and Gliddon 1854:549).

Riehl (1854) devotes chapters to the “Individualisiertes Land” (1854:127-152) and the “Centralisirtes Land” (1854:153-187) in Germany, emphasizing differences in the “Volksindividualität” (1854:129); see also frequent reference to “Volkspersönlichkeit” (Riehl 1855:vi).

“We found the town in a thriving condition, although it had come very near being laid waste a few years before by the Mormons, who had originally selected this section of the country for the site of their New Jerusalem ... Their principal motive for preferring the border country, however, was no doubt a desire to be in the immediate vicinity of the Indians, as the reclamation of the ‘Lost tribes of Israel’ was a part of their pretended mission” (Gregg 1855, vol. I:313-314).

“The identity of the notions which the different tribes have conceived of a future existence, and the character of the ‘world of spirits,’ seems still more general” (Gregg 1855, vol. II:241).

„Dergleichen Dinge ließ der vortragende Lehrer, nicht in solchen Ausdrücken, aber mit solchen Eindrücken seine Zuhörer gelegentlich zwischen den Zeilen lesen. Heinrich gehörte zu denen, welche recht wohl zwischen den Zeilen zu lesen wußten, und zwar weil er einen natürlichen Sinn für das Erhebliche besaß, auf welches es ankommt, und mit der Aufmerksamkeit und dem raschen Instincte der Autodidakten das Wesentliche ersah, das hinter den Dingen liegt. Er merkte auch bald, daß es sich um nichts Geringeres, als um seinen Glauben an Gott und Unsterblichkeit handle; aber indem er denselben für lange geborgen und es nicht für nöthig hielt, auf seine Rettung bedacht zu sein, war er um so freisinniger beflissen, Alles aufzufassen und zu begreifen, was die innere Nothwendigkeit, Identität und Selbständigkeit der natürlichen Dinge bewies; denn eine wahrhaft wahre und freie Natur steht nicht an, sondern sie sucht es geflissentlich, Zugeständnisse zu machen, wo sie nur immer kann, gleich jenem idealen Könige, der noch nie dagewesen ist, und von welchem man träumt, daß er nicht aus Klugheit, sondern um ihrer selbst willen und rein zu seinem Vergnügen Concessionen mache. Rechthaberei und Noth sind die Mütter der Lüge; aber die Notlüge ist ein unschuldiges Engelskind gegenüber der Lüge aus Rechthaberei, welche Eines ist mit Hochmuth, Eitelkeit, Engherzigkeit und nackter Selbstsucht und nie ein Zugeständniß

macht, eben um keines zu machen. So entstand aus der Lüge die Rechtgläubigkeit auf Erden und aus der | Rechtgläubigkeit wieder die Lüge; freilich auch ein Kreislauf und eine Identität!“ (Keller 1855:56-58).

„Das lebendige Volk, welches sich auf der Brücke bewegte, war aber ganz das gleiche, wie (Keller 1855:240) das gemalte und mit demselben Eines, wie es unter sich Eines war, ja viele der gemalten Figuren traten aus den Bildern heraus und wirkten in dem lebendigen Treiben mit, während aus diesem manche unter die Gemalten gingen und an die Wand versetzt wurden. Diese glänzten dann in um so helleren Farben, als sie in jeder Faser aus dem Wesen des Ganzen hervorgegangen und ein bestimmter Zug im Ausdrucke desselben waren. Ueberhaupt sah man Jeden entstehen und werden und der ganze Verkehr war wie ein Blutumlauf in durchsichtigen Adern. In dem geschliffenen Granitboden der Halle waren verschiedene Löcher angebracht mit eingepaßten Granitdeckeln, und was sich Geheimnißvolles oder Fremdartiges in dem Handel und Wandel erblicken ließ, wurde durch diese Löcher mit einem großen Besen hinabgekehrt in den unten durchziehenden Fluß, der es schleunig weit wegführte. Der Ein- und Ausgang der Brücke aber war offen und unbewacht, und indem der Zug über dieselbe beständig im Gange war, der Austausch zwischen dem gemalten und wirklichen Leben unausgesetzt statt- (Keller 1855:241) fand und Alles sich unmerklich jeden Augenblick erneuerte und doch das Alte blieb, schien auf dieser wunderbar belebten Brücke Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft nur Ein Ding zu sein.

„Nun möcht’ ich wohl wissen,« sagte Heinrich vor sich hin, während er aufmerksam Alles auf’s Genaueste betrachtete, »was dies für eine muntere und lustige Sache hier ist!«

„Das Pferd erwiederte auf der Stelle: ‚Dies nennt man die Identität der Nation!‘

„Himmel!‘ rief sein Reiter, ‚Du bist ein sehr gelehrtes Pferd! Der Hafer muß Dich wirklich stechen! Wo hast Du diese gelehrte Anschauung erworben?‘

„Erinnere Dich,‘ sagte der Goldfuchs, ‚auf wem Du reitest! Bin ich nicht aus Gold entstanden? Gold aber ist Reichthum und Reichthum ist Einsicht.‘

Bei diesen Worten merkte Heinrich plötzlich, daß sein Mantelsack statt mit Wäsche jetzt gänzlich mit jenen goldenen Münzen angefüllt und ausgerundet war, welche er mit den alten Kleidern in das Wasser geworfen hatte. Ohne zu grübeln, (Keller 1855:242) woher sie so unvermuthet wieder kämen, fühlte er sich höchst zufrieden in ihrem Besitze, und obschon er dem weisen Gaule nicht mit gutem Gewissen Recht geben konnte, daß Reichthum Einsicht sei, so war er doch schon insoweit von seiner Behauptung angesteckt und fand sich doch plötzlich so leidlich einsichtsvoll, daß er wenigstens nichts erwiederte und gemüthlich weiter ritt auf der schönen Brücke.

„Nun sage mir, Du weiser Salomo!‘ begann er nach einer Weile wieder, ‚heißt eigentlich die Brücke oder die Leute so darauf sind: die Identität? oder welches von beiden nennst Du so?‘

„Beide zusammen sind die Identität!‘ sagte das Pferd.

„Der Nation?‘ fragte Heinrich.

„Der Nation, zum Teufel noch einmal, versteht sich!‘ sprach der Goldfuchs.

„Gut! aber welches ist denn die Nation, die Brücke oder die Leute, so darüber rennen?‘ sagte Heinrich.

„Ei seit wann,‘ rief das Pferd, ‚ist denn eine Brücke eine Nation? Nur Leute können eine (Keller 1855:243) Nation sein, folglich sind diese Leute hier die Nation!‘

„So! und doch sagtest Du soeben, die Nation und die Brücke zusammen machten eine Identität aus!‘ – erwiederte Heinrich.

„Das sagt’ ich auch und bleibe dabei!‘ versetzte das Pferd.

„Nun, also?‘ fuhr Heinrich fort.

„Wisse,“ antwortete der Gaul bedächtig, indem er sich auf allen Vieren ausspreizte und tief sinnig in den Boden hineinsah, „wisse, wer diese heiklige Frage zu beantworten, den Widerspruch zu lösen versteht, ohne den scheinbaren Gegensatz aufzuheben, der ist ein Meister hier zu Lande und arbeitet an der Identität selber mit. Wenn ich die richtige Antwort, die mir wohl so im Maule herumläuft, rund und nett zu formulieren verstehe, so wäre ich nicht ein Pferd, sondern längst hier an die Wand gemalt. Uebrigens erinnere Dich, daß ich nur ein von Dir geträumtes Pferd bin und also unser ganzes Gespräch eine subjective Ausgeburt und Grübelelei Deines eigenen Gehirnes ist, die Du Aberwitziger mit (Keller 1855:244) über den Rhein gebracht hast. Mithin magst Du fernere Fragen Dir nur selbst beantworten aus der allerersten Hand!“

„Ha! Du widerspenstige Bestie!“ schrie Heinrich in anthropologischem Zorne und spornte das Pferd heftig, „um so mehr, undankbarer Klepper, bist Du mir zu Red’ und Antwort verpflichtet, da ich Dich aus meinem so sauer ergänzten Blute erzeugen und diesen Traum lang speisen und unterhalten muß!“

„Hat auch was Rechtes auf sich!“ erwiderte das Pferd ganz gelassen. „Dieses ganze Gespräch, überhaupt unsere ganze werthe Bekanntschaft ist das Werk und die Dauer von kaum zwei Secunden und kostet doch wohl kaum einen Hauch von Deinem geehrten Körperlichen“

„Wie, zwei Secunden?“ rief Heinrich und hielt das schöne Goldthier an, „ist es nicht wenigstens eine Stunde, daß wir auf dieser endlosen Brücke reiten und uns umsehen in dem Getümmel?“

„Gerade eine Secunde ist’s,“ sagte der Gaul, „daß ein berittener Nachtwächter um die Straßen- (Keller 1855:245) ecke bog, und ein einziger Hufschlag hat in Dir meine Erscheinung erneuert, welche überhaupt veranlaßt wurde, als vor einer halben Stunde derselbe Nachtwächter des entgegengesetzten Weges kam. Auch ist dieses Minimum von Zeit ein und dasselbe Minimum von Raum, kurz die identische Kleinigkeit Deines in das Kopfkissen gedrückten Schädels, in welchem sich eine so weite Gegend und tausend belebte und verschiedene Dinge gleichzeitig ausbreiten und zwar Alles auf Rechnung des einen Hufschlages, welcher nichts desto minder nur als ein gemeiner Hammerschlag zu betrachten ist, der nur dazu dient, den Kasten Deines eigenen Wesens aufzuthun, worin Alles schon hübsch zusammengepäschelt liegt, was –“

„Um’s Himmelswillen!“ rief Heinrich, „vergeude nicht länger die kostbare Dauer des Hufschlages mit Deinen Auseinandersetzungen, sonst ist der nur allzukurze Augenblick vorbei, ehe ich über diese schöne Brücke im Reinen bin!“

„Eilt gar nicht! Alles, was wir für jetzo zu erleben und zu erfahren haben, geht vollkommen in das Maß des wackeren Pferdetrittes hinein, (Keller 1855:246) und wenn der sehr richtig denkende Psalmist den Herrn seinen Gott anschrie: Tausend Jahre sind vor Dir wie ein Augenblick! so ist diese gut begründete Hypothese von hinten gelesen eine und dieselbe Wahrheit: Ein Augenblick ist wie tausend Jahre! Wir könnten noch tausendmal mehr sehen und hören während dieses Hufschlages, wenn wir nur das Zeug dazu in uns hätten, lieber Mann! Doch alles Pressiren oder Zögern hilft da nichts, Alles hat seine bequeme Erfüllung und wir können uns ganz gemächlich Zeit lassen mit unserem Traum, er ist was er ist und dauert einen Schlag und nicht mehr noch minder!“ sagte das Pferd.

„Gut, so beantworte mir ohne Anstand noch diese Frage!“ erwiderte Heinrich, „ich muß mir aber die Frage erst noch ein wenig zurechtlegen und deutlich abfassen: denn ich weiß nicht recht, wie ich mich ausdrücken soll. Bereite Dich indessen, da wir, wie Du sagst, ausreichende Traumzeit haben, recht gründlich auf die Beantwortung vor!“

„Wie kann ich mich zur Antwort vorbereiten, (Keller 1855:247) eh’ ich nur die Frage kenne?“ sagte das Pferd verwundert.

„Was?‘ rief Heinrich erbost, ‚das weißt Du nicht? Deinen guten Willen und Dein bischen Ehrlichkeit sollst Du zusammennehmen und den Vorsatz fassen, ohne alle Heuchelei und Ausschmückung zu antworten, und selbst wenn Du gar nichts zu antworten weißt, so sollst Du dies mit gutem ehrlichen Willen bekennen, und dies wird alsdann die gesundeste Antwort sein. Kurz, Du sollst, während Du philosophirst, wirklich ein Philosoph sein und nicht etwa ein Buchbinder oder ein Kattendrucker!‘

„Es ist doch wunderbar mit den Menschen!‘ bemerkte der Goldfuchs melancholisch. ‚Bist denn Du etwa jetzt ein Philosoph, während Du Dir erst ein Pferd träumst, um Dir von demselben Fragen beantworten zu lassen, welche Du Dir einfacher und unmittelbar aus Dir selbst beantworten kannst? Muß denn Dein träumender Verstand wirklich erst ein Pferd formen, es auf vier Beinen dahinstellen und sich rittlings darauf- (Keller 1855:248) setzen, um aus dem Munde dieses Geschöpfes das Orakel zu vernehmen?‘

„Heinrich lächelte vergnügt und selbstzufrieden wie Einer, der es wohl weiß, daß er sich selbst einen Spaß vormacht, und versetzte: ‚Antworte! Ich sehe hier eine Brücke; dieselbe ist aber vollkommen gebaut und eingerichtet wie ein Palast oder großer Tempel, so daß es in dieser Hinsicht wieder mehr als eine Brücke zu sein scheint, während eine solche vielmehr nur der Weg etwa zu einem guten Tempel oder derartigen Bauwerke zu sein pflegt. Auch beginnt am Ausgange dieser herrlichen Palastbrücke oder dieses Brückenpalastes eine herrliche alte Stadt, deren himmelhohe Lindenwipfel und goldene Thurmknöpfe wir wohl unter diese Bogenwölbungen können einherfunkeln sehen, wenn wir uns bücken, so wie wir ja auch aus der schönsten Landschaft herkommen und soeben über die treffliche ideenhaltige Krystalltreppe heruntergestolpert sind. Trotzdem scheint Alles auf dieser Brücke so zu leben und zu weben, als ob Nichts als diese Brücke da wäre, und ich bin nun begierig, zu hören, ob dies (Keller 1855:249) stattliche Brückenleben eigentlich ein Uebergang, wie es einer Brücke geziemt, oder ein Ziel, wie es ihr auch wieder geziemen könnte, da sie so hübsch ist, ein Zweck oder ein Mittel sei? Ein bloßes Bindemittel oder eine in sich ruhende Vereinigung? Ein Ausgang oder ein Eingang, ein Anfang oder ein Ende? ein A oder ein O? Dies nimmt mich Wunder!‘

„Das weise Pferd erwiderte: ‚Alles dies ist zumal der Fall und das ist eben das Herrliche und Bedeutungsvolle an der Sache! Ohne die schönen Ufer wäre die Brücke nichts und ohne die Brücke wären die Ufer nichts. Alles, was auf der Brücke geht, ist und bedeutet nur etwas, insofern es aus dem Gelände hüben und drüben kommt und wieder dahin geht und dort etwas Rechtes ist, und dort kann man es wiederum nur sein, wenn man als etwas Rechtes über die Brücke gegangen ist Wenn man auf der Brücke ist, so denkt man an nichts Anderes und stürzt sich in den Verkehr, indessen man doch unversehens hinüber gelangt und wieder in seiner besonderen Behausung ist. Dort duselt und hantirt man (Keller 1855:250) in Küche und Keller, auf dem Estrich rund in der Stube herum, als ob man nie auf der Brücke gewesen wäre, bis man plötzlich einmal den Kopf aus dem Fenster steckt und sieht, ob sie noch stehe; denn von allen Punkten aus kann man sie ragen und sich erstrecken sehen. So ist sie ein prächtiges Monument und doch nur eine Brücke, nicht mehr als der geringste Brettersteg; eine bloße Geh- und Fahrbrücke und doch wieder eine statiöse Volkshalle.‘

„Plötzlich bemerkte Heinrich, daß er von allen Seiten mit biederer Achtung begrüßt wurde, welche sich besonders dadurch kund gab, daß Manche mit einem vertraulichen Griffen und wichtiger Miene seinen strotzenden Mantelsack betasteten, wie etwa die Bauern auf den Viehmärkten die Weichen einer Kuh betasten und kneifen und dann wieder weiter gehen.

„Der Tausend,‘ sagte Heinrich, ‚das sind ja absonderliche Manieren! ich glaubte, es kenne mich hier kein Mensch‘

„Es gilt auch,‘ sagte das Pferd, ‚nicht sowohl Dir, als Deinem schweren Quersack, Deiner (Keller 1855:251) dicken Goldwurst, die auf meinem Kreuz liegt.‘

„So?“ sagte Heinrich, „also ist das Geheimniß und die Lösung dieser ganzen Identitätsherrlichkeit doch nur das Gold, und zwar das gemünzte? Denn sonst würden sie Dich ja auch betasten, da Du aus dem nämlichen Stoffe bist!“

„Hm,“ sagte das Pferd, „das kann man eigentlich nicht behaupten! Die Leute auf dieser Brücke haben vorerst ihr Augenmerk darauf gerichtet, ihre Identität allerdings zu behaupten und gegen jeglichen Angriff zu vertheidigen. Nun wissen sie aber sehr wohl, daß ein kampffähiger guter Soldat wohlgenährt sein muß und ein gutes Frühstück im Magen haben muß, wenn er sich schlagen soll. Da dies aber am bequemsten durch allerlei Gemünztes zu erreichen und zu sichern ist, so betrachten sie Jeden, der mit dergleichen wohl versehen, als einen gerüsteten Vertheidiger und Unterstützer der Identität und sehen ihn drum an. Sei dem wie ihm wolle, ich rathe Dir, Dein Capital hier noch ein wenig in Umlauf zu setzen und zu vermehren. Wenn die (Keller 1855:252) Meinung der Leute im Allgemeinen auch eine irrig ist, so steht es doch Jedem frei, sie für sich zu einer Wahrheit und so seine öffentliche Stellung angenehm zu machen.“

„Heinrich griff in seinen Sack und warf einige Hände voll Goldmünzen in die Höhe, welche so gleich von hundert in die Luft greifenden Händen aufgefangen und weiter geworfen wurden. Heinrich warf immer mehr Gold aus, und dasselbe wanderte von Hand zu Hand über die ganze Brücke und über dieselbe hinaus über das Land; Jeder gab es emsig weiter, nachdem er es besehen und ein bischen an seinem eigenen Golde gerieben hatte, wodurch sich dieses verdoppelte, und bald kehrten alle Goldstücke Heinrich's in Gesellschaft von drei bis vier anderen wieder zurück, und zwar so, daß die ursprüngliche Münze, auf welcher der alte Schweizer geprägt war, die übrigen anführte mit einem Gepräge aus aller Herren Länder. Er wies ihnen mit seinem Schwerte, welches jetzt ein Mercuriusstab war, den Platz an und es regnete von allen Seiten auf Heinrich ein. Das Gold setzte sich klumpenweise an alle (Keller 1855:253) vier Beine des Pferdes, wie der Blumenstaub, welcher die Höschchen der Bienen bildet, so daß es bald nicht mehr gehen konnte. Da es aber immer mehr Gold regnete, so bildete dieses noch zwei große Flügel an dem Thiere und dieses glich nun wirklich mehr einer ungeheuren beladenen Biene als einem Pferde, und flog mit Heinrich lustig von der Brücke auf, welche jetzt endlich zu Ende war“ (Keller 1855:254).

„Inhalts-Verzeichniss (Steinthal 1855:xxvii)

„Dritter Teil. Grundsätze der Grammatik (Steinthal 1855:xxx)

„C. Verschiedenheit der Sprachen (Steinthal 1855:xxxii)

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„Das ist der unorganische Charakter dieser Wissenschaften, ihre ungeheure Abstraction oder Analyse, ihr Ab- und Auslösen der einzelnen Kräfte aus der Verflechtung von Kräften, in welcher sie von der wirklichen Natur geboten werden“ (Steinthal 1855:16).

„*La logique de Port-Royal* aber und die *Grammaire générale et raisonnée de Port-Royal*, beide der classische Ausdruck dieser Bemühungen, erfüllen die Forderung der Identität von

Grammatik und Logik derartig, wie sie aus der Voraussetzung der Einheit von Denken und Sprechen zu schließen ist, und wie sie Becker nur wünschen kann“ (Steinthal 1855:63).

„Hiernach scheint es uns eben so unwiderleglich als klar, daß, wenn Humboldt die Sprache organisch nennt, dies ausdrücklich ein „Bild“ genannt wird, welches nichts anderes bedeutet, als daß in jeder Sprache eine der Individualität des Volksgeistes entsprechende individuelle Form liege, welche an jedem einzelnen Elemente haftet, weil sie der Thätigkeit der Sprachschöpfung selbst angehört“ (Steinthal 1855:133).

„Schief ausgedrückt oder nicht, wird der Beckerianer sagen, allemal ist doch das Innere der Sprache die Idee, die Intellectualität selbst; und das ist es, was Becker mit seiner Identität von Sprechen und Denken sagen will“ (Steinthal 1855:163).

„Der Grund aber dieser Einheit und Individualität der Sprachen liegt in der Eigenthümlichkeit des Volksgeistes“ (Steinthal 1855:380).

Note: Altogether, sixteen instances of Volksgeist in Steinthal 1855, twenty instance of Identität, seventeen of Individualität, and thirty-five of Charakter. Identität is always used in the sense of sameness; Charakter is never used to describe a people.

“the identity of origin and derivation of the American and Asiatic nations” (Haven 1856:35); “identity of language” (Haven 1856:55); “identity of nomenclature” (Haven 1856:65); “identity of race” (Haven 1856:74); “identity of the Aztecs with the authors of the extensive ancient works in Ohio” (Haven 1856:87).

„Die Elemente der ältesten Geschichte sind die Völkerindividuen, die Stämme. Unter denen, die uns späterhin in Italien begegnen, ist von einzelnen, wie von den Hellenen, die Einwanderung, von anderen, wie von den Brettern und den Bewohnern der sabinischen Landschaft, die Denationalisirung geschichtlich bezeugt. Nach Ausscheidung beider Gattungen bleiben eine Anzahl Stämme übrig, deren Wanderungen nicht mehr mit dem Zeugniß der Geschichte, sondern höchstens auf aprioristischem Wege sich nachweisen lassen und deren Nationalität nicht nachweislich eine durchgreifende Umgestaltung von aussen her erfahren hat; diese sind es, deren nationale Individualität die Forschung zunächst festzustellen hat” (Mommsen 1856:9).

„Dass diese capitulinische Aera mit den capitulinischen Jahresnägeln in Verbindung steht, ist an sich einleuchtend und geht aus der Identität des Tages der Dedication (Plutarch *Poplic.* 14) und des Tages der Einschlagung des Jahresnagels (Liv. 7, 3) auch bestimmt genug hervor“ (Mommsen 1856:435 footnote).

“ ... in the more northern countries the severity of the weather, and, at some seasons, the deficiency of light, render it impossible for the people to continue their usual out-of-door employments. The result is that the working-classes being compelled to cease from their ordinary pursuits, are rendered more prone to desultory habits; the chain of their industry is as it were broken, and they lose that impetus which long-continued and uninterrupted practice never fails to give. Hence there arises a national character more fitful and capricious than that possessed by a people whose climate permit the regular exercise of their ordinary industry” (Buckle 1857:40).

“The civilization of Egypt being, like that of India, caused by the fertility of the soil, and the climate being also very hot, there were in both countries brought into play the same laws; and there naturally followed the same results. In both countries we find the national food cheap and abundant: hence the labour-market over-supplied; hence a very unequal division of wealth and power; and hence all the consequences which such inequality will inevitably produce. How this system worked in India, I have just attempted to examine; and although the materials for studying the former condition of Egypt are much less ample, they are still sufficiently numerous to prove the striking analogy between the two civilizations and the identity of those great principles which regulated the order of their social and political development” (Buckle 1857:75).

“On innumerable other points, we find the same discrepancy between the two schools [of metaphysics]. The idealist, for example, asserts that our notions of cause, of time, of personal identity, and of substance, are universal and necessary ; that they are simple ; and that not being susceptible of analysis, they must be referred the original Constitution of the mind. On the other | hand, the sensationalist, so far from recognizing the simplicity of these ideas, considers them to be extremely complex, and looks upon their universality and necessity as merely the result of a frequent and intimate association” (Buckle 1857:147-148).

“ ... it is an unquestionable fact, and one melancholy to contemplate, that during the sixty years which succeeded the death of Descartes, France had not possessed a single man who dared to think for himself. Metaphysicians, moralists, historians, all had become tainted by the servility of that bad age. During two generations, no Frenchman had been allowed to discuss with freedom any question either of politics or of religion. The consequence was, that the largest intellects, excluded from their legitimate field, lost their energy; the national spirit died away; the very materials and nutriment of thought seemed to be wanting” (Buckle 1857:664).

“The Toltec, and subsequently the Aztec, imagination, appears to have rioted in these personifications of passion, caprice and crime ... Compared to this Mexican mythology, that of the northern tribes retained greater simplicity, and freedom from the domination of the Indian priesthood. The culminating point of the system of deification adopted by both the Toltecs and the Aztecs had, in all probability, been reached from the same common basis, viz : a totemic identification of septs, bands, and tribes, mutually contending for supremacy, who assigned to their deities a local residence in the bodies of quadrupeds, birds, insects, reptiles, and other species of animated Nature, and lastly, in the bodies of men, who, under the titles of priests, seers, and prophets, made it the business of their lives to teach this system of deification, and thus to endeavor to perpetuate and strengthen their possession of the almost unlimited power they had acquired.” (Schoolcraft 1857:645).

Note: Analysis of political symbolism of myth anticipates Durkheim, Malinowski, Hocart, Sahlins, others.

“The emphatic wish of the whole tribe, with the exception of stragglers, is that the Seminole nation should become united, and an end be put to all complaints, to all shifting of identity, as Creeks or Seminoles, according to the individual amount of annuity” (Washbourne 1857:227).

„Das Verschwinden des aus Arare ergossenen Lavastromes, sein abermals unterirdischer Lauf und endliches Wiedererscheinen in größerer Mächtigkeit läßt nicht gleich sicher auf

Identität schließen, da sich gleichzeitig am ganzen Abhänge des Berges unterhalb des Horizonts des Bodens vom Kilauea-Becken viele lavagebende Längenspalten geöffnet haben“ (A. von Humboldt 1858:590).

“In England, by a *doctrinaire* statesman or thinker we mean generally one who, starting from certain fixed ideas, hastily assumed as self-evident, or inferred from a superficial induction, insists upon applying them, with all the consequences evolved out of them by a rigorous logic, to a given state of society, regardless of actual facts. The *doctrinaire*, in this sense, is the devotee of a system testing by a fixed rule all institutions, laws, and forms of government. He is the fanatic of abstract ideas, too exalted to condescend to matters of detail, to the consideration of practical convenience, or even of bare possibility. We are apt, not without some truth, to consider this mental tendency as especially characteristic of the French mind. When, consequently, we hear of the French *doctrinaires*, we imagine an intensification of this national peculiarity, instead of an exception to it” (Unsigned [Bagehot, Walter?] 1859:363).

“Dispersal during the Glacial period. – The identity of many plants and animals, on mountain-summits, separated from each other by hundreds of miles of lowlands, where the Alpine species could not possibly exist, is one of the most striking cases known of the same species living at distant points, without the apparent possibility of their having migrated from one to the other” (Darwin 1859:365).

“As the warmth returned, the arctic forms would retreat northward ... Hence, ... the same arctic species, which had lately lived in a body together on the lowlands of the Old and New Worlds, would be left isolated on distant mountain-summits (having been exterminated on all lesser heights) and in the arctic regions of both hemispheres.

“Thus we can understand the identity of many plants at points so immensely remote as on the mountains of the United States and of Europe” (Darwin 1859:367).

Note: Two more instances of “identity” in same sense in same chapter, namely, ch. XI, “Geographical Distribution during the Glacial Period” (pp. 371 & 371); and one more instance in same sense in ch. XIV, “Recapitulation” (p. 477) also with reference to the Glacial Period.

Note: At end of Darwin 1859, among advertisements for books from the same publisher, the following:

GRANT'S (Asahel) Nestorians, or the Lost Tribes ; containing Evidence of their Identity, their Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies; with Sketches of Travel in Ancient Assyria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia; and Illustrations of Scripture Prophecy. Third Edition. Fcap 8vo. 6s. (Appendix to Darwin 1859: Mr. Murray's General List of Works, p. 13).

„In der gesellschaftlichen Produktion ihres Lebens gehen die Menschen bestimmte, notwendige, von ihrem Willen unabhängige Verhältnisse ein, Produktionsverhältnisse, die einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe ihrer materiellen Produktivkräfte entsprechen. Die Gesamtheit dieser Produktionsverhältnisse bildet die ökonomische Struktur der Gesellschaft, die reale Basis, worauf sich ein juristischer und politischer Ueberbau erhebt und welcher bestimmte gesellschaftliche Bewußtseinsformen entsprechen. Die Produktionsweise des materiellen Lebens bedingt den socialen, politischen und geistigen Lebensprozeß überhaupt. Es ist nicht das Bewußtsein der Menschen, das ihr Sein, sondern umgekehrt ihr gesellschaftliches Sein, das ihr Bewußtsein bestimmt“ (Marx 1859:v).

1860

“My father, Augustus Jones, was of Welsh extraction : his grandfather emigrated to America previous to the American Revolution, and settled on the Hudson River, State of New York. My father having finished his studies as a land surveyor in the city of New York, came with a recommendation from Mr. Colden, son of the Governor of that State, to General Simcoe, Governor of Upper Canada, and was immediately employed by him as the King's Deputy Provincial Surveyor, in laying out town plots, townships, and roads in different parts of the Province. This necessarily brought him in contact with the Indian tribes; he learned their language, and employed many of them in his service, he became much interested in the Indian character, so much so that he resolved on taking a wife from amongst them. Accordingly, he married my mother, Tuhbenahneequay, daughter of Wahbanosay, a chief of the Messissauga Tribe of the Ojebway nation” (Jones 1860:1-2).

“I was also gratified in finding a number of the Manchester females engaged in making up and collecting a number of useful articles to send by us to our Canada Missions. A fine Missionary spirit is prevailing among them” (Jones 1860:318; see also pp. 347 & 409).

Note: The word “spirit” occurs 286 times in the text, but always with reference to individuals (incl. Great Spirit, Spirit of the Lord, good spirit, evil spirit), to personal moods (good spirits), or in an abstract sense (the spirit of devotion, p. 212). These are the only instances in which it is used, even remotely, to refer to a collectivity (missionary spirit).

„Diese Identität von Leben und Tod , die wir in unendlichen Mythenbildungen wiederfinden, hat auch in Bellerophon ihren scharfen Ausdruck erhalten. Er, der Poseidonische Zeugungskraft in sich tragt, ist zu gleicher Zeit, und wir dürfen nun sagen, gerade deshalb auch Diener des Todes und Vertreter des vernichtenden Naturprinzips“ (Bachofen 1861:4).

„Was zunächst und auch ohne Gesetz für die Mutter und jedes Weib galt, das wurde nun auf die Männer übertragen, wo es sich nicht so von selbst verstand. Des Weibes Unverletzlichkeit ruht auf seiner Identität mit der allgebärenden Erde, die des Mannes wird durch Gesetz anerkannt. Die Heiligkeit der Frau haben wir auch in dem reinen Naturzustand gefunden. Nicht so die des Mannes. Diese wird durch Gesetz ausgesprochen , und durch Zurückführung des Mannes auf das Mutterthum der Erde gerechtfertigt“ (Bachofen 1861:30).

„Wir werden die Identität dieser beiden Begriffe, Erde und Nacht, Mutterthum und Finsterniss, später genauer nachweisen“ (Bachofen 1861:43).

Note: Ten more instances in Bachofen 1861 in the sense of „identity of X with Y.“

“Ours was the marsh country, down by the river, within, as the river wound, twenty miles of the sea. My first most vivid and broad impression of the identity of things, seems to me to have been gained on a memorable raw afternoon towards evening” (Dickens 1861, vol. I, p. 2).

“I stood with my lamp held out over the stair-rail, and he came slowly within its light ... In the instant, I had seen a face that was strange to me, looking up with an incomprehensible air of being touched and pleased by the sight of me (Dickens 1861, vol. II, p. 330) ... I could not recall a single feature, but I knew him! If the wind and the rain had driven away the

intervening years, had scattered all the intervening objects, had swept us to the churchyard where we first stood face to face on such different levels, I could not have known my convict more distinctly than I knew him now, as he sat in the chair before the fire. No need to take a file from his pocket and show it to me ; no need to take the handkerchief from his neck and twist it round his head ; no need to hug himself with both his arms, and take a shivering turn across the room, looking back at me for recognition. I knew him before he gave me one of those aids, though, a moment before, I had not been conscious of remotely suspecting his identity” (Dickens 1861, vol. II, p. 333).

Note: Two more instances of “identity” in this sense in Dickens 1861, vol II:147-148 & 204.

“That I had a fever and was avoided, that I suffered greatly, that I often lost my reason, that the time seemed interminable, that I confounded impossible existences with my own identity; that I was a brick in the house-wall, and yet entreating to be released from the giddy place where the builders had set me ; that I was a steel beam of a vast engine, clashing and whirling over a gulf, and yet that I implored in my own person to have the engine stopped, and my part in it hammered off; that I passed through these phases of disease, I know of my own remembrance, and did in some sort know at the time” (Dickens 1861, vol. III, p. 296).

Note: Two more instances of “identity” in Dickens 1861, vol. III, pp. 184 & 265.

“Many of the white people who have but a partial acquaintance with the Indian character, have imagined that, whilst the Indian follows the *light of nature*, he will be saved by that light, and that he is far happier in that | barbarous state than he would be as a civilised Christian” (Jones 1861:91-92).

“Of Their Toodaims [subtitle of “Chapter XI. Amusements, etc.”]

“Their belief concerning their divisions into tribes is, that many years ago the Great Spirit gave his red children their toodaims, or tribes, in order that they might never forget that they were all related to each other, and that in time of distress or war they were bound to help each other. When an Indian, in travelling, meets with a strange band of Indians, all he has to do is to seek for those bearing the same emblem as his tribe; and having made it known that he belong to their toodaim, he is sure to be treated as a relative. Formerly it was considered unlawful for parties of the same tribe to intermarry, but of late years this custom is not observed. I have remarked that when the English speak of the different *nations* of Indians they generally call them *tribes*; which term is quite erroneous, as each *nation* is subdivided into a number of tribes or clans, called ‘toodaims,’ bearing some resemblance to the divisions of the twelve tribes of Israel mentioned in Scripture; and each tribe is distinguished by certain animals or things, as, for instance, the Ojebway nations have the following toodaims: – the Eagle, Reindeer, Otter, Bear, Buffalo, Beaver, Catfish, Pike, Birch-bark, White Oak Tree, Bear’s Liver, &c., &c. The Mohawk nation have only three divisions, or tribes – the Turtle, the Bear, and the Wolf.

“The tribe to which I belong is the Eagle, called by us *Messissauga*, a term commonly used by the English when speaking of the Indians residing at the River Credit, Rice Lake, Grape Island, Mud Lake, and those in the vicinity of Kingston, but it is incorrect when applied to them as a body, for in these bands are found remnants of almost all the tribes existing among the Ojebways; and the Eagle tribe, or Messissauga, does not form more than about one | quarter of the whole number of Indians residing at the above-mentioned places.

Another common mistake is, that the Messissauga Indians are distinct from the Ojebways; whereas they are a part of that nation, and speak the same language.

“From the great number of tribes, or toodaims, found among the different nations, many of which are now extinct, there is no doubt that they were once far more numerous than they are now.

“It is my opinion that the origin of the toodaims might, were it possible, be traced back to the time when our fore-fathers first came into the continent of America, and that it has been handed down from one generation to another from time immemorial. Coming into a vast wilderness country, and fearing that in their wanderings they might lose their relationships to each other, they probably held a general council on the subject, agreeing that the head of each family should adopt certain animals or things as their toodaims, by which their descendants might be recognized in whatever part of the world they were found, and that those of the same tribe should ever be considered as brethren or relations” (Jones 1861:138-139).

“*Query No. 1.* – How long have you had an acquaintance with any body of Indians?

“*Answer No. 1.* – Being an Indian on my mother's side, I am well acquainted with the habits, customs, and manners of the Chippeway nation of Indians to whom I belong. The tribe or clan with whom I have been brought up is called *Messissauga*, which signifies the eagle tribe, their *ensign* or *toodaim* being that of the eagle” (Jones 1861:235).

“From the knowledge I have of the Indian character, and from personal observation, I have come to the conclusion that the system of education hitherto adopted in our common schools has been too inefficient” (Jones 1861:276; quoting from his letter to the “Commissioners appointed to inquire into Indian affairs, 21 Nov. 1842).

Note: All uses of “spirit” with reference to individuals, personal moods, or in an abstract sense.

“One of the rarest qualities of national character is the capacity for applying and working out the law, as such, at the cost of constant miscarriages of abstract justice, without at the same time losing the hope or the wish that law may be conformed to a higher ideal” (Maine 1861:75).

“It was the special peculiarity of France that an extraordinary diversity of laws continued without sensible alteration while the central authority of the monarchy was constantly strengthening itself, while rapid approaches were being made to complete administrative unity, and while a fervid national spirit had been developed among the people” (Maine 1861:84).

“The notion was that, though the physical person of the deceased had perished, his legal personality survived and descended unimpaired on his Heir or Co-heirs, in whom his identity (so far as the law was concerned) was continued” (Maine 1861:182; 1977:107).

In Roman law, “the theory of the identity between the dead man and his heirs was certainly much older than any form of Testament or phase of Testamentary jurisprudence” (Maine 1861:188; 1977:111).

“The ideally best form of government, it is scarcely necessary to say, does not mean one which is practicable or eligible in all states of civilization, but the one which, in the circumstances in which it is practicable and eligible, is attended with the greatest amount of beneficial consequences, immediate and prospective. A completely popular government is the only polity which can make out any claim to this character. It is pre-eminent in both the departments between which the excellence of a political Constitution is divided. It is both more favourable to present good government, and promotes a better and higher form of national character, than any other polity whatsoever” (Mill 1861:54).

“In proportion as success in life is seen or believed to be the fruit of fatality or accident and not of exertion, in that same ratio does envy develop itself as a point of national character. The most envious of all mankind are the Orientals. In Oriental moralists, in Oriental tales, the envious man is markedly prominent. In real life, he is the terror of all who possess anything desirable, be it a palace, a handsome child, or even good health and spirits : the supposed effect of his mere look constitutes the all-pervading superstition of the evil eye. Next to Orientals in envy, as in inactivity, are some of the Southern Europeans. The Spaniards pursued all their great men with it, embittered their lives, and generally succeeded in putting an early stop to their successes. With the French, who are essentially a southern people, the double education of despotism and Catholicism has, in spite of their impulsive temperament, made submission and endurance the common character of the people, and their most received notion of wisdom and excellence: and if envy of one another, and of all superiority, is not more rife among them than it is, the circumstance must be ascribed to the many valuable counteracting elements in the French character, and most of all to the great individual energy which, though less persistent and more intermittent than in the self-helping and struggling Anglo-Saxons, has nevertheless manifested itself among the French in nearly every direction in which the operation of their institutions has been favourable to it” (Mill 1861:61-62).

“One of the strongest hindrances to improvement, up to a rather advanced stage, is an inveterate spirit of locality” (Mill 1861:77).

“Strong prejudices of any kind ; obstinate adherence to old habits; positive defects of national character, or mere ignorance, and deficiency of mental cultivation, if prevalent in a people, will be in general faithfully reflected in their representative assemblies: and should it happen that the executive administration, the direct management of public affairs, is in the hands of persons comparatively free from these defects, more good would frequently be done by them when not hampered by the necessity of carrying with them the voluntary assent of such bodies!” (Mill 1861:79).

“The national institutions should place all things that they are concerned with, before the mind of the citizen in the light in which it is for his good that he should regard them : and as it is for his good that he should think that every one is entitled to some influence, but the better and wiser to more than others, it is important that this conviction should be professed by the State, and embodied in the national institutions. Such things constitute the spirit of the institutions of a country : that portion of their influence which is least regarded by common, and especially by English, thinkers; though the institutions of every country, not under great positive oppression, produce more effect by their spirit than by any of their direct provisions, since by it they shape the national character. The American institutions have imprinted strongly on the American mind, that any one man (with a white skin) is as good as any other; and it is felt that this false creed is nearly connected with some of the more unfavourable points in American character. It is not a small mischief that the constitution of

any country should sanction this creed; for the belief in it, whether express or tacit, is almost as detrimental to moral and intellectual excellence, as any effect which most forms of government can produce” (Mill 1861:173-174).

“A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a Nationality, if they are united among themselves by common sympathies, which do not exist between them and any others – which make them co-operate with each other more willingly than with other people, desire to be under the same government, and desire that it should be government by themselves, or a portion of themselves, exclusively. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language, and community of religion, greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of its causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents; the possession of a national history, and consequent community of recollections ; collective pride and humiliation, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past” (Mill 1861:287).

“Identity of language, literature, and, to some extent, of race and recollections, have maintained the feeling of nationality in considerable strength among the different portions of the German name, though they have at no time been really united under the same government; but the feeling has never reached to making the separate states desire to get rid of their autonomy. Among Italians an identity far from complete, of language and literature, combined with a geographical position which separates them by a distinct line from other countries, and, perhaps more than everything else, the possession of a common name, which makes them all glory in the past achievements in arts, arms, politics, religious primacy, science, and literature, of any who share the same designation, give rise to an amount of national feeling in the population, which, though still imperfect, has been sufficient to produce the great events now passing before us: notwithstanding a great mixture of races, and although they have never, in either ancient or modern history, been under the same government, except while that government extended or was extending itself over the greater part of the known world” (Mill 1861:288).

“The cases in which the greatest practical obstacles exist to the blending of nationalities, are when the nationalities which have been bound together are nearly equal in numbers, and in the other elements of power. In such cases, each, confiding in its strength, and feeling itself capable of maintaining an equal struggle with any of the others, is unwilling to be merged in it: each cultivates with party obstinacy its distinctive peculiarities; obsolete customs, and even declining languages, are revived, to deepen the separation; each deems itself tyrannized over if any authority is exercised within itself by functionaries of a rival race; and whatever is given to one of the conflicting nationalities, is considered to be taken from all the rest. When nations, thus divided, are under a despotic | government which is a stranger to all of them, or which, though sprung from one, yet feeling greater interest in its own power than in any sympathies of nationality, assigns no privilege to either nation , and chooses its instruments indifferently from all; in the course of a few generations, identity of situation often produces harmony of feeling, and the different races come to feel towards each other as fellow countrymen; particularly if they are dispersed over the same tract of country. But if the era of aspiration to free government arrives before this fusion has been effected, the opportunity has gone by for effecting it. From that time, if the unreconciled nationalities are geographically separate, and especially if their local position is such that there is no natural fitness or convenience in their being under the same government (as in the case of an Italian province under a French or German yoke),

there is not only an obvious propriety, but, if either freedom or concord is cared for, a necessity, for breaking the connexion altogether. There may be cases in which the provinces, after separation, might usefully remain united by a federal tie: but it generally happens that if they are willing to forego complete independence, and become members of a federation, each of them has other neighbours with whom it would prefer to connect itself, having more sympathies in common, if not also greater community of interest” (Mill 1861:296-297).

“as the mother country claims the privilege, at her sole discretion, of taking measures or pursuing a policy which may expose them to attack, it is just that she should undertake a considerable portion of the cost of their military defence even in time of peace; the whole of it, so far as it depends upon a standing army.

“But there is a means, still more effectual than these, by which, and in general by which alone, a full equivalent can be given to a smaller community for sinking its individuality, as a substantive power among nations, in the greater individuality of a wide and powerful empire. This one indispensable, and at the same time sufficient, expedient, which meets at once the demands of justice and the growing exigencies of policy, is, to open the service of Government in all its departments, and in every part of the empire, on perfectly equal terms, to the inhabitants of the Colonies. Why does no one ever hear a breath of disloyalty from the islands in the British Channel?” (Mill 1861:320).

« Cette mythologie aux personnages fantastiques, sous laquelle on distingue vaguement les pâles lueurs d'une époque de véritable supériorité religieuse et de monothéisme, ne saurait plus convenir au caractère positif de la nation japonaise » (Rosny 1861 :18).

“Almost every traveller who visits Mexico enlarges on the dishonesty which is rooted in the character of the people. That they are worse now in this respect than they were before the Conquest is highly probable. Their position as a conquered and enslaved people, tended, as it always does, to foster the slavish vices of dissimulation and dishonesty. The religion brought into the country by the Spanish missionaries concerned itself with their belief, and left their morals to shift for themselves, as it does still” (Tylor 1861:90).

“The only explanation we could give of this identity of character inside the prison and outside is not flattering to the Mexican people, hut I really believe it to be true. We came to the conclusion that the prisoners did not belong to a class apart, hut that they were a tolerably fair specimen of the poorer population of the table-lands of Mexico. They had been more tempted than others, or they had been more unlucky, and that was why they were here” (Tylor 1861:246).

“The prevalence of mining, as a means of getting wealth, has contributed greatly to make the love of gambling an important part of the national character. Silver-mining in the old times was a most hazardous speculation, and people engaged in it used to make and lose great fortunes a dozen times in then- lives. The miners worked not on fixed wages, but for a share of the produce, and so every man became a gambler on his own account” (Tylor 1861:258).

„Es sind zuvörderst zu unterscheiden in den nicht einfachen Gebirgsarten die bestimmten, immer wiederkehrenden Associationen gewisser Mineral-Species von den Lagerungsverhältnissen (Verhältnissen der Reihung), in denen die zusammengesetzten Gebirgsarten unter einander oder zu einfachen Gebirgsarten auftreten. Die Identität der Association in der Gebirgsart ist nicht mit der Identität der Reihung selbst zu verwechseln. Die letztere bestimmt einen der Hauptcharaktere von Formations-Typen; ich sage

geflissentlich: einen der Hauptcharaktere: denn ein eben so wichtiges Kennzeichen ist bei petrographischer Aehnlichkeit einzelner silurischer, devonischer oder späterer Sedimentschichten die Identität eingeschlossener organischer Gebilde. Eine solche Identität führt auf den Begriff der Gleichzeitigkeit der Entstehung“ (A. von Humboldt 1862:72).

“That human character, individual and national, is traceable solely to the nature of that race to which the individual or nation belongs, is a statement which I know must meet with the sternest opposition ... Nevertheless, that race in human affairs is everything, is simply a fact, the most remarkable, the most comprehensive, which philosophy has ever announced. Race is everything: literature, science, art – in a word, civilization, depends on it” (Knox 1862:v).

“Highly-educated men asked me if the French were Celts! – if there were *two* races of men in Britain and in Ireland! – and supposing there were two races, how it was that they could not agree! – who were the Slavonians! and such other questions as satisfied me that they and I viewed human history from two different points; they, as a chapter of accidents, and I, as tracing human character, individual, social, national, to the all-pervading, unalterable, physical character of race” (Knox 1862:21).

“I appeal to the Saxon men of all countries whether I am right or not in my estimate of the Celtic character. Furious fanaticism; a love of war and disorder; a hatred for order and patient industry; no accumulative habits; restless, treacherous, uncertain: look at Ireland. This is the dark side of the character. But there is a bright and brilliant view which my readers will find I have not failed to observe. What race has done such glorious deeds? Still it is never to be forgotten that the continental Celt deserted and betrayed the greatest of men, Napoleon, thus losing the sovereignty of the world: here the fatal blow was struck from which the continental Celt cannot hope to recover” (Knox 1862:26).

“That the southern hemisphere of this globe should differ in many respects from the northern in its fauna and its flora, will cause no surprise to men in quest of truth ...| ... Of the exceptions, real or only seeming, I shall speak hereafter; the most remarkable being the asserted identity of the Red Indian | throughout the entire range of continental America: this I doubt, but avoid discussing the doubt here” (Knox 1862:125-127).

“The story of the Jew, as told by himself, is a plain and simple story enough: in the hands of the writers of other races it becomes a rhapsody. That of the Copt is really wonderful; their monumental history surpasses all on earth besides | The Jew has no monumental history. He never had any literature, science, or art; he has none yet. ‘Their completeness and wonderfully preserved individuality’* has nothing in it in the slightest degree curious. All other races are in precisely the same position; and, in this respect, also, the Gipsy is superior to them” (Knox 1862:391-392) [*sic*].

“* The Cross and the Crescent, 187.”

“Such a collection may naturally be arranged under three periods. The first, that of the races which had already passed away before the discovery of the continent by Europeans, or whose extinction may be considered as coeval with that event; next, of the tribes who have disappeared with the settlement of the Atlantic States and the country between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi; and finally, that of the present time, or that of the yet existing nations, confined to the northern and western portions of the continent and to Mexico.

“It is among the last that the greatest variety exists, and of which it is especially important to make immediate collections, as many articles are of a perishable nature, and the tribes themselves are passing away or exchanging their own manufactures for those of the white race” (Gibbs 1863:4).

Note: On topic later called acculturation.

“In making the preceding statement, it must be clearly understood that I neither desire to affirm that the Engis and Neanderthal skulls belong to the Australian race, nor to assert even that the ancient skulls belong to one and the same race, so far as race is measured by language, colour of skin, or character of hair. Against the conclusion that they are of the same race as the Australians various minor anatomical differences of the ancient skulls, such as the great development of the frontal sinuses, might be urged; while against the supposition of either the identity, or the diversity, of race of the two arises the known independence of the variation of cranium on the one hand, and of hair, colour, and language on the other” (Lyell 1863:88).

“By these two attributes, the moral and the religious, not common to man and the brutes, M. Quatrefages proposes to distinguish the human from the animal kingdom.

“But he omits to notice one essential character, which Dr. Sumner, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, brought out in strong relief fifty years ago in his ‘Records of Creation..’ ‘There are writers,’ he observes, ‘who have taken an extraordinary pleasure in levelling the broad distinction which separates Man from the Brute Creation. Misled to a false conclusion by the infinite variety of Nature's productions, they have described a chain of existence connecting the vegetable with the animal world, and the different orders of animals one with another, so as to rise by an almost imperceptible gradation from the tribe of Simiæ to the lowest of the human race, and from these upwards to the most refined. But if a comparison were to be drawn, it should be taken, not from the upright form, which is by no means confined to mankind, nor even from the vague term reason, which cannot | always be accurately separated from instinct, but from that power of progressive and improvable reason, which is Man's peculiar and exclusive endowment” (Lyell 1863:496-497).

“... if some of the arguments in favour of a future state are applicable in common to man and the lower animals, they are by no means those which are the weightiest and most relied on. It is no doubt true that, in both, the identity of the individual outlasts many changes of form and structure which take place during the passage from the | infant to the adult state, and from that to old age, and the loss again and again of every particle of matter which had entered previously into the composition of the body during its growth, and the substitution' of new elements in their place, while the individual remains always the same, carries the analogy a step farther. But beyond this we cannot push the comparison” (Lyell 1863:497-498).

“the inferences of identity of tribes from identity of skull ... are ... doubtful” (Waitz 1863:236).

« Ainsi observées, la Grèce et Rome se présentent à nous avec un caractère absolument inimitable. Rien dans les temps modernes ne leur ressemble. Rien dans l'avenir ne pourra leur ressembler » (Fustel de Coulanges 1864:2).

« Il faut même remarquer qu'à mesure que ces différents groupes s'associaient ainsi entre eux, aucun d'eux ne perdait pourtant ni son individualité ni son indépendance » (Fustel de Coulanges 1864 :157).

« Le caractère et la vertu de la religion des anciens n'était pas d'élever l'intelligence humaine à la conception de l'absolu, d'ouvrir à l'avidité de l'esprit une route éclatante au bout de laquelle il pût entrevoir Dieu. Cette religion était un ensemble mal lié de petites croyances, de petites pratiques, de rites minutieux » (Fustel de Coulanges 1864 :210).

« On peut distinguer dans l'œuvre de la conquête romaine deux périodes. L'une concorde avec le temps où le vieil esprit municipal avait encore beaucoup de force; c'est alors que Rome eut à surmonter le plus d'obstacles. La seconde appartient au temps où l'esprit municipal était fort affaibli ; la conquête devint alors facile et s'accomplit rapidement ... Les origines de Rome et la composition de son peuple sont dignes de remarque. Elles expliquent le caractère particulier de sa politique et le rôle exceptionnel qui lui fut dévolu, dès le commencement, au milieu des autres cités » (Fustel de Coulanges 1864 :473).

“We, the undersigned commissioners, on behalf of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, ... would ... state, that we were not induced by the machinations of the emissaries of the Confederate States to sever our treaty stipulations with the government of the United States, but that we made treaties with the Confederate States, from what appeared to us as our interest seemed to dictate, and as the means of preserving our independence and national identity, considering ourselves a separate political organization, and our country composing an integral part of the territory of the United States” (Colbert 1865:345).

“ ‘Their modes of war and worship, hunting and amusements, were very similar. In the sacrifice of prisoners taken in war; in the laws of retaliation; in the sacred character attached to public transactions solemnized by smoking the pipe; in the adoption of persons taken in War, in families; in the exhibition of dances on almost every occasion that can enlist human sympathy ; in the meagre and inartificial style of music; in the totemic tie that binds relationships together, and in the system of symbols and figures cut and marked on their graveposts, on trees, and sometimes on rocks, there is a perfect identity of principles, arts and opinions’ ” (Lubbock 1865:412-413; quoting from Schoolcraft 1853, vol. II:47).

„Sie werden im nachfolgenden Werke sehen, daß ich von Oesterreich wenig oder gar nicht gesprochen habe. Den Grund würden Sie wissen, wenn Sie dieß Reich kennen. Es ist eine Welt für sich, ein eigenthümlicher Organismus, mit gar keinem andern Europas, ja der Welt vergleichbar. Es ist eine wunderbare Einheit der verschiedensten Elemente; alles was Europa im Ganzen bietet, ist hier | in großen Theilen vertreten; oft feindlich, oft friedlich, oft in starrer Ruhe neben einander liegend, oft in gewaltiger Bewegung einander belegend, immer aber mächtig auf einander wirkend, sich durchdringend, bestimmend, fördernd, bekämpfend ... Es ist ein Europa im Kleinen. Es enthält alle Völker, alle Kirchen, alle volkswirtschaftlichen Zustände, alle Rechtsbildungen des ganzen Welttheiles in wunderbarer Nähe und Mischung. In keinem Theile Europas ist so viel neues zu thun und so viel zu arbeiten als hier; aber in keinem Theile ist auch ein so reiches Feld. Die gewaltige Bewegung des Fortschrittes, in der sich dieß mächtige Reich befindet, ist jung; sie hat nicht bloß zum Theil ein altes Geschlecht, alte Auffassungen, alte Gedanken, sondern auch tiefe Verschiedenheiten des geistigen und wirtschaftlichen, des gesellschaftlichen und staatlichen Lebens vorgefunden; sie hat den kühnen Versuch gemacht, mit der Achtung vor dem Ueberlieferten und Gegebenen die frische und freie Anerkennung des Neuen zu verbinden.

Sie ist mitten in ihrer schweren Aufgabe; es ist ein großartiges Werden, das uns hier entgegentritt, und für das die bekannten Formen und Formeln, die auf streng ausgeprägter nationaler Individualität ruhen, nicht ausreichen. Es will daher für sich betrachtet, für sich erkannt werden. Es läßt sich nicht einfach einreihen in die Vergleichung, denn jeder Punkt würde wieder seine eigene Geschichte fordern. Darum hat Oesterreich zwar die Geschichte einer Großmacht, aber es hat keine Geschichtschreiber. Denn die Geschichtschreibung hat hier eine ganz andere Voraussetzung als in England, Frankreich, Deutschland, andern Ländern. Sie kann nicht von einer einfachen gegebenen Thatsache ausgehen und uns in lebendigem Bilde den Wechsel ihrer Gestaltungen vorführen, wie in Glück und Unglück, in Sieg und Niederlage immer dasselbe Element als fester Boden in Volk und Land uns auf eine leichtverständliche, der Anschauung immer gegenwärtige Grundlage stellt. Oesterreichs wahres Lebenselement ist keine solche Thatsache; es ist eine lebendige Kraft, die seine Völker und Länder umschlingt. Was nützt es, diese Kraft mit Einem Namen zu nennen? Aber | die Geschichte Oesterreichs ist nicht denkbar, ohne die Anschauung dieser Kraft und ihrer Arbeit, die in Wesen und Thätigkeit nur Eine innerlich gleichartige, wenn auch äußerlich viel größere Erscheinung neben sich hat, die alte römische Welt, die Einheit des Völkerlebens in Einer gewaltigen Staatsbildung“ (Stein 1865:x-xii).

„Man kann daher sagen, daß so weit es Verfassungen gab, die Persönlichkeit des Staats in dem Begriffe der Staatsgewalt, das monarchische Princip in der Identität derselben mit der Persönlichkeit des Monarchen, die Vollziehung aber als ein übrigens verschieden bestimmtes Moment in der Staatsgewalt wirklich anerkannt war, während in einigen Staaten die Vollziehung noch mit der Gesetzgebung ganz (Oesterreich) in andern im Theil verschmolzen blieb“ (Stein 1865:36-37).

“An erroneous impression ... exists amongst the public, that all persons possessing the same name have a right to bear the same arms ... There are instances in which, not content with the paternal coat of their noble namesake, persons have also assumed the quarterings they have found marshaled with it ... The most useful purpose of Heraldry is also defeated by this silly practice, as identification of family or property is impossible under such circumstances” (Clark 1866:4).

« J'avais écrit en 1852 (*la Révolution sociale démontrée par le coup d'État*) :

‘Les principes sur lesquels repose, depuis 89, la société française, disons toute société libre, principes antérieurs et supérieurs à la notion même de gouvernement, sont: 1. la *propriété libre*; 2. le *travail libre*; 3. la *distinction naturelle, égalitaire et libre* | des spécialités industrielles, mercantiles, scientifiques, etc. d’après le principe de la division du travail, et en dehors de tout esprit de caste’» (Proudhon 1866 :49-50).

L’esprit de l’Église se reconnaît ici partout: dans le colonat et le servage, dans l’emphytéose dans la recommandation, dans le précaire, dans le bénéfice (1), dans la hiérarchie nobiliaire, dans l’exemption du service militaire, dont jouissait l’Église, et en vue de laquelle les petits propriétaires | s’empressaient de se recommander aux abbés et aux évêques » (Proudhon 1866 :123-124).

« C'est le législateur de 89 qui a manqué de prévoyance; ce sont les | propriétaires nouveaux, acquéreurs de biens nationaux, qui ont manqué de caractère et d’esprit public, en disant à Napoléon I^{er} : Règne et gouverne, pourvu que nous jouissions » (Proudhon 1866 :234-235).

„Das 18. Jahrh. begriff jedoch noch nicht in demselben Mass wie das 19. die *Identität zwischen Nationalreichthum und Volksarmuth*. Daher heftigste Polemik in der ökonomischen Literatur jener Zeit über die ‚*inclosure of commons*““ (Marx 1867:710).

“‘Remark,’ says Mr. Franklin, ‘that the integrity of the Diamond, as a whole stone, is here artfully made dependent on the preservation from violence of the Colonel’s life. He is not satisfied with saying to the enemies he dreads, Kill me – and you will be no nearer to the Diamond than you are now; it is where you can’t get at it – in the guarded strong-room of a bank. He says instead, Kill me – and the Diamond will be the Diamond no longer; its identity will be destroyed. What does that mean ?’” (Collins 1868, vol. I, p. 75).

Note: Two more instances in Collins 1868, both in same sense: “its sacred identity as the Moonstone” (vol. I, p. 145) and “the identity of the gem” (vol. II, p. 250).

“Whether he was a horse or not, he was certainly a goat, as we shall see. Like the other men-gods, he was in turn identified with the Totem, whatever it was, of the tribe that took him up” (McLennan 1869-1870, endnote 71).

„Die zweite Periode vom 4. Mai 1848 bis Ende Mai 1849 ist die Periode der Konstituierung, der Begründung der bürgerlichen Republik. Unmittelbar nach den Februartagen war nicht nur die dynastische Opposition überrascht worden durch die Republikaner, die Republikaner durch die Sozialisten, sondern ganz Frankreich durch Paris. Die Nationalversammlung, die am 4. Mai 1848 zusammentrat, aus den Wahlen der Nation hervorgegangen, repräsentierte die Nation. Sie war ein lebendiger Protest gegen die Zumuthungen der Februartage und sollte die Resultate der Revolution auf den bürgerlichen Maßstab zurückführen. Vergebens versuchte das Pariser Proletariat, das den Charakter dieser Nationalversammlung sofort begriff, wenige Tage nach ihrem Zusammentritt, am 15. Mai, ihre Existenz, gewaltsam wegzuleugnen, sie aufzulösen, die organische Gestalt, worin der reagirende Geist der Nation es bedrohte, wieder in ihre einzelnen Bestandtheile zu zerstreuen. Der 15. Mai hatte bekanntlich kein anderes Resultat, als Blanqui und Genossen, d. h. die wirklichen Führer der proletarischen Partei, für die ganze Dauer des Cyklus, den wir betrachten, vom öffentlichen Schauplatz zu entfernen“ (Marx 1869:7-8).

„Die Niederlage der Juniinsurgenten hatte nun allerdings das Terrain vorbereitet, geebnet, worauf die bürgerliche Republik begründet, aufgeführt werden konnte; aber sie hatte zugleich gezeigt, daß es sich in Europa um andre Fragen handelt, als ‚um Republik oder Monarchie.‘ Sie hatte offenbart, daß bürgerliche Republik hier die uneingeschränkte Despotie einer Klasse über andre Klassen bedeute. Sie hatte bewiesen, daß in altzivilisirten Ländern mit entwickelter Klassenbildung, mit modernen Produktionsbedingungen und mit einem geistigen Bewußtsein, worin alle überlieferten Ideen durch Jahrhundert lange Arbeit aufgelöst sind, die Republik überhaupt nur die politische Umwälzungsform der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft bedeutet und nicht ihre konservative Lebensform, wie z. B. in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, wo zwar schon Klassen bestehn, aber sich noch nicht fixirt haben, sondern in beständigem Flusse fortwährend ihre Bestandtheile wechseln und an einander abtreten, wo die modernen Produktionsmittel, statt mit einer stagnanten Uebervölkerung zusammenzufallen, vielmehr den relativen Mangel an Köpfen und Händen ersetzen, und wo endlich die fieberhaft jugendliche Bewegung der materiellen Produktion, die eine neue Welt sich anzueignen hat, weder Zeit noch Gelegenheit ließ, die alte Geisterwelt abzuschaffen“ (Marx 1869:9).

„Die erwählte Nationalversammlung steht in einem metaphysischen, aber der erwählte Präsident in einem persönlichen Verhältniß zur Nation. Die Nationalversammlung stellt wohl in ihren einzelnen Repräsentanten die mannigfaltigen Seiten des Nationalgeistes dar, aber in dem Präsidenten inkarnirt er sich. Er besitzt ihr gegenüber eine Art von göttlichem Recht, er ist von Volkesgnaden“ (Marx 1869:15).

„Der eigenthümliche Charakter der Sozial-Demokratie faßt sich dahin zusammen, daß demokratisch-republikanische Institutionen als Mittel verlangt werden, nicht um zwei Extreme, Kapital und Lohnarbeit, beide aufzuheben, sondern um ihren Gegensatz abzuschwächen und in Harmonie zu verwandeln“ (Marx 1869:29).

„Unter der parlamentarischen Republik rang das moderne mit dem traditionellen Bewußtsein der französischen Bauern“ (Marx 1869:90).

“But a theory which thus destroys the immediacy of faith, making it the gradual product of an historical process not the immediate outgoing of man’s personality to God, is obviously not a theory which satisfies the facts of Christian consciousness or can be reconciled with the substantial identity of saving faith in all dispensations” (Smith [1869] 1912:128).

“From this standpoint it was simply impossible for theology to start from an apologetical estimate of the outer evidences of Christianity. Apologetic speaks to those that are without the Church and serves to make the opponents of Christ inexcusable, to reduce them to silence before a phenomenon that they cannot fathom. But theology speaks to the Church, to those to whom Christianity is no mere phenomenon but a part, the only valuable part, of life. To suppose that the Church has to be nurtured on Christian evidences is to suppose that she has forgotten her own identity. And, therefore, it was a melancholy day for Christendom when the Reformation Church ceased to vindicate its rights as a Church by striving more and more fully to realise its calling in Christ, | and began to justify itself to itself much more than to the world without by constantly reiterating the evidences of Christianity” (Smith [1869] 1912:155-156).

“The growth of the Christian personality cannot be essentially different for an apostle and for the Christian in our own day. And this essential identity must clearly extend itself to the growth of that necessary knowledge whereby the new man comes to understand his own new life” (Smith [1869] 1912:159).

1870

“ ... if at any time hereafter any of the said Indians shall desire to become citizens of the United States they shall make application to the judge of the district court of the United States for the district of Minnesota, and in open court make the same proof and take the same oath of allegiance as is provided by law for the naturalization of aliens, and shall also make proof to the satisfaction of said court that they are sufficiently intelligent and prudent to control their affairs and interests; that the[y] have adopted the habits of civilized life and have for at least five years previous thereto been able to support themselves and families; whereupon they shall be declared by said court to be citizens of the United States, which declaration shall be entered of record, and a certificate thereof given to said party. On the presentation of the said certificate to the Secretary of the Interior, with satisfactory proof of identity, he may at the request of such person or persons cause the land severally held by them to be conveyed to them by patent in fee simple, with power of alienation, and may at the same time cause to be

paid to them their proportion of all the moneys and effects of said tribe, held in trust by or under the provisions of any treaty or law of the United States” (Forty-first Congress, Sess. II. 1870. Ch. 296, Sec. 10).

“The Natchez had a temple in which they kept up a perpetual fire. The Ojibwas maintained a continual fire as a symbol of their nationality” (Lubbock 1870:214).

“THE accounts which we possess of the character of savage races are both conflicting and unsatisfactory. In some cases travellers have expressed strong opinions for which they had obviously no sufficient foundation. Thus the unfortunate La Perouse, who spent only one day on Easter Island, states his belief that the inhabitants ‘are as corrupt as the circumstances in which they are placed will permit them to be.’ On the other hand, the Friendly Islanders were so called by Captain Cook on account of the apparent kindness and hospitality with which they received him. Yet, as we now know, this appearance of friendship was entirely hypocritical. The natives endeavoured to lull him into security, with the intention of seizing his ship and massacring the crew, which design a fortunate accident alone prevented them from carrying into effect; yet Captain Cook never had the slightest suspicion of their treachery, or of the danger which he so narrowly escaped” (Lubbock 1870:257).

“As with Indra so with Agni, and the other gods speculatively produced; the god whoever he was that was put in the first place by a tribe, was identified with its Totem” (McLennan 1870:199).

“It was evident that the full significance of identity of systems in India and America would be lost unless the knowledge was made definite concerning the relations of the Indo-American system of relationship to those of the western nations of Europe and Asia, and also to those of the nations of Africa and Polynesia” (Morgan 1871:5).

« Rapprochons ces faits qui nous touchent de ceux que présentent les bords de la Baltique et le bassin de la Vistule. Sans recourir à des migrations dont l'histoire aurait perdu toute trace, nous expliquerons aisément un fait signalé par M. Duchinski. ‘Les caractères distinctifs | des Armoriques tracés par César ont, dit cet auteur, des analogies avec ceux des Lithuaniens. Les Polonais qui ont séjourné en Bretagne s'accordent à trouver une foule de points de ressemblance entre les Bretons actuels et leurs compatriotes, surtout ceux qui avoisinent la Lithuanie.’ C'est que le mélange du sang finnois et du sang aryen s'est opéré dans les deux contrées. Seulement, dans le bassin de la Baltique, c'est au Slave que s'est unie la race allophyle; c'est avec le Celte qu'elle s'est croisée chez nous » (Quatrefages 1871 :44-45).

« Ainsi, à tous égards, la Prusse est ethnologiquement distincte des peuples qu'elle commande aujourd'hui sous prétexte d'une prétendue communauté de race. De plus les conditions d'existence, le milieu, les alliances, ont transformé les quelques éléments qui la rattachaient aux vrais Germains. L'identité de langage imposée par les chevaliers conquérants a pu masquer cet état de choses, les passions du moment ont pu le faire oublier ; il n'en est pas moins réel.

« La véritable Allemagne a cependant accepté la | Prusse pour souveraine. Elle en avait le droit incontestablement. Mais peut-être eût-elle agi autrement, si el n'avait été entraînée par une erreur anthropologique » (Quatrefages 1871 :103-104)

“Or, on the other hand, in what measure is the New Testament dispensation not merely an elevation – an idealisation – of the Old Testament, but something really and qualitatively

new, which the Old Testament only shadowed forth without presenting essential identity or even such an identity that the one can flow from the other by mere regular growth?" (Smith [1871] 1912:259).

"So when Jerusalem is taken 'for the body politic of the chosen people in which the power lies, and from which the action proceeds,' we have, on Mr. Newman's views, not a mere analogy, but a certain substantial identity between the new and old Jerusalem, in a sense not stated as applicable to the relation of David to Christ" (Smith [1871] 1912:270).

"We are told by Mr. Newman that the theocratic prophecies are fulfilled in Christ because the Christian Church is a theocracy, a visible temporal power. Not very dissimilar in principle is the opposite extreme position which maintains that no fulfilment can be regarded as real which does not apply to the literal people of Israel. For both of these views alike maintain that continuity of political existence is the necessary criterion of the identity of the people of the promise and the people of the fulfilment" (Smith [1871] 1912:279).

"The reproductive system offers various rudimentary structures; but these differ in one important respect from the foregoing cases. We are not here concerned with a vestige of a part which does not belong to the species in an efficient state ; but with a part which is always present and efficient in the one sex, being represented in the other | by a mere rudiment. Nevertheless, the occurrence of such rudiments is as difficult to explain on the belief of the separate creation of each species, as in the foregoing cases. Hereafter I shall have to recur to these rudiments, and shall show that their presence generally depends merely on inheritance; namely, on parts acquired by one sex having been partially transmitted to the other. Here I will only give some instances of such rudiments. It is well known that in the males of all mammals, including man, rudimentary mammæ exist. These, in several instances, have become well developed, and have yielded a copious supply of milk. Their essential identity in the two sexes is likewise shown by their occasional sympathetic enlargement in both during an attack of the measles" (Darwin 1872:79-80).

Citation of Schoolcraft (Darwin 1872:133).

"It must not be forgotten that, although a high standard of morality gives but a slight or no advantage to each individual man and his children over the other men of the same tribe, yet that an advancement in the standard of morality and an increase in the number of well-endowed men will certainly give an immense advantage to one tribe over another. There can be no doubt that a tribe including many members who, from possessing in a high | degree the spirit of patriotism, fidelity, obedience, courage, and sympathy, were always ready to give aid to each other and to sacrifice themselves for the common good, would . be victorious over most other tribes ; and this would be natural selection. At all times throughout the world tribes have supplanted other tribes ; and as morality is one element in their success, the standard of morality and the number of well-endowed men will thus everywhere tend to rise and increase" (Darwin 1872:159-160).

"To form a judgment on this head, with reference to man we must glance at the classification of the Simiadæ. This family is divided by almost all naturalists into the Catarhine group, or Old World monkeys, all of which are characterized (as their name expresses) by the peculiar structure of their nostrils and by having four premolars in each jaw; and into the Platyrrhine group or New World monkeys (including two very distinct sub-groups), all of which are

characterized by differently-constructed nostrils and by having six premolars in each jaw. Some other small differences might be mentioned. Now man unquestionably belongs in his dentition, in the structure of his nostrils, and some other respects, to the Catarhine or Old World division; nor does he resemble the Platyrrhines more closely than the Catarhines in any characters, excepting in a few of not much importance and apparently of an adaptive nature. Therefore it would be against all probability to suppose that some ancient New World species had varied, and had thus produced a man-like creature with all the distinctive characters proper to the Old World division; losing at the same time all its own distinctive characters. There can consequently hardly be a doubt that man is an offshoot from the Old World Sim- | ian stem ; and that, under a genealogical point of view, he must be classed with the Catarhine division” (Darwin 1872:188-189).

“We have now seen that a naturalist might feel himself fully justified in ranking the races of man as distinct species; for he has found that they are distinguished by many differences in structure and constitution, some being of importance. These differences have, also, remained nearly constant for very long periods of time. He will have been in some degree influenced by the enormous range of man, which is a great anomaly in the class of mammals, if mankind be viewed as a single .species. He will have been struck with the distribution of the several so-called races, in accordance with that of other undoubtedly distinct species of mammals. Finally, he might urge that the mutual fertility of all the races has not yet been fully proved; and even if proved would not be an absolute proof of their specific identity” (Darwin 1872:216).

„Nehmen wir jetzt das wichtigste Phänomen der ganzen antiken Lyrik hinzu, die überall als natürlich geltende Vereinigung, ja Identität *des Lyrikers mit dem Musiker*“ (Nietzsche 1872:20-21).

“That if any adult member of said tribe shall desire to become a citizen of the United States, shall prove by at least two competent witnesses, to the satisfaction of the circuit court of the United States for the State of Kansas, that he or she is sufficiently intelligent and prudent to manage his or her own affairs, and has, for the period of five years, been able to maintain himself or herself and family, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, and shall take an oath of allegiance to the United States, as provided by law for the naturalization of aliens, he or she shall be declared by said court to be a citizen of the United States, which shall be entered of record and a certificate thereof given to said party. On the presentation of said certificate to the Secretary of the Interior, with satisfactory proof of identity, may, at the request of such person or persons, cause the lands severally held by them and their minor children to be conveyed to them by patent in fee-simple, without the power of alienation, and may, at his discretion, cause to be paid to them, from time to time, their proportion of all the moneys and effects of said tribe held for them by the United States, or which may be received as the net proceeds of the sale of lands under the provisions of this act; after which said Indians and their minor children shall cease to be members of any Indian tribe; but the lands so patented to them shall not be subject to levy, taxation, or sale during the natural lives of said Indians or of their minor children (Forty-second Congress, Sess. II. 1873. Ch. 332, Sec. 3).

“The Maruts, or storm-gods, are an uninteresting set of beings [in the *Rig-Veda*]. They hover on the confines between the natural and the supernatural, between the merely phenomenal and the deified and divine. They | have a vague and indistinct individuality, and are infertile of mythology and lively and fanciful description”(Whitney 1873:140-141).

“But, a century ago, an entirely new avenue of access to the knowledge of Iranian antiquity was opened. The western world was then for the first time made acquainted with the Avesta, the ancient and authoritative record of the Iranian religion, the Bible of the Persian people. Here was a source lying beyond and behind anything hitherto accessible. It was of a remote antiquity, claimed to be the work of Zoroaster himself, the well-known founder of the Persian religious belief, the prophet and the legislator of Iran, the establisher of the earliest institutions respecting which our other informants had given us any account ; it was a part of a native literature, in which we might expect to read the national character with much more distinctness and truth than in the descriptions of foreigners ; and it antedated, and was independent of, any external influences upon Persian civilization. Its introduction to our knowledge changed the whole ground of investigation into Persian antiquity” (Whitney 1873:150).

“To those who advocate the application of the laws of civilization to the Indian, it might be a profitable study to investigate the effect which such application produces upon the strength of the tribe as expressed in numbers. Looking at him as the fearless hunter, the matchless horseman and warrior of the Plains, where Nature placed him, and contrasting him with the reservation Indian, who is supposed to be revelling in the delightful comforts and luxuries of an enlightened condition, but who in reality is grovelling in beggary, bereft of many of the qualities which in his wild state tended to render him noble, and heir to a combination of vices partly his own, partly bequeathed to him from the pale-face, one is forced, even against desire, to conclude that there is unending antagonism between the Indian nature and that with which his well-meaning white brother would endow him. Nature intended him for a savage state ; every instinct, every impulse of his soul inclines him to it. The white race might fall into a barbarous state, and afterwards, subjected to the influence of civilization, be reclaimed and prosper. Not so the Indian. He cannot be himself and be civilized; he fades away and dies. Cultivation such as the white man would give him deprives him of his identity” (Custer 1874:17).

„Ein Theil der Nachkommen der Zehnstämmen, welche seit mehr als einem Jahrhundert in den assyrischen Provinzen zerstreut, für verschollen galten, hatte sich in seiner Eigenart behauptet und sich den leidensgenössischen Brüdern, von denen Eifersucht und künstlich geschärfter Haß ihn so lange getrennt hatten, in herzlicher Eintracht genähert“ (Grätz 1874, 2. Bd., 2. Hälfte:12).

„Die auswärtigen Judäer legten aber Werth darauf, ihre Eigenart zu bewahren und ihren nationalen Charakter zu behaupten; sie schlossen sich von der sie umgebenden [SIC] Welt ab, heiratheten nur unter einander und nahmen die überkommene Lehre zur Richtschnur ihrer Lebensweise“ (Grätz 1874, 2. Bd., 2. Hälfte:124).

“Die Identifizierung erstreckt sich zuweilen sogar auf eine imaginäre Verschmelzung der Körperlichkeit von Mensch (oder Tier) und Pflanze, und führt zu der Annahme, daß der Baum der Körper einer durch den Tod dem Menschenleibe entrückten Seele, der Wohnsitz mehrerer Elfen oder eines Schutzgeistes sei, der wiederum kaum von einem alter ego des Menschen zu unterscheiden sein möchte” (Mannhardt 1875:5).

“Bei Menschengedenken ist noch ein Bursche im Ljudersocken, der davon Skogsnisse genannt wurde, von der Skogsnufva verwirrt und durch den beschriebenen Act von ihr befreit

worden, der (nach S. 32) die Identification mit einem Baume bedeutet” (Mannhardt 1875:130).

“Man sieht den Ungrund der bei deutschen Mythologen so beliebten Identifizierung von Robin Hood und Wodan” (Mannhardt 1875:546, footnote 3).

Note: In Mannhardt 1875 and 1877, there are several other instances of “Identifizierung” used in this same sense.

“Look first at the assertion, that every believer must at least have a definitely formulated knowledge about essentials, which is his theology. This argument is pertinent to establish the identity of theology with practical Christian knowledge, only on the assumption that it is the formulated part of his knowledge on which the Christian acts, the rest being really a superfluity (Smith [1875] 1912:323).

“But the Christianity of each man presents itself to him, on the hypothesis, only in the form of strictly individual religious experiences and frames of thought, so that the only bond of Christian union possible is similarity of experience in details, identity of individual frames and habits of mind. The society which arises when men come together on this ground is a society of the like-minded, all busy with their common religious experiences” (Smith [1875] 1912:326).

“L’affranchi devenait un client. L’identité entre ces deux termes est marquée par un passage de Deny, IV, 23” (Fustel de Coulanges 1876:319, footnote 1).

“Identity of the Ten Tribes of Israel with the American Indians shown” (Lee 1877:xi; from the table of contents).

“It may be remarked finally that the experience of mankind has run in nearly uniform channels; that human necessities in similar conditions have been substantially the same; and that the operations of the mental principle have been uniform in virtue of the specific identity of the brain of all the races of mankind” (Morgan 1877:8).

“Two families of mankind, the Aryan and Semitic, by the commingling of diverse stocks, superiority of subsistence or advantage of position, and possibly from all together, were the first to emerge from barbarism. They were substantially the founders of civilization. But their existence as distinct families was undoubtedly, in a comparative sense, a late event. Their progenitors are lost in the undistinguishable mass of earlier barbarians. The first ascertained appearance of the Aryan family was in connection with the domestic animals, at which time they were one people in language and nationality. It is not probable that the Aryan or Semitic families were developed into individuality earlier than the commencement of the Middle Period of barbarism, and that their differentiation from the mass of barbarians occurred through their acquisition of the domestic animals” (Morgan 1877:39).

“A comparison of the Indian clan | with the gens of the Greeks and Romans reveals at once their identity in structure and functions. It also extends to the phratry and tribe. If the identity of these several organizations can be shown, of which there can be no doubt, there is a manifest propriety in returning to the Latin and Grecian terminologies which are full and precise as well as historical” (Morgan 1877:65-66).

Note: Four more instances of “identity” in Morgan 1877, all, as in these two examples, in the sense of the “sameness” of two or more things.

“The gens is individualized by the following rights, privileges, land obligations conferred and imposed upon its members, and which made up the *jus gentilicium* ... These functions and attributes gave vitality as well as individuality to the organization, and protected the personal rights of its members” (Morgan 1877:71).

“An assembly of the tribe must also have existed, from a remote antiquity. Before the founding of Rome each Italian tribe was practically independent, although the tribes were more or less united in confederate relations. As a self-governing body each of these ancient tribes had its council of chiefs (who were doubtless the chiefs of the gentes) its assembly of the people, and its chiefs who commanded its military bands. These three elements in the organization of the tribe ; namely, the council, the tribal chief, and the tribal assembly, were the types upon which were afterwards modeled the *Roman senate*, the *Roman rex*, and the *comitia curiata*. The tribal chief was in all probability called by the name | of *rex* before the founding of Rome; and the same remark is applicable to the name of senators (*senux*), and the comitia (*con-ire*). The inference arises, from what is known of the condition and organization of these tribes, that their institutions were essentially democratical. After the coalescence of the three Roman tribes, the national character of the tribe was lost in the higher organization; but it still remained as a necessary integer in the organic series” (Morgan 1877:307-308).

“CHAP. 59. AN ACT to amend an act entitled ‘An act to provide for the sale of certain New York Indian lands in Kansas,’ approved February nineteenth, eighteen hundred and seventy-three. [April 17, 1878.]

“Be it enacted by the Senate and Home of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That the period within which the thirty-two Indians referred to in the act to which this is ail amendment, or their heirs, are required to prove their identity in order to entitle them to the benefits of said act, be, and the same is hereby, extended for two years from the nineteenth day of February, eighteen hundred and seventy-eight” (Forty-fifth Congress 1878:188).

“The settlements at Irieni possess large herds of cattle, but the soil does not seem to be highly cultivated. In this respect the people seem to resemble in character the Watusi in Unyamwezi, who live only on the milk of their cattle, and such grain as they are enabled to obtain by its sale” (Stanley 1878, vol. I:164).

“The past few years, commencing shortly after my taking charge of the agency in 1873, has been an important period in the history of the *Otoe and Missouria* tribe. It has been the turning point between the wild, free life so dear to the memories and traditions of the Indian race, and the more complicated machinery of civilized pursuits, which in the near future they must wield, or by inaction suffer decay and lose their identity amid the growing populace of a more provident race” (White 1878:96).

„Vorderhand wo, wie wir gesehen haben, die nordischen Archäologen im Gegensatz zu deutschen Gelehrten eine ursprünglich germanische hohe Bronze-Cultur aufrecht erhalten, die andererseits vollkommen bestritten wird, kann von der Aufstellung einer archäologischen Unterscheidung naturgemäss keine Rede sein und wir beschränken uns vorläufig auf den zusammengesetzten Ausdruck kelto-germanisch, oder erklären doch, dass, wenn wir keltisch sagen, eine nationale Differenz nicht bestimmt ausgesprochen werden soll.

„Bestimmter aber glaube ich gegen die Annahme mich aussprechen zu sollen, dass zwischen Kelten und Slaven eine Identität der Nationalität in vorrömischer Zeit geherrscht habe und dass alle Urnenfelder, also auch das von Maria-Rast, slavischer Herkunft seien“ (Wurmbrand 1879:430).

1880

“On the 30th of June Drifting Goose reported at this agency from Sisseton, with his band, numbering 104 people, all in a very dilapidated condition ... Since the disappearance of the buffalo this band, sometimes numbering 20 sometimes 250, has maintained its existence and identity by the precarious resources of a gypsy life between the Missouri River and the agencies in Northeastern Dakota and Minnesota” (Andrus 1880:27).

„Und in welchem Zusammenhange steht diese Lehre mit meiner Betrachtung der Sumpfvvegetation und ihrer Identität mit dem Geschlechtsleben der Menschen?“ (Bachofen 1880:14).

“Identity or relationship of language ... can prove nothing more than social contact ... Language is an aid to the historian, not to the ethnologist. So far as ethnology is concerned, identity or relationship of language can do no more than raise a presumption in favour of common racial origin” (Sayce 1880, vol. II, 317).

“The identity of ... and ... was suggested long ago by Hitzig” (Smith [1880] 1912:460).

“The close connection which we have found to exist between Arab tribes and southern Judah, and the identity of so many of the stock-names among the two, give this fact a direct significance” (Smith [1880] 1912:480).

“I shall now attempt to show that in the time of David the kinship of animal stocks was still acknowledged between Israel and the surrounding nations. For this purpose I observe that David seems to have belonged to the serpent stock ... | Now it has always been a puzzle that David was on such friendly terms with Nahash, king of the Ammonites, who was a great enemy of Israel, and especially of Israel beyond the Jordan, with which district David from an early period cultivated friendly relations. And the curious thing is that the friendship between the two houses was not broken even by the great and bitter war that destroyed Ammonite independence, for a son of the Ammonite serpent was among the foremost to help David in his flight from Absalom (2 Sam. xvii. 27). It would seem that the true solution lies in the common serpent-stock, which was a stronger bond than all motives of national hostility. As the Ammonites were presumably less advanced in culture than Israel, it is quite possible that by their law Hanun was not of his father's stock at all” (Smith [1880] 1912:481-482).

„Indem uns überall mit eiserner Nothwendigkeit der gleichartige Gedanke unter seinen lokalen Variationen aus den fünf Continenten entgegentritt, lässt sich hier die Controlle der Identität direct schon auf die Gesetze prüfen, die zu Grunde liegen, und auch bei dem freieren Schwung der an Kraft gewinnenden Entwicklung würde sich die Fortleitung festhalten lassen müssen, soweit die mit den Com- | plicationen wachsenden Schwierigkeiten noch ihre Bewältigung erlauben werden“ (Bastian 1881:3-4).

“Die Eichen in demselben Walde, jede wie die andere aus den Eicheln vielleicht derselben Muttereiche erwachsen', sind individuell verschieden nicht bloss dem Räume nach, sondern nach Alter, Grösse, Verästelung, Gruppierung der Laubmassen u. s. w. Wir nehmen die Unterschiede wohl wahr, aber sie erscheinen uns nicht als wesentlich; wissenschaftlich wie praktisch ist uns ihre Individualität gleichgültig; für diese Art Existenzen hat unser Geist kein Verständniss ihres individuellen Seins, wir haben für diese Art Individuen keinen anderen Namen als den ihrer Gattung“ (Droysen 1882:76).

« La France, l'Angleterre, l'Allemagne, la Russie seront encore, dans des centaines d'années, et malgré les aventures qu'elles auront courues, des individualités historiques, les pièces essentielles d'un damier, dont les cases varient sans cesse, mais ne se confondent jamais tout à fait » (Renan 1882 :3)

« Au x^e siècle, dans les premières chansons de geste, qui sont un miroir si parfait de l'esprit du temps, tous les habitants de la France sont des Français » (Renan 1882 :7).

« Et puis le xviii^e siècle avait changé toute chose. L'homme était revenu, après des siècles d'abaissement, à l'esprit antique, au respect de lui-même, à l'idée de ses droits. Les mots de patrie et de citoyen avaient repris leur sens. Ainsi a pu s'accomplir l'opération la plus hardie qui ait été pratiquée dans l'histoire, opération que l'on peut comparer à ce que serait, en physiologie, la tentative de faire vivre en son identité première un corps à qui l'on aurait enlevé le cerveau et le cœur » (Renan 1882 :12).

« Le christianisme, avec son caractère universel et absolu, travaille plus efficacement encore dans le même sens » (Renan 1882 :14).

« Toute conscience gauloise avait péri dès le ii^e siècle de notre ère, et ce n'est que par une vue d'érudition que, de nos jours, on a retrouvé rétrospectivement l'individualité du caractère gaulois » (Renan 1882 :15).

« L'apparition de l'individualité germanique dans l'histoire ne se fait que très peu de siècles avant Jésus-Christ. Apparemment les Germains ne sont pas sortis de terre à cette époque. Avant cela, fondus avec les Slaves dans la grande masse indistincte des Scythes, ils n'avaient pas leur individualité à part » (Renan 1882 :17).

« Le fait de la race, capital à l'origine, va donc toujours perdant de son importance. L'histoire humaine diffère essentiellement de la zoologie. La race n'y est pas tout, comme chez les rongeurs ou les félins, . et on n'a pas le droit d'aller par le monde tâter le crâne des gens, puis les prendre à la gorge en leur disant : 'Tu es de notre sang ; tu nous appartiens!' En dehors des caractères anthropologiques, il y a la raison, la justice, le vrai, le beau, qui sont les mêmes pour tous » (Renan 1882 :18).

« Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel. Deux choses qui, à vrai dire, n'en font qu'une constituent cette âme, ce principe spirituel. L'une est dans le passé, l'autre dans le présent. L'une est la possession en commun d'un riche legs de souvenirs; l'autre est le consentement actuel, le désir de vivre ensemble, la volonté de continuer à faire valoir l'héritage qu'on a reçu indivis » (Renan 1882 :26).

„Die Betrachtung der geschichtlichen Welt gab uns eine schwere Frage auf. Die Wechselwirkung der Individualeinheiten, ihrer Freiheit, ja ihrer Willkür (diese Worte in dem

Verstande von Namen für das Erlebniß, nicht für eine Theorie genommen), die Verschiedenheit der nationalen Charaktere und der Individualitäten, endlich die aus dem Naturzusammenhang, in welchem dies Alles auftritt, stammenden Schicksale: dieser ganze Pragmatismus der Geschichte bewirkt einen zusammengesetzten weltgeschichtlichen Zweckzusammenhang, vermittelt der Gleichartigkeit der Menschennatur sowie vermittelt anderer Züge in ihr, welche eine Mitarbeit des Einzelnen an einem über ihn selber Hinausreichenden ermöglichen, in den großen Formen der auf freies Ineinandergreifen der Kräfte gegründeten Systeme sowie der äußeren Organisation der Menschheit: in Staat und Recht, wirtschaftlichem Leben, Sprache und Religion, Kunst und Wissenschaft. So entstehen Einheit, Nothwendigkeit und Gesetz in der Geschichte unseres Geschlechts“ (Dilthey 1883:158).

„Inhaltlich angesehen trat hier die Konzeption des Descartes vom mechanischen Zusammenhang des Naturganzen in eine pantheistische Weltansicht, und so wandelte sich eine allgemeine Beseelung der Natur in die Identität der räumlichen Bewegungen mit den psychischen Vorgängen. Erkenntnistheoretisch betrachtet, wurde hier das Wissen aus der Identität des mechanischen Naturzusammenhangs mit der logischen Gedankenverbindung erklärt. Daher enthält diese Identitätslehre weiter die Erklärung der *psychischen* Vorgänge nach einem mechanischen, sonach logischen Zusammenhang in sich: die *objektive* und *universelle* metaphysische *Bedeutung* des *Logismus*. In dieser Rücksicht drückt die Attributenlehre die *unmittelbare* Identität des Kausalzusammenhangs in der Natur mit der logischen Verknüpfung der Wahrheiten im menschlichen Geiste aus“ (Dilthey 1883:493).

“Closely allied with these tribal or ethnic communities based upon identity of recent descent, is the association which binds together small colonies of foreign immigrants under names denoting little more than their origin” (Ibbetson 1883:§343, p. 177).

“The tribe (*tuman*) under its chief or *tumandár* is sub-divided into a small number of clans (*pára*) with their *muqaddams* or headmen, and each clan into more numerous septs (*phalli*). Below the *phalli* come the families, of which it will sometimes contain as few as a dozen. The clans are based upon common descent; and identity of clan name, even in two different tribes, almost certainly indicates a common ancestor” (Ibbetson 1883:§380, p. 195).

“The Afrídi were nominally converted to Islám by Mahmúd of Ghazni; but the real conversion of the Pathan tribes dates from the time of Shaháb-ul-dín Ghori, when Arab apostles with the title | of Saiyad and Indian converts who were called Shekh spread through the country, and settled among, married with, and converted the Patháns. The descendants of these holy men still preserve distinct tribal identity, and as a rule claim Saiyad origin” (Ibbetson 1883:§396, p. 202).

“ ... the identity of the Jat and Rájput stock ...” (Ibbetson 1883:§441, p. 236).

“**The Sarrara (Caste No. 118).** – It is perhaps probable that these men are the same as those discussed under the head ‘Sarera’ in the section on Hill Menials. But I have separated them, as their identity is not at all certain” (Ibbetson 1883:§496, p. 272).

“identity of occupation” (Ibbetson 1883:§532, p. 293).

“the identity of divisions” (Ibbetson 1883:§544, p. 297, footnote 1).

“These tribes do not appear to be found in any numbers among the Bhatyára and Bharbhúnja, and we must wait for the detailed tables of clans before we can compare the sub-divisions of those castes, and thus throw light upon the question of their identity or diversity (Ibbetson 1883:§618, p. 325).

“ ‘the identity of Dagi and Chanal’ ” (Anderson in Ebbetson 1883:§650, p. 336).

“The motive of all action is feeling. All great movements in history are preceded and accompanied by strong feelings. And it is those persons whose feelings have been most violent that have exerted the greatest influence upon the tone and character of society” (Ward 1883, vol. I.:11).

“Such is indirect equilibration, survival of the fittest, or, as Mr. Darwin prefers, natural selection. It is a mode of equilibration which only finds an appreciable manifestation after a long series of hereditary transmissions, and which | operates with secular slowness, yet with unerring precision. The only margin for its operation is in the small advantage which an individual, possessing a slight variation from the general characters of its race, has over its fellows in the struggle for existence, in the slightly increased probability that such an individual, in consequence of this advantage, will live to the age of fertility, and be able to transmit this peculiarity to its offspring” (Ward 1883, vol. I.:179-80).

“He [Spencer] nowhere recognizes the important facts, pointed out in the Introduction to the present work ... that there has been no progress in the character of these rules of conduct since the days of Confucius and Hillel; that real moral advancement does not depend upon such rules, but upon the character of the people; that it is *character* created by other circumstances, which determines the codes of ethics, and not the codes of ethics that determine the character of any people” (Ward 1883:216).

“personal identity, consciousness, and memory of former states” (Ward 1883, vol. I:691).

“identity of religion and science” (Ward 1883, vol. II:iv).

« ... si l’identité de race crée entre les peuples l’identité de destinée ... » (Gobineau 1884 :295).

« ... leur identité primitive avec la famille sanscrite » (Gobineau 1884 :309).

« Ainsi, l’existence des castes ne suppose pas en elle-même l’identité des peuples, puisqu’elle existe chez les Germains ... » (Gobineau 1884 :314).

« S’il y avait identité parfaite entre les deux races, ... » (Gobineau 1884 :498).

“The steady and circumspect habit of Haven’s mind was conspicuous in his treatment of the mounds. It is to him that the later advocates of the identity of their builders with the race of the red Indians look as the first sensibly to affect public opinion in the matter” (Winsor 1884:400).

“There is nothing about Indian life so interesting as its lore. The Indian, like his possible Mongolian ancestor, lives less in the present than in the past. His spirit loves to roam through

the dark, wild vistas of antiquity and dream of the marvels which he devoutly believes caused all things to become as they are” (Cushing [1884-85] 1920:54).

“In order that this national trait may be appreciated at its true worth, I must speak | of another native characteristic so at variance with the first that a return to the latter topic will be essential presently, to reconcile us to the belief that both may pertain at the same time to a single people. The stinginess of the Zunis, to put it mildly, is quite as celebrated as their profuse hospitality” (Cushing [1884-85] 1920:526-527).

“In the year 1608 Captain John Smith of the Jamestown colony in Virginia, proceeded upon an exploring expedition up the Chesapeake bay. In the course of this expedition he encountered and held communication with numerous nations or tribes of Indians then occupying the shores of the bay and its immediate vicinity. All these Indians lived in continual dread of a tribe known to them by the name of ‘Massawomekes.’ In the language of Smith:

“Beyond the mountains from whence is the head of the river Patawomeke (Potomac), the Savages report, inhabit their most mortal enemies, the Massawomekes, upon a great salt water, which, by all likelihood, is either some part of Canada, some great lake, or some inlet of some sea that falleth into the South sea. These Massawomekes are a great nation and very populous.’

“Smith further relates that the other tribes, especially the Patawomekes, the Patuxents, the Sasquesahannocks and the Tockwoughes, were continually tormented by them, complained bitterly of their cruelty and were | very importunate with him that he should free them from their assaults. This Smith determined to do, and had not his project been vetoed by the colonial council, the history and identity of this people would not now, in all likelihood, be enshrouded in such a mantle of doubt” (Royce 1885:38-39).

“I regard, therefore, the single volunteer remark as to their having the same language with the Hurons as having less weight in the scale of probabilities than the accumulated evidence of their identity with the Massawomekes and Chaouanous. It is, at any rate, scarcely entitled to more weight than the assertion of Captain Smith that the Massawomekes and Sasquesahannocks could not understand each other except by the aid of interpreters, the latter being of Iroquois stock and occupying territory adjoining that of the former. This identity having been assumed, and the Eries having, by all accounts, been conquered and dispersed about 1655, it remains to trace the remnant in their wanderings across the face of the country” (Royce 1885:43).

Note: In title, Royce seems to use “identity” in the sense of distinctiveness, but in the quotations he uses it in the sense of sameness.

“The French pioneer who entered this ancient wooded wilderness with the flavor of mediaeval chivalry, bearing the sword and the crucifix, was pushed forward by the reviving commercial spirit, and came to trade. He established posts – half military, half commercial – but never became a settler. Even in his temporary contacts with the influences of the forest, he largely succumbed and lost his Gaelic identity. Not so with the more stolid, unimpressible nature of the Englishman. He presented more resistance, and yielded more slowly to the modifying and moulding forces around him. But they found their way at last to the springs of

his life and character, and modified, altered, but never wholly transformed him” (White 1885:626).

“I do not think the population of the Chippewas of Lake Superior is increasing any; in fact I think the tendency is the other way. The number of mixed-bloods is increasing every year, and Indians are leaving the reservations, owing to the limited facilities for making a living thereon, and mixing with the whites in the neighboring towns, taking their places and endeavoring to hold their own in the mad struggle for existence. That they will be able to preserve their identity as a people in this contest I do not for a moment credit, and in a few short years the Chippewa Indian will be a rare sight in this region, as he is now a common one” (Gregory 1886:255).

“Ueber die merkwürdige Identität von Wasserscheide und Kulturgrenze in dieser Gegen vgl. ...“ (Lamprecht 1886:64, footnote 1).

“An ancient identity of mental status and the working of similar mental forces at the attempt to explain the same phenomena will account, without any theory of borrowing, or transmission of myth, or of original unity of race, for the world-wide diffusion of many mythical conceptions” (Lang 1887, vol. I:38).

“the identity of soma with the moon” (Lang 1887, vol. I:228).

“As life was ruled by the idea of death; so was fact conquered by dream, and all realities hastened to lose themselves in symbols; all gods rushed to merge their identity in the sun, as moths fly towards the flame of a candle” (Lang 1887, vol. II:83).

“The author who drew this figure was certainly not of M. Renan’s mind as to the identity of the patriarchal and the nomadic life” (Smith [1887] 1912:611).

„So sind allgemeine oder wissenschaftliche Begriffe, Sätze, Systeme Werkzeugen vergleichbar, durch welche für besondere gegebene Fälle ein Wissen oder wenigstens Vermuthen erreicht wird; das Verfahren des Gebrauches ist die Einsetzung der besonderen Namen und aller Bedingungen des gegebenen für diejenigen des fictiven und allgemeinen Falles: das Verfahren des Syllogismus. Dieses ist in aller angewandten Wissenschaft mit höchst mannigfacher Ausbildung enthalten (als das Denken nach dem Satze vom Grunde), wie aller reinen Wissenschaft die Beziehung auf ein System von Namen (eine Terminologie), welches auf die einfachste Weise durch das Zahlensystem dargestellt wird (als das Denken nach dem Satze der Identität)“ (Tönnies 1887:xxii).

„Und so ist auch die Stadt, nach der aristotelischen Beschreibung, und nach der Idee, welche ihren natürlichen Erscheinungen unterliegt, ein sich selbst genügender Haushalt, ein gemeinschaftlich lebender Organismus. Wie auch immer ihre empirische Entstehung sein mag, ihrem Dasein nach muss sie als Ganzes betrachtet werden, in Bezug worauf die einzelnen Genossenschaften und Familien, aus welchen sie besteht, in nothwendiger Abhängigkeit sich befinden. So ist sie mit ihrer Sprache, ihrem Brauch, ihrem Glauben, wie mit ihrem Boden, ihren Gebäuden und Schätzen, ein Beharrendes, das den Wechsel vieler Generationen überdauert, und theils aus sich selber, theils durch Vererbung und Erziehung ihrer Bürgerhäuser, wesentlich gleichen Charakter und Denkungsart immer auf’s Neue hervorbringt“ (Tönnies 1887:42).

„Wesenwille verhält sich also zu der Thätigkeit, worauf er sich bezieht, wie eine Kraft zu der Arbeit, welche sie leistet. Daher ist irgendwelche seine Gestaltung in jeder Thätigkeit, als deren Subject ein individueller menschlicher Organismus verstanden wird, nothwendiger Weise mitgesetzt; eben als dasjenige, was in psychischem Sinne solche Individualität ausmacht“ (Tönnies 1887:100).

“Cf. C. C. Royce on the identity and history of the Shawnees in *Mag. of Western History*, May, 1885, p. 38” (Winsor 1887:563, footnote 5).

“Notwithstanding the fact that in the Mahâbharâta, Rudra, like Hercules, is described as the ‘destroyer of serpents,’ he is in the same poem identified with Mahadeva, and hence he is evidently the same as Siva, who has the title of King of Serpents. The primitive character of Siva, as the Vedic Rudra, is now almost lost, but the identity of the two deities may be supported by reference to an incident related in the myth | of Hermes and Apollo” (Wake 1888:85-86; [sic]).

“Elsewhere I have endeavoured to show that the name of the great ancestor of Hebrew tradition has | been preserved by certain peoples who may thus be classed together as Adamites. He appears, indeed, to be the recognised legendary ancestor of the members of that division of mankind whose primeval home we can scarcely doubt was in Central Asia, answering in this respect to the Seth of the Semites. According to the tradition, however, as handed down to us by the Hebrews, Seth himself was the son of Adam. From this, it would seem to follow that, as Seth was the serpent sun-god (the Agatho-dæmon), the legendary ancestor of the Adamites must himself have partaken of the same character” (Wake 1888:99-100).

“Jeremiah, in the full consciousness of the falsehood of all religions except that of Israel, remarks that no nation changes its gods although they be no gods: a nation’s worship remains as constant as its political identity” (Smith 1889:37).

“On the other hand, all social fusion between two communities tended to bring about a religious fusion also. This might take place in two ways. Sometimes two gods were themselves fused into one, as when the mass of the Israelites in their local worship of Jehovah identified Him with the Baalim of the Canaanite high places, and carried over into His worship the ritual of the Canaanite shrines, not deeming that in so doing they were less truly Jehovah worshippers than before. This process was greatly facilitated by the extreme similarity in the attributes ascribed to different local or tribal gods, and the frequent identity of the divine titles. One Baal hardly differed from another, except in being connected with a different kindred or a different place, and when the kindreds were fused by intermarriage, or lived together in one village on a footing of social amity, there was nothing to keep their gods permanently distinct. In other cases, where the several deities brought together by the union of their worshippers into one state were too distinct to lose their individuality, they continued to be worshipped side by side as allied divine powers, and it is to this kind of process that we | must apparently ascribe the development of a Semitic pantheon or polytheistic system” (Smith 1889:39-40)

“But when there was no altar left except at Jerusalem, the identity of slaughter and sacrifice could no longer be maintained ...” (Smith 1889:220).

“The identity of religious occasions and festal seasons may indeed be taken as the determining characteristic of the type of ancient religion generally ...” (Smith 1889:237).

“the identity of feast and sacrifice in Greece ...” (Smith 1889:237 footnote 1).

“A hint as to the identity of the god to whom the dog was sacred may perhaps be got from Jacob of Sarug, who mentions ‘the Lord with the dogs’ as one of the deities of Carrhæ” (Smith 1889:273).

“In like manner at the annual sacrifice at Thebes to the Ram-god Amen, the worshippers bewailed the victim, thus declaring its kinship with themselves, while, on the other hand, its kinship or identity with the god was expressed in a twofold way, for the image of Amen was draped in the skin of the sacrifice, while the body was buried in a sacred coffin” (Smith 1889:284).

“the identity of the later Carnain or Carnion with Ashtaroth ...” (Smith 1889:292 footnote 3).

“the fundamental identity of the Roman and the Eastern service ...” (Smith 1889:454).

“It is to him that the later advocates of the identity of their builders with the race of the red Indian’s look as the first sensibly to affect public opinion in the matter” (Winsor 1889:400, quoted in Hallowell 1960:78, footnote 12).

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“Many of the Syrians united with the Hamitic residents on the coast, so that the Phoenicians became largely Semitized. All these nations were in constant intercourse with the highly developed civilization of Egypt, as is shown by the Mosaic books, and from that source derived most of the germs of their intellectual growth. In spite of their love of travel and commerce, in spite of their dispersion over the earth, this group has retained a striking individuality. Many ethnographers charge it against the Jews that the presence of blondes among them, and of brachycephalic heads, proves a crossing of the blood. This is not the case. The Semitic stock is a markedly white type of the race, and in all ages fair complexion, light eyes and hair, have been admired as especially beautiful. This is repeatedly referred to in the Hebrew Scriptures, and is shown by observation among these people at the present day” (Brinton 1890:38).

“verbal identity” – a ref. to ling. cognates (Brinton 1890:65)

“This love of combat at once separates and unites nations. To destroy the common foe, the bonds of national or tribal unity are drawn the tighter; and the aversion to the enemy tends to the preservation of the ethnic type” (Brinton 1890:76).

“psychical identity” used in the sense of psychic unity (Brinton 1890:82)

“ ‘Ethnic unity in Europe rests not upon racial identity, but racial (anatomical) diversity’ ” (J. Kollmann from *Verhand der Berliner Anthropol. Gesell.* 1889, S. 332, quoted in -& presumably translated by – Brinton 1890:108-109, footnote).

“identity of the Iberians and the Berbers” (Brinton 1890:122).

“Russian literature, which has lately become the vogue in other nations, is introspective and unhealthy, oriental in its spirit, occidental in its cravings” (Brinton 1890:166).

“As Prof Gerland has well said, there is something in the Semitic character which is complementary to that of the Aryan, and it is not without significance that the surprising development of the latter began when the religious prejudices against the Jews commenced to yield to more enlightened sentiments (Brinton 1890:299).

“The Moqui rank among the most staid and conservative of all Arizona Indians, and everything about them wears an antique appearance – their walled habitations on lofty cliffs, to which fuel, produce, and water are carried with great labor; their old-time customs, of which they are very tenacious; their strange pagan shrines and rites, perpetuated from times immemorial; their grotesque snake dances; their peculiar form of self-government; their repugnance to education; their jealous guarding against any modification of tribal ideas and customs; their shrinking timidity in the presence of hostile invaders; and their unchanging identity for centuries. Such are the Moqui whom we seek to assimilate to our civilization and incorporate into our national life” (Dorchester 1890:249).

“It cannot be insisted upon too strongly that identity of speech does not imply identity of race, any more than diversity of speech implies diversity of race” (Taylor 1890:5).

“Broca has laid down the axiom that the ethnic characteristics of the first order of importance are not linguistic but physical. As to the nature of the speech of the neolithic peoples of Europe we have inferences rather than any positive facts to guide us. As to their physical characteristics the evidence is abundant and conclusive. This evidence consists partly of the statements of Greek and Roman writers, but is derived mainly from the measurements of skulls. The shape of the skull is one of the least variable characteristics of race, so much so that the skulls from prehistoric tombs make it possible to prove that the neolithic inhabitants of Europe were the direct ancestors of the existing races” (Taylor 1890:63).

“In both races the distinctive characters are less highly accentuated in the skulls of the women, as will be | seen from the representations of two female skulls from the Yorkshire wolds – one a long skull of the Iberian type, orthognathous, with an index of 68, from a barrow on Sherburn wold; the other a broad skull of the Celtic type, from a neighbouring barrow at Flixton, strongly prognathous, and with an index of 82” (Taylor 1890:73-74).

“The skulls have been described by Paul Broca, the most eminent of French anthropologists, whose careful measurements establish the identity of this race with the long barrow people of Britain” (Taylor 1890:94).

“The communal ownership of food and the great hospitality practiced by the Indian have had a very much greater influence upon his character than that indicated in the foregoing | remarks. The peculiar institutions prevailing in this respect gave to each tribe or clan a profound interest in the skill, ability and industry of each member” (Powell 1891:34-35).

Powell declines “to accept Sibley’s statement of its [the language of the Karankawa] identity with Attakapa” (Powell 1891:82).

“The fashion, prevalent among many peoples, of transforming parts of the body, affords a good illustration of their ideas | about personal beauty. The Indians of North America, who have a low and flat forehead, often exaggerate this natural peculiarity by an artificial flattening of the forehead. In Tahiti, Samoa, and other islands of the Pacific Ocean, it has been customary from time immemorial to flatten the occiputs and to press the noses of the infants, as Professor Gerland observes, in order to increase a national characteristic which is considered beautiful” (Westermarck 1891:262-263).

“We may thus take for granted that racial peculiarities stand in some connection with the external circumstances in which the various races live. It may perhaps be objected that we meet with native tribes of various types on the same degree of latitude, and under the same climatic conditions. But we must remember that it is often impossible to decide whether the conditions of life are exactly the same; that intermixture of blood has caused a great confusion of racial types; and that all peoples have arrived at their present localities after more or less extensive migrations. We may be sure that some characters have been preserved from earlier times when the race lived in other circumstances, and that the higher its degree of civilization the less likely it would be to lose the stamp impressed upon it” (Westermarck 1891:271).

“With reference to the Isabella Reservation in Michigan: “These Indians are few in number, are living in a well-settled and civilized community, and are rapidly becoming merged into the general population of the State and losing their identity as Indians” (Morgan 1892:124).

« On a objecté aux utilitaires qu'on ne pouvait pas conclure de la solidarité des intérêts à leur identité ; mais il en est de même de la solidarité des perfections. Il faut choisir : si mon premier devoir est d'être une personne, je dois réduire au minimum tout ce qu'il y a d'impersonnel en moi » (Durkheim 1893 :9).

« Chacun de nous a ses opinions, ses croyances, ses aspirations propres, et y tient. Il vient même se mêler à l'al- | truisme, car il arrive que nous avons une manière à nous d'être altruiste qui tient à notre caractère personnel, à la tournure de notre esprit, et dont nous refusons de nous écarter » (Durkheim 1893 :216-217).

« L'accroissement de la division du travail est donc dû à ce fait que les segments sociaux perdent de leur individualité, que les cloisons qui les séparent deviennent plus perméables, en un mot qu'il s'effectue entre eux une coalescence qui | rend la matière sociale libre pour entrer dans des combinaisons nouvelles» (Durkheim 1893 :282-283).

“On peut se demander cependant si, dans les sociétés organisées, l'organe ne joue pas le même rôle que le segment, si l'esprit corporatif et professionnel ne risque pas de remplacer l'esprit de clocher et d'exercer sur les individus la même pression. Dans ce cas, il ne gagneraient rien au changement. Le | doute est d'autant plus permis que l'esprit de caste a eu certainement ce effet, est que la caste est un organe social. On sait aussi combien l'organisation des corps de métiers a, pendant longtemps, gêné le développement des variations individuelles » (Durkheim 1893 :335-336).

« Le type moyen résulte de la superposition des types individuels et exprime ce qu'ils ont le plus en commun. Par conséquent, les traits dont il est formé sont d'autant plus définis qu'ils se répètent plus identiquement chez les différents membres du groupe ; car quand cette identité

est complète, ils s'y retrouvent intégralement avec tous leurs caractères et jusque dans leurs nuances » (Durkheim 1893 :364).

“Individualism in America has allowed a laxity in regard to governmental affairs which has rendered possible the spoils system and all the manifest evils that follow from a lack of a highly developed civil spirit” (Turner 1894:223).

“The humor, bravery, and rude strength, as well as the vices of the frontier in its worst aspect, have left traces on American character, language, and literature, not soon to be effaced” (Turner 1894:223, footnote).

“REPORT OF YAKIMA AGENCY.

“YAKIMA AGENCY, Fort Simcoe, Wash., August 27, 1894.

“SIR: In compliance with the Department regulations, I have the honor to submit my first annual report of this agency for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894.

“... This reservation is said to be the finest body of land in the State. It is more than 40 miles square and contains about 800,000 acres. The beautiful Yakima River forms the eastern boundary and will furnish water for irrigation whenever the fields adjacent to it shall be improved.

“At present, this portion of the reservation is the home of the ‘wild Yakimas.’ They refuse to take their land by allotments, but have marked off’ a line which they claim as their reservation in common. Of 14 tribes originally assigned to this reservation, 13 have lost their identity by intermarriage and have ceased to keep up their separate tribal relations; but the tribe known as the Yakimas, proper, have never given up these relations, and keep separate and apart from other Indians, having their own chief and head men. They have never accepted blankets, rations, or any help from the Government, refusing to send their children to school, or to recognize the agent in any way, claiming that their ‘Tyee’ is a military officer at Vancouver. They live by doing the smallest possible amount of wild farming, selling wild hay to the townspeople, and fishing in the streams. These Indians hold to their ancient customs and forms of religion. They are called ‘Sun-worshipers’ and have great religious festivals in an immense tepee. They decorate with paint and feathers in a manner sufficient to justify any terrors that have been associated with the thoughts of the red man, and loftily ignore all efforts to better their condition or to educate their children” (Erwin 1895:325-326).

„Die Gutshöfe des Ostens waren die Stützpunkte der über das Land dislocirten herrschenden Klasse Preußens, der soziale Anschlußpunkt des Beamtentums, – aber unaufhaltsam rückt mit ihrem Zerfall, mit dem Schwinden des sozialen Charakters des alten Grundadels, der Schwerpunkt der politischen Intelligenz in die Städte. Diese Verschiebung ist das entscheidende politische Moment der agrarischen Entwicklung des Ostens!“ (Weber 1895:28).

„Und nachdem so die Einheit der Nation errungen war und ihre politische „Sättigung“ feststand, kam über das aufwachsende | erfolgstrunkene und friedensdurstige Geschlecht des deutschen Bürgertums ein eigenartig „unhistorischer“ und unpolitischer Geist. Die deutsche Geschichte schien zu Ende. Die Gegenwart war die volle Erfüllung der vergangenen Jahrtausende, – wer wollte fragen, ob die Zukunft anders urteilen möchte?“ (Weber 1895:28-29).

„Auch angesichts der gewaltigen Not der Massen der Nation, welche das geschärfte soziale Gewissen der neuen Generation belastet, müssen wir aufrichtig bekennen: schwerer noch

lastet auf uns heute das Bewußtsein unserer Verantwortlichkeit vor der Geschichte“ (Weber 1895:34).

“The original, and elementary subjective fact in society is *the consciousness of kind*. By this term I mean a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes another conscious being as of like kind with itself. Such a conscious-ness may be an effect of impression and imitation, but it is not the only effect that they produce. It may cause contract and alliance, but it causes other things as well. It is therefore less general than impression and imitation, which are more general than association. It is more general than contract and alliance, which are less general than association. It acts on conduct in many ways, and all the conduct that we can properly call social is determined by it. In short, it fulfils the sociological requirement; it is coextensive with potential society and with nothing else” (Giddings 1896:17-18).

“identity of race with language” (Giddings 1896:254).

“identity of horde and clan” (Giddings 1896:259)

“identity of stock” (Giddings 1896:275 footnote 1).

„Ebenso wenig hat sich jemals, so lange die Welt steht, eine revolutionäre Klasse für eine Kunst begeistert, die ihr Kleid mit advokatorischer Bürste von jedem revolutionären Fäserchen reinigt. Das giebt es einfach nicht. Die Aristarche der modernen Kunst haben gemeint, die Arbeiter wollten wohl Marx und Lassalle dramatisirt haben, indessen braucht das moderne Proletariat glücklicherweise nicht erst von den Herren Brahm und Schlenther eine zweifelhafte Aesthetik zu lernen. Wie wenig seine Abneigung gegen die moderne Kunst mit einer unkünstlerischen Tendenz zu thun hat, beweist seine Begeisterung für die Klassiker, in denen es keine Spur seines Klassenbewußtseins, aber wohl jenes freudige Kampfelement findet, das es an der modernen Kunst vermißt“ (Mehring 1896:139).

„II. Das historische Individuum

„Das Historische in seiner denkbar weitesten Bedeutung, in der es mit der empirischen Wirklichkeit selbst zusammenfällt, bildete die Grenze der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung sowohl durch seine Anschaulichkeit als auch durch seine Individualität. Nun kann die wirkliche empirische Anschauung von keiner Wissenschaft so dargestellt werden, wie sie ist, denn sie bleibt unter allen Umständen unübersehbar mannigfaltig. Anders dagegen steht es mit der Individualität. Wenn sie uns auch stets anschaulich gegeben ist, so folgt daraus noch nicht, dass sie mit der Anschauung identisch sei. Das Problem der historischen Begriffsbildung besteht demnach darin, ob eine wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung und Vereinfachung der anschaulichen Wirklichkeit möglich ist, ohne dass wie in der Naturwissenschaft zugleich auch die Individualität verloren geht; d. h. ob aus der unübersehbaren Mannigfaltigkeit des anschaulichen Inhalts bestimmte Bestandtheile so herausgehoben und zu Begriffen zusammengeschlossen werden können, dass sie nicht das einer Mehrheit Gemeinsame, sondern das nur an einem Individuum Vorhandene darstellen. So allein werden Denkgebilde entstehen, die auf den Namen eines historischen Begriffes Anspruch haben“ (Rickert 1896:336-337).

Note: In Rickert 1896 & 1899, „Identität“ (in philosophical sense of sameness) appears only a few times, whereas „Individualität“ appears multiple times. The quotation given above is typical.

„Denkt man an die Formen der historischen Wirklichkeitsauffassung, so muss klar sein, dass die ethischen Gebote zwar für jeden Menschen gelten, dass aber der sehr allgemeine und daher sehr inhaltsarme Begriff des Menschen ganz ungeeignet zur Bestimmung der ethischen Ideale ist, und dass vielmehr ein ausgeprägter nationaler | Charakter als eminenterer ethischer Werth gelten muss, solange der einzelne Mensch den grössten Theil seiner Pflichten nur als Glied des historischen Zusammenhangs zu erfüllen vermag, den wir Nation nennen. Man kann dabei den Begriff der Nation weiter oder enger fassen, d. h. man kann z. B. die gemeinsame Sprache als das nationale Band betrachten oder die Zugehörigkeit zu einem nationalen Staate als das entscheidende Moment ansehen. Besonders im letzteren Falle wird hervortreten, dass es sich dabei um Probleme handelt; die im Zusammenhange mit der Frage stehen, wie weit die Geschichtsschreibung politisch sein, d. h. den nationalen Staat in das Centrum ihrer Darstellung bringen muss. Hegel, der seine geschichtsphilosophischen Gedanken um den Staatsbegriff sich drehen liess, konnte auch die konkrete Sittlichkeit nur im Staate erblicken, und zweifellos steckt in Hegels politischer Geschichtsauffassung ebenso wie in seiner Gegenüberstellung der Sittlichkeit und der Moralität ein Stück tiefer Wahrheit. Doch wie dem auch sei, immer gewinnt das Ganze, dem der Einzelne angehört, nur durch seine Individualität eine Bedeutung, und es ist daher ethische Pflicht, vor Allem Glied einer Nation zu sein, da wir die meisten unserer Pflichten überhaupt nur als nationale Glieder zu erfüllen vermögen. Wie der Einzelne so hat auch jedes Volk oder, um mit Fichte zu reden, die ‚Einzelheit im Grossen und Ganzen‘ stets eine individuelle Aufgabe, die kein anderes Volk haben kann, und nur durch Herausarbeitung der nationalen Eigenart ist daher in der Welt etwas zu leisten. Ja, viel unbefangener und rücksichtsloser als das einzelne Individuum wird ein Volk, das sich seiner Aufgaben bewusst ist, seine Individualität durchsetzen dürfen, weil hier die Grenze zwischen individueller Laune und werthvoller Individualität viel leichter zu ziehen ist. Wer im Dienste | der Nationalen Eigenart arbeitet, hat immer positiv bestimmte Kulturziele vor sich. Wer nur ‚Mensch‘ sein will, der will etwas sein, das er längst ist, und das er daher nicht erst zu wollen braucht. So vermag uns das historische Denken von ethischen Idealen zu befreien, die für Viele heute noch einen grossen Reiz haben, und die sich doch als armselig und inhaltlos erweisen, sobald man ihnen die Fülle des geschichtlichen Lebens gegenüberstellt. Um so trauriger muss zugleich der Anblick stimmen, dass auch in die Geschichtswissenschaft selbst eine Richtung ihren Einzug hält, die alle grossen Errungenschaften des geschichtlichen Denkens wieder zu zerstören sucht, indem sie aus der Geschichte eine Naturwissenschaft machen möchte, und in vagen Allgemeinbegriffen den Reichthum des individuellen nationalen Lebens verlieren muss.

„Wir können sogar noch einen Schritt weiter gehen und sagen, dass es geradezu unmöglich ist, im Allgemeinmenschlichen ein ethisches Ideal zu sehen, sobald man mit dem Begriffe Ernst macht und das darunter versteht, was alle Menschen umfasst. Die Behauptung, der von aller nationalen Besonderheit freie Mensch sei die wahre ethische Blüthe, ist noch niemals konsequent durchgeführt worden, sondern man hat auch dort einen mehr oder weniger ausgeprägten nationalen Typus als Ideal aufgestellt, wo man sich für das allgemein Menschliche zu begeistern glaubte. Ein deutliches Beispiel dafür bildet das sogenannte Humanitätsideal, das seine inhaltlichen Bestimmungen durchaus bestimmten historischen Gebilden, zum Theil dem Griechenthum entnahm. Der nationale Typus aber, den man hier dem Menschheitsideale unwillkürlich substituirt, war selbstverständlich nicht ein Durchschnittstypus sondern ebenso ein absolut historischer Typus, wie jeder nationale Typus es ist, d. h. ein Typus, in dem sich vorbildliche Cha- | rakterzüge finden, die von einer

verhältnissmässig kleinen Anzahl von Individuen stammen, ja von denen mancher sogar nur an einzelnen historischen Persönlichkeiten zu konstatiren sein wird. Man möge sich also ein noch so kosmopolitisches Ideal zurecht machen, es wird immer Züge tragen, die seine Herkunft von nationalen Gebilden deutlich verrathen. Wird dies aber nicht ausdrücklich beachtet, sondern stellen sich diese nationalen Züge nur unwillkürlich ein, so scheinen sie ethisch gewissermassen zu Unrecht zu bestehen, und es kann dann auch der Begriff der Humanität nur verwirrend wirken“ (Rickert 1896:722-724).

“Now what is liberty? It is the spirit by, and the principles according to, which government is resisted!” (Seeley [1896] 1919:101).

“we should be slow to allege mere national character in explanation of great historical phenomena. No explanation is so obvious, or suggests itself so easily. No explanation is so vague, cheap, and so difficult to verify. Why did the English gain freedom early? Any one can answer, because they are English, and it is the nature of Englishmen to love liberty. I call this a cheap explanation. It is easily given, and almost impossible to verify. It is the more suspicious, because it gratifies national vanity. For these reasons it seems to me that this explanation ought to be regarded in general as inadmissible” (Seeley [1896] 1919: 134).

“There have been four decrees in the case of the Shawnees, viz:

“1. June 12, 1893, fixing their status in the Cherokee Nation ... determining the number of the Cherokee Nation as 26,771, and that 624 of that number were Shawnees entitled to 624/26771 of \$593,625 (grass-money fund distributed by Cherokees), or \$13,834.08, or \$22.17 per capita ...

“3. January 27, 1896, decreeing that the Secretary of Interior was the official guardian of the Delaware and Shawnee Indians, charged by law with the duty of ascertaining their individual identity, and of determining who were Delawares and who were Shawnees” (Browning 1897:70-71).

“Said commission shall have authority to determine the identity of Choctaw Indians claiming rights to the Choctaw lands under article fourteen of the treaty between the United States and the Choctaw Nation concluded September twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and thirty, and to that end they may administer oaths, examine witnesses, and perform all other acts necessary thereto and make report to the Secretary of Interior.” ...

“The several tribes may, by agreement, determine the right of persons who for any reason may claim citizenship in two or more tribes, and to allotment of lands and distribution of moneys belonging to each tribe; but if no such agreement be made, then such claimant shall be entitled to such rights in one tribe only ...” (Dawes et al. 1898:1072).

„Es ist nun bei dieser Identität afrikanischer Ruderblatt-, Speerspitzen- und Messerklingen - Formen und oceanischer Ruderblätter von ausserordentlichem Werte, auch in Oceanien diese Werkzeuge zur Waffe, und zwar zur Keule umgewandelt zu sehen“ (Frobenius 1898:96).

„Dass in jedem Augenblick diejenigen, welche schon im | vorigen Augenblick der Gruppe angehörten, gegenüber den hinzukommenden die ungeheure Mehrzahl bilden, das rettet die Identität der Gruppe trotz der Tatsache, dass weit voneinander abstehende Augenblicke nicht ein einziges Element mehr gemeinsam haben mögen“ (Simmel 1898:595-596).

„ ... das physiologische Fundament der Selbsterhaltung ist hier durch ein psychologisches ersetzt. Genau gesprochen hängt diese natürlich an dem Maße, in dem ihre Träger eben nicht

wechseln. Aber die in einem gegebenen Augenblick vorhandenen Mitglieder sind eben erst dann sämtlich ausgeschieden, wenn sie mit ihren Nachfolgern lange genug in der Gruppe vereint waren, um diese sich, d. h. dem Geist, der Form, der Tendenz der Gruppe völlig zu assimilieren. Daran, dass dieser Wechsel langsam und allmählich genug ist, hängt die Unsterblichkeit der Gruppe“ (Simmel 1898:597).

“Since at each moment those who were members of the groups in earlier moments constitute a vast majority over the entering members, the identity of the group is saved, in spite of the fact that moments far separated from each other may have no common elements” (Simmel 1898a:669).

“The physiological basis of self-maintenance here gives place to a psychological one. To speak exactly, the preservation of group identity in this case depends, of course, upon the amount of invariability in the vehicles of this unity, but, at all events, the whole body of members belonging in the group at any given moment only separate from the group after they have been associated with their successors long enough to assimilate the latter fully to themselves, i. e., to the spirit, the form, the tendency of the group. The immortality of the group depends upon the fact that the change is sufficiently slow and gradual” (Simmel 1898a:671).

Note: In translating the second passage from Simmel’s text, Small has replaced the pronoun “diese,” which refers to the antecedent “Selbsterhaltung” [der Gruppe], with “group identity.”

“One kind of evidence, however, there is which amid all these conflicting testimonies, affords tolerably-safe guidance. The habitual behaviour to women among any people, indicates with approximate truth, the *average* power of the altruistic sentiments; and the indication thus yielded tells against the character of the primitive man. The actions of the stronger sex to the weaker among the uncivilized are frequently brutal; and even at best the conduct is unsympathetic” (Spencer 1897, vol. I:70).

“One of the less specific in R[ig]. V[eda]. ix, 107, 7, runs – ‘A rishi, a sage, intelligent, thou (Soma) wast a poet, most agreeable to the gods.’ In other places his identity is more specifically stated” (Spencer 1897, vol. I:357).

“It may be said that a society is but a collective name for a number of individuals. Carrying the controversy between nominalism and realism into another sphere, a nominalist might affirm that just as there exist only the members of a species, while the species considered apart from them has no existence; so the units of a society alone exist, while the existence of the society is but verbal. Instancing a lecturer’s audience as an aggregate which by disappearing at the close of the lecture, proves itself to be not a thing but only a certain arrangement of persons, he might argue that the like holds of the citizens forming a nation.

“But without disputing the other steps of his argument, the last step may be denied. The arrangement, temporary in the one case, is permanent in the other; and it is the permanence of the relations among component parts which constitutes the individuality of a whole as distinguished from the individualities of its parts. A mass broken into fragments ceases to be a thing; while, conversely, the stones, | bricks, and wood, previously separate, become the thing called a house if connected in fixed ways” (Spencer 1897, vol. I:447-448).

“When changed conditions cause divergences of forms once alike, the accumulating differences arising in descendants only superficially disguise the original identity – do not prevent the grouping of the several species into a genus” (Spencer 1897, vol. I:549).

“The coat of arms a wealthy man bears, does not necessarily imply descent from men who once had their shields and flags covered by such marks of identity” (Spencer 1897, vol. I:638).

“The members of a primitive horde, loosely aggregated, and without distinctions of power, cooperate for immediate furtherance of individual sustentation, and in a comparatively small degree for corporate sustentation ... But in the course of the struggles for existence between groups thus unorganized, there comes, with the development of such political organization as gives tribal individuality, the struggle to incorporate one another, first partially and then wholly. Tribes which are larger, or better organized, or both, conquer adjacent tribes and annex them, so that they form parts of a compound whole. And as political evolution advances, it becomes a trait of the larger and stronger societies that they acquire appetites prompting them to subjugate and incorporate weaker societies” (Spencer 1898, vol. II:266).

→ “If, then, the process of adoption of this later form, has so changed the gild that, while retaining its identity, it has lost its distinctive trade-character, we are warranted in concluding that ...” (Spencer 1898, vol. II:470).

“Schoolcraft says of the Creeks that their old language (the Seminole) is ‘taught by women to the children as a kind of religious duty’” (Spencer 1898, vol. III:104).

“Thus, looking at it generally, we may say that ecclesiasticism stands for the principle of social continuity. Above all other agencies it is that which conduces to cohesion; not only between the coexisting parts of a nation, but also between its present generation and its past generations. In both ways it helps to maintain the individuality of the society” (Spencer 1898, vol. III:105).

“The rage for uniformity, well illustrated by the minister who boasted that at a given hour all the boys in France were saying the same lesson, is an outcome of a nature which values equality much more than liberty. There is small objection to coercion if all are equally coerced; and hence the tendency to regimentation reappears in one or other form continually. In the days of the Revolution new sets of regulations, replacing sets which had been abolished, ran out into minute details; even to the absurd extent that on a certain appointed fête, mothers, at a specified moment, were to regard their children with tender eyes! Inevitably a national character in which the sentiment of self-ownership offers little resistance to ownership by others, puts little check on the growth of public instrumentalities; be they for external conflicts or internal administrations” (Spencer 1898, vol. III:597-598).

“Über die physische Identität zwischen Kelten und Germanen hat vor kurzem Professor Gabriel de Mortillet so umfassendes Material zusammengetragen, und zwar sowohl anthropologisches als auch die Zeugnisse der altrömischen Schriftsteller, dass ich mich begnügen kann, auf seine *Formation de la nation française*, 1897 (S. 114 fg.) zu verweisen. Sein Schluss lautet: »La caractéristique des deux groups est donc exactement la même et s’applique aussi bien au groupe qui a reçu le nom de Gaulois (mit Kelten synonym, siehe S. 92) qu’au groupe qui depuis les invasions des Cimbres a pris le nom de Germains«” (Chamberlain 1899:468, footnote 1).

“Briefly stated, the commission’s conclusions were that to avail themselves of the ‘privileges of a Choctaw citizen’ in the Indian Territory those claiming under Article XIV of the treaty of 1830 must remove to Indian Territory and there establish a bona fide residence. That upon so doing they became entitled to share in the allotments of land and all other privileges of Choctaw citizens save participation in Choctaw annuities, but that they must be required to establish their identity. Congress thereupon made provision for the identification of Mississippi Choctaws by inserting in the Curtis Act the following paragraph:

“ ‘Said commission shall have authority to determine the identity of Choctaw Indians claiming rights in the Choctaw lands under Article XIV of the treaty between the United States and the Choctaw Nation, concluded September twenty-seventh, eighteen hundred and thirty, and to that end they may administer oaths, examine witnesses, and perform all other acts necessary thereto, and make report to the Secretary of Interior’ ” (Dawes et al. 1899:18).

“The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated” (Spencer & Gillen 1899:119).

“the invidious distinction between classes and employments” (Veblen [1899] 1912:6).

“The whole question as to a class distinction in respect of spiritual make-up is also obscured by the presence, in all classes of society, of acquired habits of life that closely simulate inherited traits and at the same time act to develop in the entire body of the population the traits which they simulate” (Veblen [1899] 1912:242).

“identity of form and color” (Veblen [1899] 1912:128); “the relation amounts to an identity in some of their substantial elements” (Veblen [1899] 1912:292); “as substantial identity of motive” (Veblen [1899] 1912:308).

1900

„Das vollständige Aufgehen des Menschen in der Klasse und im Klassenegoismus war im Mittelalter möglich und vielfach psychologisch natürlich; heute ist das Gleiche Menschen, die an der allgemeinen Bildung, am Staatsgefühl teilhaben, weit schwerer; der obere Teil der Gesellschaft kommt mit andersartigen Klassenelementen mehr in Berührung als früher; die meisten Gebildeten empfinden nur mit einem Bruchteile ihres Wesens die Klassenzugehörigkeit. Sie sind zu individuelle, vielfach auch zu egoistische Menschen, um sich ganz an die Klasse hinzugeben. Daß das nicht für alle Kreise, besonders nicht für die unteren Klassen gelte, darauf komme ich gleich. Auch die letzteren sind durch Schule, Presse, Vereinsleben etwas anders geworden, haben viel gesehen und viel gelernt, haben ein besseres Leben, höhere Bedürfnisse, einen lebendigen Wissensdrang erhalten. Daraus entspringen ihre Fähigkeiten, mehr zu leisten, | aber auch ihre Wünsche, mehr zu erhalten, ihr starker Drang emporzusteigen, die Unmöglichkeit, in stumpfer Resignation und demütiger Bescheidenheit zu verharren wie früher. Ihr Klassenbewußtsein ist erwacht und bethätigt sich nun in einem unwiderstehlichen Zuge nach Vereinigung, nach Zusammenschluß. Und da ihre individualistischen und egoistischen Gefühle weniger ausgebildet sind als bei den oberen Klassen, da sie durch Mangel an Besitz und Familienverbindung &c. ein stärkeres Bedürfnis der gesellschaftlichen Anlehnung haben, in starken Gemütsimpulsen sich noch naiv und ungebrochen ihrem Klassenbewußtsein hingeben, so ist in ihren Kreisen ein Vereinsleben, eine Klassenorganisation entstanden, wie sie einst die oberen Klassen hatten, wie sie heute ihnen aber nicht mehr so leicht und so allgemein gelingt“ (Schmoller 1900:406-407).

“So we learned to call each other by our English names, and continued to do so even after we left school and had grown to manhood.

“The names thus acquired by the boys are used in these sketches in preference to their own, for the reason that ... the boys who figure in these pages might lose their identity and fail to stand out clearly in the mind of the reader were he obliged to continually struggle with their Omaha names” (La Flesche 1901:xiii).

Note: The boys would lose their identity for the reader, not for themselves.

“Identities and Differences of the Human and Brute Mind” (subtitle in Brinton 1902:3)

“race” = “those connected by identity of physical traits” (Brinton 1902:33).

“ethnic groups” (Brinton 1902:33)

“The British had withdrawn from the South, but the Spaniards and French, who claimed the lower Mississippi and the Gulf region and had their trading posts in west Tennessee, took every opportunity to encourage the spirit of hostility to the Americans. But the spirit of the Cherokee nation was broken and the Holston settlements were now too surely established to be destroyed” (Mooney 1902:62).

“Furthermore, as the coast tribes dwindled they were compelled to associate and intermarry with the negroes until they finally lost their identity and were classed with that race, so that a considerable proportion of the blood of the southern negroes is unquestionably Indian” (Mooney 1902:233).

“According to Sequoya's account, as given to Wafford, there had been a long war between the Cherokee and the northern Indians, who were never able to conquer the Cherokee or break their spirit, until at last the Iroquois were tired of fighting and sent a delegation to make peace” (Mooney 1902:353).

“The Yuchi or Uchee ... were a tribe of distinct linguistic stock ... They were gradually dispossessed by the whites, and were incorporated with the Creeks about the year 1740, but retain their separate identity and language to this day, their town being now the largest in the Creek Nation in Indian Territory” (Mooney 1902:385).

“Among other perishing traditions is that relating to the Ani'-Kuta'ni or Ani'-Kwata'ni, concerning whom the modern Cherokee know so little that their very identity is now a matter of dispute, a few holding that they were an ancient people who preceded the Cherokee and built the mounds, while others, with more authority, claim that they were a clan or society in the tribe and were destroyed long ago by pestilence and other calamity” (Mooney 1902:392).

“The Choctaw were one of the largest of the eastern tribes, being exceeded in numbers, if at all, only by the Cherokee; but this apparent superiority was neutralized by their unwarlike character and lack of cohesion” (Mooney 1902:500).

“The Osage were the principal southern Siouan tribe, claiming at one time nearly the whole territory from the Missouri to the Arkansas and from the Mississippi far out into the plains. Their geographic position brought them equally into contact with the agricultural and

sedentary tribes of the eastern country and the roving hunters of the prairie, and in tribal habit and custom they formed a connecting link between the two. Whether or not they deserved the reputation, they were considered by all their neighbors as particularly predatory and faithless in character, and had consequently few friends, but were generally at war with all tribes alike” (Mooney 1902:500).

“The Natchee are reduced to one or two old men, while the Sawanugi have probably lost their identity long ago” (Mooney 1902:499).

“All the smaller tribes excepting the Biloxi were practically extinct, or had entirely lost their identity, before the year 1800” (Mooney 1902:500).

« Les animaux, les hommes, les objets inanimés ont été presque toujours conçus à l'origine comme soutenant les uns avec les autres des rapports de la plus parfaite identité » (Durkheim & Mauss 1903 :5).

“Animals, people, and inanimate objects were originally almost always conceived as standing in relations of the most perfect identity to each other” (Durkheim & Mauss [1903] 1963:7).

« Nous avons vu, en effet, comment c'est sur l'organisation sociale la plus proche et la plus fondamentale que ces classifications ont été modelées. L'expression est même insuffisante. La société n'a pas été simplement un modèle d'après lequel la pensée classificatrice aurait travaillé; ce sont ses propres cadres qui ont servi de cadres au système. Les premières catégories logiques ont été des catégories sociales; les premières classes de choses ont été des classes d'hommes dans lesquelles ces choses ont été intégrées. C'est parce que les hommes étaient groupés et se pensaient sous forme de groupes qu'ils ont groupé idéalement les autres êtres, et les deux modes de groupement ont commencé par se confondre au point d'être indistincts. Les phratries ont été les premiers genres; les clans, les premières espèces. Les choses étaient censées faire partie intégrante de la société et c'est leur place dans la société qui déterminait leur place dans la nature. Même on peut se demander si la manière schématique dont les genres sont ordinairement conçus ne dépendrait pas en partie des mêmes influences. C'est un fait d'observation courante que les choses qu'ils comprennent sont généralement imaginées comme situées dans une sorte de milieu idéal, de circonscription spatiale plus ou moins nettement limitée. Ce n'est certainement pas sans cause que, si souvent, les concepts et leurs rapports ont été figurés par des cercles concentriques, excentriques, intérieurs, extérieurs les uns aux autres, etc. Cette tendance à nous représenter des groupements purement logiques sous une forme qui contraste à ce point avec leur nature véritable ne viendrait-elle pas de ce qu'ils ont commencé par être conçus sous la forme de groupes sociaux, occupant, par suite, un emplacement déterminé dans l'espace? Et, en fait, n'avons-nous pas observé cette localisation spatiale des genres et des espèces dans un assez grand nombre de sociétés très différentes ? » (Durkheim & Mauss 1903 :43).

“The first logical categories were social categories; the first classes of things were classes of men, into which these things were integrated. It was because men were grouped, and thought of themselves in the form of groups, that in their ideas they grouped other things, and in the beginning the two modes | of grouping were merged to the point of being indistinct. Moieties were the first genera; clans, the first species. Things were thought to be integral parts of society, and it was their place in society which determined their place in nature” (Durkheim & Mauss [1903] 1963:82-82).

In a psychological experiment, informants were asked to listen to two sounds, produced by a tuning fork, and to make “a judgment of difference or of identity” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. II, pt. 2, 1903:158).

“It was important that the identity of the performer should be unknown” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. V, 1904:348).

“Before leaving the lion, the hint may perhaps be usefully conveyed that the temptation to over-elaborate the lion when depicting it heraldically should be carefully avoided. The only result is confusion – the very contrary of the essence of heraldic emblazonment, which was, is, and should be, the method of clear advertisement of identity” (Fox-Davies 1904:132).

“The lord and his heir were the two most important members of the family, and all others sunk their identity in their position in the household of their chief unless they were established by marriage, or otherwise, in lordships of their own, in which cases they are usually found to have preferred the arms of the family from whom they inherited the lordships they enjoyed; and their identities being to such a large extent overlooked, the necessity for any system | of marking the arms of a younger son was not so early apparent as the necessity of marking the arms of the heir” (Fox-Davies 1904:340-341).

“when we turn to the arms of women, the condition of affairs is wholly reversed. A woman, who of course retained her identity, drew her position from her marriage and from her husband’s position, and from the very earliest period we find that whilst a man simply bore his own arms, the wife upon her seal displayed both the arms of her own family and the arms of her husband’s” (Fox-Davies 1904:369).

“As an unmarried heiress she undoubtedly was a somebody; as a widowed and richly-jointured dowager she was likewise of account, but as a wedded wife her identity as lost, for the Married Women’s Property Act was not in existence, nor was it thought of” (Fox-Davies 1904:388).

“Commencing at 9 o’clock a. m., Tuesday, July 5, 1904, and ending at 6 o’clock p. m., Saturday, July 23, 1904, a registration will be had at Chamberlain, Yankton, Bonesteel, and Fairfax, State of South Dakota, for the purpose of ascertaining what persons desire to enter, settle upon, and acquire title to any of said lands under the homestead law and of ascertaining their qualifications so to do. To obtain registration each applicant will be required to show himself duly qualified, by written application to be made only on a blank form provided by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, to make homestead entry of these lands under existing laws and to give the registering officer such appropriate matters of description and identity as will protect the applicant and the government against any attempted impersonation” (Roosevelt 1904).

“The identity of the two other plants is not plain” (Thwaites 1904, vol. one, pt. II:307, footnote 1).

„Identität (neulat), Einerleieit, herrscht im weitesten Sinne zwischen Begriffen, wenn sie miteinander vertauscht werden können (Wechselbegriffe), im engern Sinne, wenn sie ein und derselbe Begriff sind. Erstere Art der I. findet zwischen Begriffen statt, die bei verschiedenem Inhalt den selben Umfang besitzen (z. B. gleichseitiges Dreieck und gleichwinkliges Dreieck, denn jedes Dreieck der erstern ist zugleich eins der letztern Art).

Die zweite Art der I. herrscht zwischen Begriffen deren Inhalt und Umfang derselbe ist. Das Denkgesetz der I. (*principium identitatis*), gewöhnlich in der Formel $A = A$ ausgesprochen, beruht auf der Fähigkeit des Geistes, überhaupt begriffliche Übereinstimmungen zu erkennen, und schließt die Forderung ein, nur Übereinstimmendes begrifflich in eins zu setzen (vgl. Widerspruch). Insofern bei gewissen philosophischen Systemen behauptet wird, daß gewisse für fundamental gehaltene Gegensätze, wie z. B. Subjekt (Wahrnehmendes) und Objekt (Wahrgenommenes) oder Denken (welches das Wesen des Geistes) und Ausdehnung (die das Wesen der Materie ausmacht), nur verschiedene Seiten oder Erscheinungsformen ein und desselben Realgrundes seien, werden diese Systeme selbst (Schellings Naturphilosophie, Spinozas All-Einheits-Lehre) *Identitätssysteme* genannt“ (Meyers-Lexikon 1905:738).

„**Identitätsnachweis**, im Zollwesen der Nachweis, daß ein- und ausgeführte Waren miteinander identisch seien, daß es sich in verschiedenen Fällen, in denen Zahlung und Befreiung von Abgaben in Frage kommen, um ein und dieselbe Ware handelt ...“ (Meyers-Lexikon 1905:738).

“From the fourth question the Office understood that the agent had only been requiring allottees to produce their allotment certificates and satisfy him of their identity, and that on their doing this he put them in possession of their lands and removed alleged intruders therefrom, irrespective of whether such allottees had leased their allotments; and the Office was of the opinion that the agent should discontinue such action, and that before removing an alleged intruder, he should ascertain whether the allotment had been legally leased” (Leupp 1906:137).

“The southwestern tribes of Apaches during the last fifty years have had no definable tribal identity, and have been little more than robber bands. Such bands, however, constitute a political entity, which must be recognized by the courts” (Smith 1906:117, footnote 50).

“The conception of ‘primitive society’ which we ought to form is that of small groups scattered over a territory. The size of the groups is determined by the conditions of the struggle for existence. The internal organization of each group corresponds to its size. A group of groups may have some relation to each other (kin, neighborhood, alliance, connubium and commercium) which draws them together and differentiates them from others. Thus a differentiation arises between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the others-groups, out-groups. The insiders in a we-group are in a relation of peace, order, law, government, and industry, to each other. Their relation to all outsiders, or others-groups, is one of war and plunder, except so far as agreements have modified it. If a group is exogamic, the women in it were born abroad somewhere. Other foreigners who might be found in it are adopted persons, guest friends, and slaves” (Sumner 1906:12).

“This shows the original identity of ‘unclean’ and ‘holy.’ Both are under taboo, devoted to higher powers” (Sumner 1906:515).

„I. Die Nation.§1. Der Nationalcharakter“ (Bauer 1907:1; title & subtitle of first chapter).

„Die Frage der Nation kann nur aufgerollt werden aus dem Begriff des Nationalcharakters. Bringen wir den erstbesten Deutschen in ein fremdes Land, etwa mitten unter Engländer, und er wird sich sofort dessen bewusst: das sind andere Menschen, Menschen mit einer anderen Art zu denken, zu fühlen, Menschen, die auf gleichen äusseren Reiz anders reagieren als die gewohnte deutsche Umgebung. Den Komplex der körperlichen und geistigen Merkmale, der

eine Nation von der anderen scheidet, nennen wir vorläufig ihren Nationalcharakter; darüber hinaus haben alle Völker gemeinsame Merkmale, die sie alle uns als Menschen erkennen lassen, und haben andererseits die einzelnen Klassen, Berufe, Individuen jeder Nation individuelle Eigenschaften, Sondermerkmale, die sie voneinander scheiden. Aber dass der Durchschnittsdeutsche vom Durchschnittsengländer verschieden ist, mögen sie auch als Menschen, als Zugehörige derselben Klasse oder desselben Berufes vieles miteinander gemein haben, und dass ein Engländer mit dem anderen in einer Reihe von Merkmalen übereinstimmt, wie sehr sie auch individuelle oder soziale Verschiedenheiten trennen mögen, ist gewiss" (Bauer 1907:2).

„Diese Aufgabe der ursächlichen Erklärung jener relativen Gemeinschaft des Charakters der Nationsgenossen wird nun nicht gelöst, sondern umgangen, wenn man die Handlungen einer Nation und ihrer Nationsgenossen aus einem geheimnisvollen *Volksgeiste*, einer „*Volksseele*“ erklären will. Der Volksgeist ist eine alte Liebe der Romantiker. In die Wissenschaft hat ihn die *historische Rechtsschule* eingeführt. Sie lehrt, dass der Volksgeist in den Individuen eine Gemeinschaft der Rechtsüberzeugung erzeugt, welche entweder schon an sich das Recht ist oder doch die Kraft, die das Recht setzt. Später hat man dann nicht nur das Recht, sondern alle Handlungen, alle Schicksale der Nation als die Manifestation, die Verkörperung des Volksgeistes begreifen zu können geglaubt. Ein eigener Volksgeist, eine Volksseele, ist das Substrat, ist die Substanz der Nation, das Beharrende in allem Wechsel, die Einheit in aller individuellen Verschiedenheit, die Individuen sind blosse modi, blosse Erscheinungsweisen dieser geistigen Substanz.

„Es ist klar, dass auch dieser *nationale Spiritualismus* auf einem Denkfehler beruht“ (Bauer 1907:6).

Note: Bauer links the term *Volksgeist* with the *historische Rechtsschule*!

„Die nationale Wertung entspringt dem Nationalgefühl.; sie lässt sich psychologisch erklären, aber nicht philosophisch rechtfertigen. Trotzdem ist in jüngster Zeit der Versuch einer philosophischen Begründung der nationalen Wertung gemacht worden, und zwar von Heinrich *Rickert* in seiner bekannten Schrift über die ‚Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung,‘ Tübingen 1902. Rickert sucht in dieser Schrift zunächst eine individualistische Ethik zu begründen. Er ersetzt die bekannte Formel des Kantschen kategorischen Imperativs durch den Satz: ‚Du sollst, wenn du gut handeln willst, durch deine Individualität an der individuellen Stelle der Wirklichkeit, an der du stehst, das ausführen, was nur du ausführen kannst, da kein anderer in der überall individuellen Welt genau dieselbe Aufgabe hat wie du, und du sollst dein ganzes Leben ferner so gestalten, dass es sich zu einer teleologischen Entwicklung zusammenschliesst, die in ihrer Totalität als die Erfüllung deiner selbst sich niemals wiederholenden Lebensaufgabe angesehen werden kann‘ (Seite 716 f.). Dieser individualistischen Ethik gibt nun Rickert selbst | auch eine nationale Deutung. Denn unter Individuum versteht er nicht nur den konkreten einzelnen Menschen, sondern auch die konkrete Individuengemeinschaft, die Nation. Jede Nation hat eine individuelle Aufgabe und die Erfüllung dieser Aufgabe, die Herausarbeitung der nationalen Eigenart, ist sittliche Pflicht (722). Dieser Versuch der Begründung einer individualistischen und zugleich nationalen Ethik ist sehr interessant, weil er uns die geschichtlichen Wurzeln der heutigen Bewegung in der Philosophie deutlich erkennen lässt. Eine eingehende Kritik dieser Ethik ist hier nicht möglich, nach der Kritik ihrer erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen durch *Münsterberg* und *M. Adler* vielleicht auch nicht mehr notwendig. Ich möchte nur kurz darauf verweisen, dass sich Rickerts Gedankengang ganz offenbar im Kreise bewegt. Rickert gelangt nämlich zu seiner individualistischen Ethik durch die Erkenntnis, dass der handelnde Mensch niemals

bloss als Exemplar des Gattungsmenschen, sondern immer als Individuum unter individuellen Bedingungen handelt, und glaubt daraus den Schluss ziehen zu dürfen, dass das Gesetz des sittlichen Handelns nicht von dem Gattungsbegriff des Menschen, sondern von dem geschichtlichen Begriff des Individuums auszugehen hat. Nun hat aber das Wort Individuum bei Rickert nicht denselben Sinn, in dem wir es gewöhnlich gebrauchen. Unter dem historischen Individuum versteht nämlich Rickert das, was uns nicht als Gattungsexemplar wichtig ist – wie zum Beispiel irgend ein beliebiges Stück zum Heizen verwendbarer Kohle – sondern in seiner Einzigartigkeit wertvoll ist – wie zum Beispiel der Diamant Cohi-noor. Nicht das ist ihm ein Individuum, was nicht geteilt werden kann, sondern das, was wegen seines Wertes nicht geteilt werden soll. Darnach hat also die Nation nicht darum schon eine historische Individualität, weil sie überhaupt eine Eigenart hat, die sie von anderen scheidet, sondern erst dadurch, dass sie eine wertvolle Eigenart hat. Der Satz: Jeder soll seine Individualität erhalten und entwickeln, bedeutet also nicht: Jeder soll seine Sonderart, wie immer sie sein mag, entwickeln, sondern nur das an seiner Eigenart, was wertvoll ist. Was aber ist wertvoll? Macht erst das Wertvolle die Eigenart zur historischen Individualität, so kann der Massstab des Wertvollen nicht in der Individualität selbst, sondern nur im Ueberindividuellen, im Allgemein-Menschlichen liegen. Die Nation soll ihre Eigenart erhalten. Aber Eigenart ist nur das, was die Nation erhalten soll, was wertvoll ist. Was aber ist wertvoll? So fordert auch Rickerts Gesetz schliesslich einen objektiven Massstab der Werte, der die Sonderart erst zur Individualität macht und darum aller Individualität vorausgeht. So widerlegt Rickert sich selbst. Nimmt man in dem Satz: Jede Nation soll ihre Individualität erhalten und entwickeln, das Wort Individualität im Sinne Rickerts, so ist der Satz eine leere Tautologie: Jeder soll das erhalten, was erhaltenswert ist. Was aber ist wert, erhalten zu werden?“ (Bauer 1907:129-130, footnote 1).

„Die nationale Eigenart ist Jederzeit das Erzeugnis der überlieferten Gesellschaftsverfassung. Entstehen nun revolutionäre Bewegungen, welche die bestehende Gesellschaftsordnung umstürzen, durch eine neue ersetzen wollen, so verweisen bald die an der Erhaltung des Bestehenden Interessierten, also die herrschenden und besitzenden Klassen, darauf, dass die nationale Eigenart durch die bestehende Ordnung der Gesellschaft geschaffen und bedingt ist, dass jeder Umsturz ihrer Rechte und ihres Besitzes die überlieferte nationale Eigenart vernichten oder verändern würde. So | machen sie die nationale Wertung zu einem Werkzeug ihres Klassenkampfes. Als der Kapitalismus die feudale Gesellschaftsordnung bedrohte, lehrte die Gutsherrenklasse, die feudalen Einrichtungen wurzelten im nationalen ‚Volksgeiste‘; der Kapitalismus sei ein fremdes Gewächs, das die nationale Eigenart vernichten werde, darum sei jeder gute Deutsche verpflichtet, die nationale Rechtseinrichtung der Hörigkeit der Bauern gegen die fremde Einrichtung bürgerlicher Rechtsgleichheit zu schützen. Als die Demokratie ihren Einzug in Mitteleuropa hielt, höhnten sie die Machthaber als ein fremdes – englisches oder französisches – Erzeugnis, das dem Nationalcharakter der Deutschen nicht entspreche und ihn vernichten würde ; jeder gute Deutsche sollte daher Absolutismus und Feudalherrschaft stützen. Aehnlich wird heute noch die Freiteilbarkeit der Bauergüter mit dem Argument bekämpft, sie entstamme dem fremden ‚heidnisch-römischen Recht‘ und wird das Anerbenrecht als deutsche Rechtseinrichtung gefordert“ (Bauer 1907:130-131).

„Wie im gewerkschaftlichen Kampfe, so schliesst sich notwendig auch im politischen Kampfe die Arbeiterschaft aller Nationen zusammen. Sie tut dies wiederum nicht aus sentimentaler Schwärmerei für die Befreiung der ganzen Menschheit, sondern in der nüchternen Erwägung, dass die Interessen der Arbeiterschaft aller im Staate

zusammenlebenden Nationen identisch, dagegen den Interessen der besitzenden Klassen aller Nationen entgegengesetzt sind“ (Bauer 1907:272).

“There is no general identity of grammatical particles in the Australian and Dravidian, and there is no considerable correspondence in vocabulary” (Ray 1907:514).

„Der Wert der sozialistischen Aufklärungs- und Organisationsarbeit unter dem Proletariat wird leider hier und da einseitig an ihrer Bedeutung für die Gewinnung von Wahlstimmen und Mandaten gemessen und nicht nach ihrer allseitigen Tragweite für die Revolutionierung der Hirne und die innere Kampfbereitschaft der Massen. Die Frau hat jetzt unmittelbar keine Stimme und kein Mandat zu vergeben. Manchen dünkt daher die Erweckung und Erziehung der Proletarierinnen zum Klassenbewußtsein eine Art Luxus und Zeitvertreib, welchen die Partei mehr zu dulden als zu fördern habe. Sie erachten sie nicht als eine Lebensnotwendigkeit des proletarischen Klassenkampfes, als eine ernste Aufgabe, der sich die Partei mit dem gleichen Eifer widmen muß, wie der Schulung des männlichen Proletariats.“ (Zetkin 1907:45).

„Wir empfehlen zum Abonnement: *In Freien Stunden* unser Unternehmen, das wir hiermit von neuem den Arbeitern, ihren Frauen und der Arbeiterjugend empfehlen, richtet sich gegen die Schundliteratur. Im Hause des aufgeklärten Proletariers, der vernünftigen Proletarierin, darf kein Platz sein für das traurige Zeug jener Kolportageromane, die Geist und Gemüt verderben, in durchaus verlogener Weise das Leben schildern und oft genug darauf berechnet sind, den Geist des Volkes einzuschläfern, sein Klassenbewußtsein zu ersticken, seine Kampfesfreude zu lähmen“ (Advertisement of the Buchhandlung Vorwärts, backmatter in Zetkin 1907)

„Jetzt, im Gegensatz gegen dies aus Interesse und Ideal zusammengewebte System, wird uns die geschichtliche Bedeutung und Größe der Rankischen Konzeption erst ganz klar. Sie behielt, was fruchtbar an ihm war und was auch nicht aus ihm, sondern aus der klassischen und romantischen Bewegung herstammte, den Gedanken der Kultumation, des Volksgeistes, der eigenartigen geistigen und neue geistige Individualitäten erzeugenden Nationalität, aber der daraus auch von ihm gewonnene konservative Nationalstaatsgedanke diente ihm nun nicht zur Beschränkung der nationalstaatlichen Autonomie, sondern umgekehrt zu ihrer Rechtfertigung und Kräftigung. Mit festen Schritten tritt sein Nationalstaat in die Welt und folgt in allem nur der Stimme seines inneren Genius“ (Meinecke 1908:292).

“they would seek to discover his identity” and “confusion as to the identity or duality of Bomai and Malu” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. VI, 1908:263, 281).

„Von der Autorität ist die Superioritätsnüance zu unterscheiden, die man als Prestige bezeichnet. Bei dieser fehlt das Moment der übersubjektiven Bedeutung, der Identität der Persönlichkeit mit einer objektiven Kraft oder Norm“ (Simmel 1908:137).

„Dass in jedem Augenblick diejenigen, welche schon im vorigen Augenblick der Gruppe angehörten, gegenüber den hinzukommenden die ungeheure Mehrzahl bilden, das rettet die Identität der Gruppe trotz der Tatsache, dass weit voneinander abstehende Augenblicke nicht ein einziges Element mehr gemeinsam haben mögen“ (Simmel 1908:502).

“A study of the sherds from central, southern, and western New England, indicates a transition from the more primitive types to the forms illustrated. This modification is due largely to Iroquoian influence. In most of the specimens shown, Iroquoian characteristics predominate, the more pronounced of which are the globular body, the prominent and highly decorated rim, and a narrow decorated zone on the body” (Fewkes 1909:53).

“Through the father, the child inherited his name, his place, his share in the rites of his gens; but it was through his mother that his kinship was extended beyond his birth gens, and he thus became conscious of being a part of a great kinship community” (Fletcher 1909:267).

“Altogether the scarcity of rock-carvings and rock-paintings in California, which is in entire accord with the lack of symbolic and representative spirit shown by the California Indians, constitutes a striking difference from the abundance of such records throughout the Great Basin and Plateau region to the east” (Kroeber 1909:38).

“In the Dakota language, according to Riggs, there is only one word for grand-father and father-in-law. Following the mode of reasoning sometimes employed, it might be deduced from this that these two relationships were once identical. Worked out to its implications, the absurd conclusion would be that marriage with the mother was once customary among the Sioux” (Kroeber 1909:82).

“The use of such identical or similar terms for distinct relationships is due to a considerable similarity between the relationships” (Kroeber 1909:82).

« **identité** [*dan*] n. f. (lat. *identitas*). Ce qui fait qu'une chose est la même qu'une autre: *l'identité de deux propositions*. Etat d'une chose qui demeure toujours la même: *l'identité de la personne humaine*. *Dr.* Ensemble des circonstances qui font qu'une personne est bien telle personne déterminée: *découvrir l'identité d'un criminel, produire une pièce d'identité*. *Math.* Égalité dont les deux membres sont identiquement les mêmes. *Milit.* *Plaque d'identité*, plaque en maillechort que tout militaire doit porter en temps de guerre, suspendue au cou sous ses effets, et qui donne toutes les indications permettant de l'identifier. Plaque en métal qui doit être fixée à tout vélo ou machine analogue » (Le Larousse 1909 :873).

“The profusion of implements and ornaments made of copper, shell, and bone, of a well-marked individuality, shows that the builders of the Seip Mound belonged to the highest culture of aboriginal man in Ohio, differing widely in customs and culture from the peoples inhabiting the Baum village site, only a few miles down the valley and practically in sight of the Seip Mound” (Mills 1909:125).

“In the food prohibition and the belief in descent from or identity with the animal or plant, we have two of the constant and characteristic features of totemism, while the belief in the physical and mental resemblance of man and animal is found in typical totemism as in that of the Western people of Torres Strait” (Rivers 1909:175).

1910

“By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very

self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression" (Cooley 1910:23).

"In this manner the minds in a communicating group become a single organic whole. Their unity is not one of identity, but of life and action, a crystallization of diverse but related ideas" (Cooley 1910:122).

"On the etymology of Zamolxis and the possible identity of -olxis with the Greek ..., see ..." (Frazer 1910:32, footnote 1).

In Frazer 1910:188, a quotation from Spencer & Gillen 1899, p. 119.

"in the Kaitish tribe a man does not usually marry a woman of the same totem as himself, but, provided she be of the right class, she is not actually forbidden to him as a wife because of this identity of totem as she would be in the Warramunga tribe" (Frazer 1910:243).

"When the spirit was present, the shaman lost his personal identity and became the spirit" (Goldenweiser 1910:217).

"The ties of blood are, with the Indian, very binding, and the ease with which various bands affiliated without losing their identity was, and still is, one of the peculiar features of these remarkable people" (McLaughlin 1910:24).

"the phonetic identity of these terminal elements" (Boas 1911:24)

"the identity of the two words" (Boas 1911:71)

"*xa-*, the prefix of identity, refers to any act previously described that is repeated by the same or a different person" (Goddard in Boas 1911:116)

"the evident identity of this prefix with the particle *AS* or *AS'*" (Swanton in Boas 1911:182)

"the peculiar identity of the objective forms ... and the indicative" (Boas 1911:389)

"its identity with the conjunction *kan* ..." (Dixon in Boas 1911:713)

the "identity of subject and of possessor of object" (Jones and Michelson in Boas 1911:762)

"the identity of the Eskimo languages of Alaska and of Greenland" (Thalbitzer in Boas 1911:971)

the "identity of the form of the second person singular possessor ... and of the plural form" (Thalbitzer in Boas 1911:1024).

"Their ancient tribal organization has ceased to exist, owing to changed environment, the extinction of the buffalo, and the immediate presence of the white man's civilization. Nothing remains intact of the ancient customs except the practice of exogamy between the kinship groups and the people still give their children names that belong to the gentes into which the

children are born. A few of the societies exist but their influence is on the wane, although they are enjoyed because of their social character and the pleasure derived from their songs and dramatic dances, which revive the memory of the days when the Omaha were a distinct and independent people” (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:33).

“Tradition indicates also that when, for some reason or other, a group broke off, not all of the members belonged to one gens but to several gentes of the parent organization, and when this group organized as a distinct tribe, those of gentile kindred retained their identity in name and the practice of a common rite, and formed a gens in the new tribe. These traditions are corroborated by conditions which obtain in all of these cognate tribes” (Fletcher and La Flesche 1911:38).

“National and personal freedom are growths of the same root, and their | historic connection rests on no accident, but on ultimate identity of idea” (Hobhouse [1911] 1919:135-136).

“Schoolcraft s’exprime dans les mêmes termes sure les totems des Indiens de l’Amérique du Nord : ‘Le totem, dit-il, est, en fait, un dessin qui correspond aux emblèmes héraldiques des nations civilisées, et que chaque personne est autorisée à porter comme preuve de l’identité de la famille à laquelle elle appartient ‘ » (Durkheim [1912] 1960 :159).

« Le identité des intérêts » (Halbwachs 1912 :3).

« l’identité des causes » (Halbwachs 1912 :9).

« une identité de condition » (Halbwachs 1912 :19).

« l’identité des conditions » (Halbwachs 1912 :164).

« cette identité de l’attitude » (Halbwachs 1912 :400).

“Similarly, ‘I’ has a collective form amongst some American languages, and this is ordinarily employed, whereas the corresponding selective form is used only in special cases. Thus if the question be ‘Who will help?’ the Apache will reply ‘I-amongst-others,’ ‘I-for-one’; but, if he were recounting his own personal exploits, he says *sheedah*, ‘I-by-myself,’ to show that they were wholly his own. Here we seem to have group-consciousness holding its own against individual self-consciousness, as being for primitive folk on the whole the more normal attitude of mind” (Marett 1912:146).

“Totemism, in the specific form that has to do with kinship, means that a social group depends for its identity on a certain intimate and exclusive relation in which it stands toward an animal-kind, or a plant-kind, or, more rarely, a class of inanimate objects, or very rarely, something that is individual and not a kind or class at all” (Marett 1912:166).

“the identity of this fish” & “the identity of stars” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. IV, 1912:163, 218).

“... the etymological identity of the words ... *soma* and *haoma*” (Jevons 1913:36)

“Schoolcraft says the same thing about the totems of the Indians of North America. ‘The totem is in fact a design which corresponds to the heraldic emblems of civilized nations, and

each person is authorized to bear it as a proof of the identity of the family to which it belongs” (Durkheim 1915:134).

“In fact, he [a clan member] bears its [the totemic species’] name; this identity of name is therefore supposed to imply an identity of nature” (Durkheim 1915:157).

“The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated” (Durkheim 1915:282, quoting from Spencer & Gillen).

“the churinga is at once the body of the ancestor, of the individual himself and of the totemic animal ... Their common essence is the totemic principle. The language itself expresses this identity” (Durkheim 1915:290).

“the identity of the sentiments of which these different things [churinga, individual, ancestor, totemic being] are the object” (Durkheim 1915:301).

“there are such radical and essential differences between human families that one must refuse them any identity of origins” (Gobineau 1915:106).

“The identity of descendant and ancestor does not stop at the features” (Gobineau 1915:123).

“We see how cautiously we must tread if we attempt to infer an identity of race from the affinity, or even the resemblance, of languages” (Gobineau 1915:195).

“The political machine is in fact an attempt to maintain, inside the formal administrative organization of the city, the control of a primary group. The organizations thus built up, of which Tammany Hall is the classic illustration, appear to be thoroughly feudal in their character. The relations between the boss and his ward captain seem to be precisely that of personal loyalty on one side and personal protection on the other, which the feudal relation implies. The virtues which such an organization calls out are the old tribal ones of fidelity, loyalty, and devotion to the interests of the chief and the clan. The people within the organization, their friends and supporters, constitute [sic] a ‘we’-group, while the rest of the city is merely the outer world, which is not quite alive and not quite human in the sense in which the members of the ‘we’-group are. We have here something approaching the conditions of primitive society” (Park 1915:603).

“A still more important aspect of all human groups ... is that for which I have found it convenient to use the omnibus term ‘the social bonds.’ Under this concept I would range all the influences which, in their time and place, tend to hold groups *in statu quo* for longer or shorter periods ... I would certainly not try to conceal the fact that they may become reconstructors of groups. In so far, however, as their effect as cementers of the group structure is in view, the designation ‘group bonds’ is appropriate” (Small 1915:630).

The types of “social bonds” discussed by Small (1915) include, in addition to or as aspects of “nationality,” “common language,” “race solidarity,” “family type,” and “religion.”

“By way of expanding the qualification already made, it should be added that when the word ‘race,’ or any of its derivatives, appears in this section, the facts referred to may not, in the strict sense, be very largely racial at all. In moral effect, it is enough that they stand out in the reactions of the people as race peculiarities. Thus there would doubtless be friction of a very

intense sort between a group of Kentucky mountain whites, and a group of the purest English stock that could be found in Connecticut or Vermont, if the two groups were suddenly thrown together in a single area. The racial ancestry would be very nearly the same. Accidental differences in environment and experience have molded the one type in one way, the other type in another; so that it would be easy for each group to confuse the differences with differences of race, and for each group to react toward the other as though the supposed racial differences were actual. The same mistake is often involved when an actual difference of language confirms the appearance of racial diversity. The marks that pass as race differences might be to the anthropologist mere variations in nonessential mannerisms within the same race. When these nonessentials are the marks of a distinct group, however, especially if they include difference of language, or even of dialect, or sometimes only of pronunciation, they may amount socially to differences of race, and for our present purpose are properly so considered” (Small 1915:644).

« Voilà plus de mille ans que ce fleuve de prouesses coule à pleins bords. Nous venons d’y puiser; nous n’avons pu saisir dans le flot qui passe que ce que contenaient nos deux mains rapprochées. Qu’est-ce que tout cela? Que prouvent ces aventures héroïques et charmantes, cette vie profonde, cette âme française débordée?» (Barrès 1916 :43).

“The method of transliteration referred to in the foregoing presents a special difficulty in the case of Polish names, in view of the fact that the Polish language uses the general European alphabet, and that the Polish spelling of such names has found access to other languages. In some instances even the question of identity may arise. Thus, to quote but one example out of many, the name *Chmielnichi*, written in this form in Polish, differs considerably from the phonetic spelling *Khmdnitzki*, adopted in this volume” (Friedlaender 1916, in Dubnow 1916:7).

“The identity of Red Russia with Galicia has been assumed in the text for the sake of convenience. In reality Red Russia corresponds to present-day *Eastern* Galicia, in which the predominating population is Little Russian or Ruthenian, while *Western* Galicia, with Cracow, formed part of Little Poland” (Dubnow 1916:53, footnote 2).

“While in Lithuania dry book-learning was inseparable from a godly life, in Podolia and Yolhynia it failed to satisfy the religious cravings of the common man. The latter was in need of beliefs easier of understanding and making an appeal to the heart | rather than to the mind. He found these beliefs in the Cabala, in mystic and Messianic doctrines, in Sabbatianism. He even let himself be carried away by teachings which ultimately proved heterodox and subversive of the spirit of Judaism” (Dubnow 1916:221-222).

“To this petition of the Jews, who classed themselves as ‘members of the Polish nation,’ and were ready to renounce their own national characteristics, the Senate replied by presenting the Duke with a heartless report, in which it was pointed out that the Jews had brought upon themselves the ‘curtailment of their rights’ by their ‘dishonest pursuits’ and by ‘their mode of life, subversive of the welfare of society.’ It was necessary first to reform the life of the Jews and to appoint a committee to elaborate plans of reform” (Dubnow 1916:302).

“[The Decembrist leader Paul] Pestel enumerates the peculiar Jewish characteristics which, in his opinion, render the Jews entirely unfit for membership in a social order. The Jews ‘foster among themselves incredibly close ties’; they have ‘a religion of their own, which instils into them the belief that they are predestined to conquer all nations’ and ‘makes it impossible for

them to mix with any | other nation.’ The rabbis wield unlimited sway over the masses; they keep the people in spiritual bondage, ‘forbidding the reading of all books except the Talmud’ and other religious writings. The Jews ‘are waiting for the coming of the Messiah, who is to establish them in their kingdom,’ and therefore ‘look upon themselves as temporary residents of the land in which they live.’ Hence their passion for commerce and their neglect of agriculture and handicrafts. Since commerce alone is unable to provide the huge masses of Jews with a livelihood, cheating and trickery are considered permissible, to the injury of the Christians ...

“Such was the vein in which a Russian revolutionary leader wrote, not knowing, or perhaps not caring to know, of the iron vise of the Pale of Settlement, of the pitiless expulsions which were taking place just at that time, ignorant altogether of the whole mesh of legal restrictions which placed the Jews on the lowest rung of Russian rightlessness” (Dubnow 1916:410-411).

Against the “mistaken idea that a dolichocephaly in common must mean identity of origin” (Grant 1916:21).

On “an identity between the original Aryan mother tongue and the race that first spoke and developed it” (Grant 1916:62).

Skull type does not necessarily mean “identity of origin” (Grant 1916:121).

“Upon the appearance on the scene of the Nordics the Alpine race lost its identity and sank to the subordinate and obscure position which it still occupies” (Grant 1916:132).

No “identity of race” “from the British Isles to Hindustan” (Grant 1916:135).

« D’une façon générale, il n’est jamais indispensable de connaître les circonstances au milieu desquelles une langue s’est développée. Pour certain idiomes, tels que le zend et le paléo-slave, on ne sait même pas exactement quels peuples les ont parlés ; mais cette ignorance ne nous gêne nullement pour le étudier intérieurement et pour nous rendre compte des transformations qu’ils ont subies » (Saussure [1916] 1931:42).

Deuxième Partie, Chapitre III IDENTITÉS, RÉALITÉS, VALEURS (Saussure [1916] 1931 :150)

« Qu’est-ce qu’une *identité* synchronique ? Il ne s’agit pas ici de l’identité qui unit la négation *pas* au latin *passum* ; elle est d’ordre diachronique, – il en sera question ailleurs, p. 249, – mais de celle, non moins intéressante, en vertu de laquelle nous déclarons que deux phrase comme ‘je ne sais *pas*’ et ‘ne dites *pas* cela’ contiennent le même élément » (Saussure [1916] 1931 :150).

“But suddenly, lo and behold! that same Russian people, in which the progressive forces of Jewry were ready to merge their identity, appeared in the shape of a monster, which belched forth hordes upon hordes of rioters and murderers” (Dubnow 1918:324).

„Er [Louis Gabriel Ambroise de Bonald] hatte eine Analogie zwischen der theologischen und philosophischen Auffassung Gottes und der politischen Gesellschaftsordnung ausgeführt, die zu dem Ergebnis kam, daß der theistischen Vorstellung eines persönlichen Gottes das monarchische Prinzip entspreche, weil es einen persönlichen Monarchen als sichtbare

Vorsehung verlange; der deistischen Annahme eines außerweltlichen Gottes soll eine monarchisch-demokratische Verfassung gemäß sein, wie die der Konstitution von 1791, nach welcher der König im Staat so machtlos war, wie der Gott des Deismus in der Welt: das ist für Bonald versteckter Anti-Royalismus wie der Deismus versteckter Atheismus. Die ‚demagogische Anarchie‘ von 1793 aber war offener Atheismus: kein Gott, kein König. Diese ‚identité dans les | principes des deux sociétés, religieuse et politique‘ hat ihre Berechtigung in der methodischen Identität zahlreicher theologischer und juristischer, namentlich staatsrechtlicher Begriffe und darf – ebensowenig wie die von Leibnitz aufgestellte Parallele von Theologie und Jurisprudenz – mit theosophischen und naturphilosophischen Spielereien, die wie für alles andre, so auch für Staat und Sozietät bunte Analogien finden, nicht verwechselt werden“ (Schmitt-Dorotić 1919:50-51).

Note : With reference to Bonald, *De la Philosophie morale et politique* du 18. siecle (6. oct. 1805).

„Der Gegensatz, den er [Adam Müller] in der Wirklichkeit immer von neuem entdeckt, erscheint dann oft als die Emanation einer hohen Identität; gerade in solchen Gedankengängen sah die neue Weltauffassung ihre Überlegenheit über den toten, mechanischen und analytischen Rationalismus des vergangenen Jahrhunderts“ (Schmitt-Dorotić 1919:81).

„Im Athenäum hatte Schlegel verkündet, die allumfassende romantische Transzendentalpoesie beginnt als Satire, schwebt als Elegie in der Mitte und endet als Idylle mit der absoluten Identität des Idealen und Realen“ (Schmitt-Dorotić 1919:86).

„Seine Widerlegung des ‚berühmten Mißverständnisses von einer absoluten Identität des Subjekts und Objekts‘ ([Adam Heinrich Müller, *Die Lehre vom Gegensatze. Erstes Buch: Der Gegensatz*] S. 41) besteht in der Exemplifizierung eines Gesprächs, an dem ja auch, notwendig zwei beteiligt sein müssen, der Redner und der Hörer, die Eins ist daher nur eine ‚gestätigte Zwei‘“ (Schmitt-Dorotić 1919:130)

1920

« Le pacifisme se fait tort et prend le caractère d’une utopie, quand il prétend réorganiser la Société des Nations en se fondant sur un seul principe présumé rationnel: pourquoi alors ne pas procéder par des voies plus simples encore, et réaliser la paix européenne par la conquête et par l’empire ? » (Mauss 1919-1920 :241).

« Le pacifisme, qui enregistre cette faillite de l’esprit de conquête, est, pour qui sait comprendre, la moins utopique, la plus sage, la plus prudente et la plus conservatrice des doctrines » (Mauss 1919-1920 :241).

« Cette politique de ‘l’homme citoyen du monde’ n’est que la conséquence d’une théorie éthérée de l’homme monade partout identique, agent d’une morale transcendante aux réalités de la vie sociale; d’une morale ne concevant d’autre patrie que l’humanité, d’autres lois que les naturelles (Socrate, | d’après Plutarque, *de Exilio*, V). Toutes idées qui sont peut-être vraies à la limite, mais qui ne sont pas des motifs d’action, ni pour l’immense majorité des hommes, ni pour aucune des sociétés existantes » (Mauss 1919-1920 :246-247).

« Tel est l'état du mouvement d'internationalisme dans notre monde moderne: il ne tend pas vers une supra-nation qui absorberait les autres nations. Il est à peu de chose près, légèrement supérieur à celui de la Grèce quand, pour établir la paix entre les cités, elle fondait les Amphictyonies: il est presque identique à celui où Socrate eût voulu voir les Grecs, lorsque, pendant les horreurs de la guerre du Péloponnèse, il souhaitait qu'ils se considérassent (*Rep.*, 470b) tous comme des Héliènes et que leurs guerres ne fussent traitées que comme des | soulèvements, des révoltes châtiées ou apaisées par les autres » (Mauss 1919-1920 :250-251).

« Ces tendances des peuples doivent trouver chez les philosophes le plus entier concours. Rien n'y est contraire aux principes de l'indépendance nationale, ni au développement des caractères nationaux. Ceci se prouve par fait et par raison. La solidarité organique, consciente, entre les nations, la division du travail entre elles, suivant les sols, les climats et les populations, aboutiront à créer autour d'elles une atmosphère de paix, où elles pourront donner le plein de leur vie. Elles auront ainsi sur les individualités collectives l'effet qu'elles ont eu sur les personnalités à l'intérieur des nations: elles feront leur liberté, leur dignité, leur singularité, leur grandeur » (Mauss 1919-1920 :251).

“One and the same nation may and often does include many autonomous bodies having their own particular characters but all sharing in common the national characters which distinguish the whole nation from the rest of the world and are on the whole more important than the differences of the components. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Province of Quebec have each their marked individuality, but no one calls either of them a nation” (Pollock 1919-1920:261).

“Most men, I suppose, would agree in the list of material factors in national character. They are race (in which I include reputed as well as actual descent, and in the common case of mixed descent the predominant racial character), language, religion, social custom, and political tradition” (Pollock 1919-1920:262).

“In Russia, Peter the Great, with the best intentions, imposed a bureaucratic scheme which was alien to the national spirit” (Pollock 1919-1920:265).

“The mounds in Franklin and Calhoun Counties were probably erected by a Muskogean tribe, whose identity has not been determined” (Bushnell 1920:112).

“We come to know or note not merely this particular which as a particular cannot strictly be known at all (for not being classed it cannot be characterized and identified) but to recognize it as man, tree, stone, leather – an individual of a certain kind, marked by a certain universal form characteristic of a whole species of thing. Along with the development of this common-sense knowledge, there grows up a certain regularity of conduct. The particular incidents fuse, and a way of acting which is general, as far as it goes, builds up. . . . This regularity signifies, of course, that the particular case is not treated as an isolated particular, but as one of a kind, which therefore demands a kind of action” (Dewey 1920:78-79; quoted in Foote 1951:17).

„Ein gewisser geschichtlicher Prozeß brachte es mit sich, daß tiefgreifende Faktoren nationaler Natur im Leben der jüdischen Masse mit solchen religiöser Natur so eng verwoben waren, daß es einem außenstehenden Beobachter scheinen konnte, als sei hier die Einheit lediglich auf rein religiöser Grundlage, auf der Gemeinschaft des Glaubens und der Riten aufgebaut. Daher die Meinungsverschiedenheit in der Definition des Judentums seitens der

umgebenden Gesellschaft: Für die einen ist das Judentum eine scharf ausgeprägte stammeseinheitliche und nationale Individualität, die in der Hoffnung auf den Wiederaufbau ihrer Staatlichkeit in der Gestalt des messianischen Reiches lebt; für die anderen wiederum ist es bloß eine religiöse Gruppe oder Sekte, die unter günstigen Umständen einen Bestandteil der umgebenden Nationen ausmacht oder ausmachen kann“ (Dubnow 1920, vol. I:9).

„Übrigens machte die Regierung kein Hehl aus ihrem Endzweck – a der Vernichtung der nationalen Eigenart der Judenheit. In einer Reihe von Dekreten betonte Joseph II, diese Tendenz sehr bestimmt“ (Dubnow 1920, vol. I:30).

„Im Frühjahr 1808 mußte sich die Regierung des Herzogtums Warschau mit der jüdischen Frage befassen, wie infolge des Gesuchs der Juden imi die Verleihung der Bürgerrechte, so auch im Zusammenhange mit den bevorstehenden Reichstagswahlen. Der Warschauer Ministerrat, der vom Märzdekret Napoleons schon Kenntnis hatte, klammerte sich an dieses wie an einen Rettungsanker. Dem Herzog Friedrich August wurde ein Bericht erstattet, in dem es hieß: ‚Dem Herzogtume droht die traurigste Zukunft, wenn das israelitische Volk, das sich hier in bedeutender Anzahl befindet, heute auf einmal die Bürgerrechte bekommt; denn dieses Volk bewahrt einen unserem Lande fremden Nationalgeist und befaßt sich mit unproduktiven Erwerbsarten‘“ (Dubnow 1920, vol. I:272).

„Die Angst vor der Philosophie blieb aber erhalten, imd die Unvereinbarkeit der freien Forschung mit dem Judaismus galt als ein unwiderlegliches Dogma, Der jüdische Geist bewegte sich noch immer in den engen ‚vier Ellen der Halacha‘ und war zur Unfruchtbarkeit verdammt“ (Dubnow 1920, vol. I:326).

“Some students fix their gaze upon a single people at a single epoch of its existence, and endeavor to describe this one culture with the utmost fidelity. In the higher reaches of this type of work the ethnographer becomes an artist who sympathetically penetrates into the latent spirit of his culture and creates a picture after the fashion of Gobineau’s Renaissance. That is the ideal of | humanistic research acclaimed by the philosopher Windelband and his school. To them each manifestation of human history represents a unique phenomenon, an absolutely indefinable set of values that can merely be experienced through the visionary’s intuition and then transmitted in fainter tints to his public” (Lowie 1920:2-3).

“It is of course conceivable that cross-cousins came to marry each other by a less round-about method. Where the possession of property plays a dominant role in the tribal consciousness, as in British Columbia, the motive of keeping desirable belongings within the family circle may well lead to marriage with the father’s own sister’s daughter or the mother’s own brother’s daughter, as Swanton suggests” (Lowie 1920:31).

“On the one hand, since these forms of marriage [levirate & sororate] lead to the identification of the stepfather and the paternal uncle, the stepmother and the maternal aunt, it is natural to designate each pair of these relatives by a single terms” (Lowie 1920:37).

“That such linguistic identification [of father and mother’s brother] must have for its basis conjugal intercourse with the same mate is an arbitrary assumption, which in fact leads to nonsensical consequences” (Lowie 1920:59).

With reference to Freud, “identification” in a Freudian sense: “The ageing mother-in-law is prematurely cut short in her own psycho-sexual life and is able to satisfy her emotional needs

only by identification with her children's psyche. But identification with her daughter may readily lead to love for the man her daughter loves, and in the resulting conflict of sentiments the hostile, sadistic component of passion is directed toward the son-in-law so as to suppress with greater certainty the tabooed incestuous emotion" (Lowie 1920:92).

"The causal sequence in Siberia is: junior levirate, hence taboo between sister-in-law and husband's elder brother; identification of husband's father with husband's elder brother, hence extension of avoidance to the former" (Lowie 1920:104).

"Applying these principles to what had been regarded as a uniform complex of features, Goldenweiser discovered | that totemism, instead of being everywhere alike, differed to an extraordinary degree. For example, Central Australian totemism with its emphasis on ritualistic performances for the magical increase of the totem differs toto coelo from that of British Columbia, where artistic representation of the totem and the guardian spirit idea are in the foreground of aboriginal consciousness. Passing in review one after another of the alleged criteria of totemism, this author found every one of them wanting in even approximate universality" (Lowie 1920:139-140).

"Frazer ... does assume an inner nexus among the several symptoms of totemism (apart from exogamy) and regards one of them, the identification of totemite and totem as the basic one" (Lowie 1920:141).

"Since marriage is always patrilocal, the normal Hupa grouping of male kinsfolk takes place without exception, and the evolution of a typical sib would merely require the permanent identification of the female children with the house group into which they are born" (Lowie 1920:158).

"An Emu man who constantly associates in ritualistic performances and political assemblies with Eagle-hawk, Bat, Crow and Frog men will develop for men of all sibs a sentiment of class consciousness that is simply impossible under the circumstances between men and women of the Emu sib" (Lowie 1920:263).

"Though two age-classes may temporarily share the degree of bachelor, they remain distinct units. Similarly, the new group of married men is by no means simply merged in a society of elders. The only close tie, formed at a much later period, is between the dextral and sinistral classes of a couple, which are formally united into a 'generation,' receive a common name and adopt a distinctive arrow brand. But before and after this union the age-class preserves its name and individuality and determines its members' actions" (Lowie 1920:274).

"Impossible as it is to give in this chapter a complete account of the Crow scheme of military associations, even a moderately vivid picture of their spirit is out of the question unless one of them is described in some detail. Accordingly, I will select for this purpose the Fox organization" (Lowie 1920:289).

"North America, as already noted, was largely the scene of both social and political democracies. This fact is thrown into relief when we turn from the narratives of early explorers of our continent to the corresponding accounts of African or Oceanian travelers. It is not altogether unintelligible that Morgan should have hailed 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' as the 'cardinal principles' of the American sib organization and, accordingly from his point of view, of Indian society as a whole; and that he should thence have derived 'that

sense of independence and personal dignity universally an attribute of Indian character.’ But very few ethnographical propositions can be laid down without qualification, and to the generalization there are two remarkable exceptions – the Natchez of the lower Mississippi and the natives of the coast of British Columbia” (Lowie 1920:351).

“The foregoing summary of American, African and Oceanian conditions conclusively refutes the view that primitive society was uniformly averse to the aristocratic spirit” (Lowie 1920:355).

“On the whole, the Eskimo are not a quarrelsome people and the method of adjudicating a personal difficulty in Greenland is typical of their general spirit” (Lowie 1920:413).

“As might be expected from the prevalently individualistic character of Plains Indian culture, most difficulties were settled by individuals and by their kindred” (Lowie 1920:415).

“The Omaha present typical Plains characteristics in their administration of law, but with some additional traits” (Lowie 1920:416).

“When we desire to understand Masai age-classes or Hidatsa age-societies, we shall do well to follow not Morgan or Schurtz, but Maine; to saturate ourselves with the spirit and history of Masai and Hidatsa culture, respectively, and with that of their neighbors, rather than to fly for aid to a chimerical law of social evolution” (Lowie 1920:437).

“What has happened in the meantime to discredit Robertson Smith’s theory of sacrifice in Sir James Frazer’s eyes? Apparently nothing. On the contrary, this hypothesis, which assumed that animal sacrifice in general had developed out of a totemic sacrament, whereby the totemites were mystically united in, by, and with the ‘theanthropic’ animal that bestowed on them their corporate identity, had been confirmed ... by the discovery of Spencer and Gillen that in Central Australia the very rite required was today in full force” (Maret 1920:190).

„Das, was nun aber das Sein der äthiopischen Kultur so ganz besonders vor allen mir bekanntgewordenen sonstigen | Formen auszeichnet, ist seine kristallhelle Stilreinheit, seine unbeirrte Organisation, die in ihm lebendige Selbstverständlichkeit harmonischen Ineinandergreifens, ja, man kann sagen, absoluter Identität materiellen, sozialen und geistigen Lebens“ (Frobenius 1921:44-45).

„*Identität*. Von Identität spreche ich im Falle eines psychologischen Gleichseins. Die Identität ist immer ein unbewußtes Phänomen, denn ein bewußtes Gleichsein würde immer schon das Bewußtsein zweier Dinge, die einander gleich sind, mithin also eine Trennung von Subjekt und Objekt voraussetzen, wodurch das Phänomen der Identität bereits aufgehoben wäre. Die psychologische Identität ... ist ein Charakteristikum der primitiven Mentalität und die eigentliche Grundlage der ‚participation mystique‘, welche nämlich nichts anderes ist, als ein Überbleibsel der uranfänglichen psychischen Ununterschiedenheit von Subjekt und Objekt, also des primordialen unbewußten Zustandes; sodann ist sie ein Charakteristikum des früh-infantilen Geisteszustandes, und schließlich ist sie auch ein Charakteristikum des Unbewußten beim erwachsenen Kulturmenschen, das, insofern es nicht zum Bewußtseinsinhalt geworden ist, dauernd im Zustand der Identität mit dem Objekten verharret. Auf der Identität mit den Eltern beruht die *Identifikation* (siehe dort) mit den Eltern; ebenso beruht auf ihr die Möglichkeit der *Projektion* und der *Introjektion* (siehe dort)“ (Jung [1921] 1994:469, § 740).

„*Individualität*. Unter Individualität verstehe ich die Eigenart und Besonderheit des Individuums in jeder psychologischer Hinsicht. Individuell ist alles, was nicht kollektiv ist, was also nur einem zukommt und nicht einer größeren Gruppe von Individuen ...“ (Jung [1921] 1994:470, § 742).

„*Kollektiv*. Als kollektiv bezeichne ich alle diejenigen psychischen Inhalte, die nicht einem, sondern vielen Individuen zugleich, das heißt also einer | Gesellschaft, einem Volk oder der Menschheit eigentümlich sind. Solche Inhalte sind die von Lévy-Bruhl beschriebenen ‚mystischen Kollektivvorstellungen‘ (représentations collectives) der Primitiven, ebenso die dem Kulturmenschen geläufigen *allgemeinen Begriffe* von Recht, Staat, Religion, Wissenschaft usw. Aber es sind nicht nur Begriffe und Anschauungen, die als kollektiv zu bezeichnen sind, sondern auch Gefühle ... Der Gegensatz zu kollektiv ist individuell (siehe dort)“ (Jung [1921] 1994:476, § 762).

“In later times the people of this group united with the Dwellers-in-the-Thorny-Thicket, and now their identity as a distinct group is practically lost” (La Flesche 1921:45).

“The physiological basis of self-maintenance here gives place to a psychological one. To speak exactly, the preservation of group identity in this case depends, of course, upon the amount of invariability in the vehicles of this unity, but, at all events, the whole body of members belonging in the group at any given moment only separate from the group after they have been associated with their successors long enough to assimilate the latter fully to themselves, i.e., to the spirit, the form, the tendency of the group. The immortality of the group depends upon the fact that the change is sufficiently slow and gradual” (Simmel, transl. Small, in Park and Burgess 1921:352).

Note: This passage not in Simmel, transl. Small, 1898 or 1909; i.e., the translation has been altered at a later date.

“The identity of the flora and fauna of the Little Andaman with those of the Great Andaman and the shallowness of the strait between the islands, suggests that at no very remote period they have been united by a continuous land connection” (Brown 1922:14).

“We may say ... that the initiation ceremonies teach the youth or girl to realise what is implied in being a member of the society by putting him or her during the period of adolescence in an exceptional position, and, as it were, outside the society. The youth is no longer a child and may not act as a child; but he is not yet an adult and may not act as adults do. He feels himself cut off, as it were, from the ordinary life of the group, having as yet no share in it. As a child he was not yet aware of what it means to be a member of a society, but now, by means of the ceremonies, his attention is directed to the society and its life, by his being placed in a position of isolation outside it. He begins to look forward to the | time when he will take his proper place as an adult, and his share in the common life of the camp. At each step of the ceremonies he feels that he is brought a little closer, until at last he can feel himself a man amongst men. Thus he is brought to a consciousness of all that it must mean to him to be a member of the community; he is taught the significance and value of social communion” (Brown 1922:278-279).

“Though the dead man has ceased to exist as a member of the society, it is clear that he has by no means ceased to influence the society. On the contrary he has become the source of

intense painful emotions. Where the affection that was felt towards him was previously a source of pleasure it now becomes a source of pain. Defining the ‘social personality’ of an individual as being the sum of characteristics by which he has an effect upon the social life and therefore on the social sentiments of others, we may say that by death the social personality is not annihilated but undergoes a profound change, so that from being an object of pleasurable states of the social sentiments it becomes an object of painful states” (Brown 1922:285).

“One of the minor motives of the *Akar-Bale* version of this story is the identity of the ancestor who appears as the chief actor” (Brown 1922:338).

“All the legends, I wish to maintain, are simply the expression in concrete form of the feelings and ideas aroused by things of all | kinds as the result of the way in which these things affect the moral and social life of the Andaman Islanders. In other words the legends have for their function to express the social values of different objects, – to express in general the system of social values that is characteristic of the Andaman social organization” (Brown 1922:376-377).

“The chief ground for the interest in stories shown by children and by savages is, I believe, that they afford the means of exercising the imagination in certain specific directions and thereby play an important part in enabling the individual to organise his experience. The course of the development of the human mind (from childhood to adolescence, and from the earliest human ancestor to ourselves) depends upon or involves the existence at certain stages of growth (and to a certain extent throughout the whole process) of a conscious egoistic interest. Mankind, to develop what we call, character and conscience, must learn to take a conscious interest in himself, in his own actions, and their motives. The development of this self-consciousness in children is a process of great interest to the psychologist and has already been studied in an imperfect fashion” (Brown 1922:394).

“While the spirit was operating, the [Haida] shaman lost his personal identity and became one with the spirit” (Goldenweiser 1922:187).

Goldenweiser (1922:382) cites “the principle of participation” of Lévy-Bruhl, writes of the “identity” of “things, beings, persons, tied together by a mystic rapport into a common cycle of cycle of participation.”

“In personal appearance, the Dobuans have a very distinct physique, which differentiates them sharply from the Southern Massim and from the Trobrianders ; very dark-skinned, small of stature, with big heads and rounded shoulders, they give a | strange, almost gnome-like impression on a first encounter. In their manner, and their tribal character, there is something definitely pleasant, honest and open – an impression which long acquaintance with them confirms and strengthens” (Malinowski 1922:40-41).

“When a chief is present, no commoner dares to remain in a physically higher position ; he has to bend his body or squat. Similarly, when the chief sits down, no one would dare to stand. The institution of definite chieftainship, to which are shown such extreme marks of deference, with a sort of rudimentary Court ceremonial, with insignia of rank and authority, is so entirely foreign to the whole spirit of Melanesian tribal life, that at first sight it transports the Ethnographer into a different world” (Malinowski 1922:52).

“A sub-clan is a local division of a clan, whose members claim common ancestry, and hence real identity of bodily substance, and also are attached to the locality where their ancestors emerged” (Malinowski 1922:70).

“The real kinship, the real identity of substance is considered to exist only between a man and his mother's relations” (Malinowski 1922:71).

“First of all there is the matrilineal kinship (veyola) which embraces people, who can trace common descent through their mothers. This is, to the natives, the blood relationship, the identity of flesh, and the real kinship” (Malinowski 1922:191).

“1. Matrilineal kinship. The underlying idea that this means identity of blood and of substance is by no means forcibly expressed on its economic side. The right of inheritance, the common participation in certain titles of ownership, and a limited right to use one another's implements and objects of daily use are often restricted in practice by private jealousies and animosities. In economic gifts more especially, we find here the remarkable custom of purchasing during lifetime, by instalments, the titles to garden plots and trees and the knowledge of magic, which by right ought to pass at death from the older to the younger generation of matrilineal kinsmen. The economic identity of matrilineal kinsmen comes into prominence at the tribal distributions sagali where all of them have to share in the responsibilities of providing food” (Malinowski 1922:192).

“4. Clanship. The main economic identification of this group takes place during the sagali, although the responsibility for the food rests only with those actually related by blood with the deceased man. All the members of the subclan, and to a smaller extent members of the same clan within a village community, have to contribute by small presents given to the organisers of the sagali” (Malinowski 1922:193).

“The main social force governing all tribal life could be described as the inertia of custom, the love of uniformity of behaviour. The great moral philosopher was wrong when he formulated his *categorical imperative*, which was to serve human beings as a fundamental guiding principle of behaviour. In advising us to act so that our behaviour might be taken as a norm of universal law, he reversed the natural state of things. The real rule guiding human behaviour is this: ‘what everyone else does, what appears as norm of general conduct, this is right, moral and proper. Let me look over the fence and see what my neighbour does, and take it as a rule for my | behaviour.’ So acts every ‘man-in-the-street’ in our own society, so has acted the average member of any society through the past ages, and so acts the present-day savage; and the lower his level of cultural development, the greater stickler he will be for good manners, propriety and form, and the more incomprehensible and odious to him will be the non-conforming point of view. Systems of social philosophy have been built to explain and interpret or misinterpret this general principle. Tarde's ‘Imitation,’ Giddings' ‘Consciousness of Kind,’ Durkheim's ‘Collective Ideas,’ and many such conceptions as ‘social consciousness,’ ‘the soul of a nation,’ ‘group mind’ or now-a-days prevalent and highly fashionable ideas about ‘suggestibility of the crowd,’ ‘the instinct of herd,’ etc., etc., try to cover this simple empirical truth. Most of these systems, especially those evoking the Phantom of Collective Soul are futile, to my mind, in so far as they try to explain in the terms of a hypothesis that which is most fundamental in sociology, and can therefore be reduced to nothing else, but must be simply recognised and accepted as the basis of our science. To frame verbal definitions and quibble over terms does not seem to bring us much more

forward in a new branch of learning, where a knowledge of facts is above all needed” (Malinowski 1922:326-327).

“the general psychic identity of such stem-variability and the ‘ablaut’ of many German verbs” (Sapir in Boas 1922:54)

“the identity of its stem with that of the future” (Sapir in Boas 1922:158)

“the identity of the possessor with the subject of the clause” (Sapir in Boas 1922:231)

“identity of the noun reflexive ... with the passive participial” (Sapir in Boas 1922:261)

“the identity of the subject and object” (Frachtenberg in Boas 1922:541)

„Zu dem Gottesbegriff des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts gehört die Transzendenz Gottes gegenüber der Welt, wie eine Transzendenz des Souveräns gegenüber dem Staat zu seiner Staatsphilosophie gehört. Im 19. Jahrhundert wird in immer weiterer Ausdehnung alles von Immanenzvorstellungen beherrscht. Alle die Identitäten, die in der politischen und staatsrechtlichen Doktrin des 19. Jahrhunderts wiederkehren, beruhen auf solchen Immanenzvorstellungen: die demokratische These von der Identität der Regierenden mit den Regierten, die organische Staatslehre und Ihre Identität von Staat und | Souveränität, die rechtsstaatliche Lehre Krabbes und Ihre Identität von Souveränität und Rechtsordnung, endlich Kelsens Lehre von der Identität des Staates mit der Rechtsordnung“ (Schmitt 1922:44-45).

„Das metaphysische Bild, das sich ein bestimmtes Zeitalter von der Welt macht, hat dieselbe Struktur wie das, was ihr als Form ihrer politischen Organisation ohne weiteres erleuchtet. Die Feststellung einer solchen Identität ist die Soziologie des Souveränitätsbegriffs“ (Schmitt 1922:50).

„In der Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts schien es mir besonders wichtig, die Methode anzuwenden, nach der die verschiedenen Seiten des Lebens des jüdischen Volkes – die politische, sozial-ökonomische, kulturell-geistige – auf dem Hintergrunde der Entwicklung seiner nationalen Persönlichkeit, deren Wachstums oder Sinkens betrachtet werden, da unter der Einwirkung der Krisen, an denen dieses Jahrhundert reich ist, die Formen des Kampfes der Nation um ihre Existenz und ihr Verhältnis selbst zu diesem Kampf sich notwendigerweise ändern mußten. Eine solche Methode entspricht voll auf den Erfordernissen der wissenschaftlichen Objektivität, denn bei der Erforschung der verschiedenen Lebensäußerungen eines Kollektivums, das seinen Existenzkampf unter so exzeptionellen Bedingungen zu führen hat, ist vor allem zu verfolgen, inwieweit seine Individualität sich behauptet und entwickelt und inwieweit sie sich nivelliert oder verwischt“ (Dubnow 1923:v).

„Herzl wollte den politischen Messianismus in einer modernen Form wiedererwecken, indem er seine Hoffnung auf einen diplomatischen Akt setzte, der die Geschichte der Juden mit einem Schlag revolutionieren würde; Achad Haam dagegen modernisierte den Messianismus in eigener Weise, indem er an Stelle der äußeren Revolution eine langsame innere Evolution setzte. Die Mystik und die Utopie räumten hier in der Zukunftsprognose des Judentums ihren Platz der wissenschaftlichen Evolution ein. Aber die Kraft der Lehre Achad Haams bestand nicht nur in der von ihr aufgestellten Prognose, sondern in der Diagnose der Krankheit des

Jahrhunderts, die alle Volksfreunde nach Heilmitteln zu suchen zwingt. Diese Diagnose ist viel tiefer als jene, die Nordau in seinen effektvollen Kongreßreden gestellt hatte. Achad Haam hat die Psychologie der Assimilation in seiner Abhandlung ‚Äußere Freiheit und innere Knechtschaft‘ treffend geschildert. Die emanzipierten Westjuden, die sich für freie Bürger halten, seien im Grunde genommen Sklaven in der Luft der bürgerlichen Freiheit: denn im Prozeß der Assimilation unterordnen sie ihre Persönlichkeit, ihre Volksindividualität den Wirtsvölkern“ (Dubnow 1923:369).

“one can be reasonably sure of the real identity and common origin of the complex trait” (Kroeber 1923:200).

“The failure of the Greeks to pass beyond column and lintel architecture may seem strange for a people that showed so unusual an artistic faculty and so bold and enterprising a spirit as they manifested in most departments of civilization” (Kroeber 1923:244).

“By the seventh century B.C., the Iranians were civilized and strong enough to participate in the overthrow of Semitic Assyria, whose principal inheritors they became. From then on for over twelve hundred years, with only a century of interruption due to Alexander and his successors, a succession of Iranian powers dominated not only the plateau but Babylonia and Mesopotamia: Medes, Achaemenian Persians, Parthians, Sassanian Persians. A strong national consciousness was evolved and reinforced by a national religion – Zoroastrianism, Magism, Fire-worship, the Avestan faith, are some of its names” (Kroeber 1923:452).

“Chou China at first embraced most of Shensi and Honan, southern Shansi and Chihli, and western Shantung. It was feudal, and practically as separatist as mediaeval Germany. The chief functions of the over-king were to perform sacrifices, to admonish the kings and princes, and to govern his small dynastic domain. Unity lay not so much in an effective organization as in an idea, the feeling of a common race and especially of a common civilization. This idea has persisted to the present. It is adhesion to the culture of China, to its deep roots, its permanence, its humanities, that has always made Chinamen feel themselves Chinamen; has in fact sooner or later turned into Chinamen all alien elements, whether they were intrusive conquerors or primitive folk, that came to be included within the limits of the realm. In this way common customs and ideals already united the dozen or more larger Chou states and hundreds of dependencies; and chronic internal warfare did not prevent this era from being the age of Confucius, Laotse, Mencius and the other great sages that from the sixth to the fourth centuries formulated the typical Chinese character and attitude” (Kroeber 1923:464).

“The old Dravidian culture was probably more advanced than the Kolarian but is more difficult to reconstruct because of its extensive blending with the culture brought in or developed by Indo-Europeans. The Dravidians, perhaps because they were more advanced and populous, were able to accept the intrusive culture and yet maintain themselves, whereas the Kolarians either preserved themselves by resisting civilization or had their speech and identity absorbed by it” (Kroeber 1923:478).

“ ‘These birds,’ says Perham, ‘are forms of animal life possessed of the spirit of certain invisible beings above and bearing their names’ (this is a significant trait, for the name is not merely a designation; the identity in the name implies an actual participation, an identity of being), ‘so that when a Dayak hears a *beragai* ... it is in reality the voice of Beragai, the son-in-law of Singalong Buron ...’” (Lévy-Bruhl 1923:130).

„Es gilt also das Subjekt der ‚Tathandlung‘ aufzuzeigen und von der Identität mit seinem Objekt ausgehend alle zweiheitlichen Subjekt-Objekt-Formen als von ihr abgeleitet, als ihr Produkt zu begreifen“ (Lukács [1923] 1977:302).

„Die klassische Philosophie hat zwar alle Antinomien ihres Lebensgrundes auf die letzte, ihr erreichbare gedankliche Spitze getrieben ... Die Fortsetzung jener Wendung ihres Weges, die wenigstens methodisch über diese Schranken hinauszuweisen begann, die dialektische Methode als Methode der Geschichte ist jener Klasse vorbehalten geblieben, die das identische Subjekt- Objekt, das Subjekt der Tathandlung, das ‚Wir‘ der Genesis von ihrem Lebensgrund aus in sich selbst zu entdecken befähigt war: dem Proletariate“ (Lukács [1923] 1977:331).

„Ist also die Verdinglichung die notwendige unmittelbare Wirklichkeit für einen jeden im Kapitalismus lebenden Menschen, so kann ihre Überwindung keine andere Form annehmen als die ununterbrochene, immer wieder erneute Tendenz, durch konkrete Beziehung auf die konkret zutage tretenden Widersprüche der Gesamtentwicklung, durch Bewußtwerden des immanenten Sinnes dieser Widersprüche für die Gesamtentwicklung die verdinglichte Struktur des Daseins praktisch zu durchbrechen. Dabei muß folgendes festgehalten werden: erstens, daß dieser Durchbruch nur als Bewußtwerden der immanenten Widersprüche des Prozesses selbst möglich ist. Nur wenn das Bewußtsein des Proletariats jenen Schritt zu zeigen imstande ist, dem die Dialektik der Entwicklung objektiv zudrängt, ohne ihn jedoch kraft der eigenen Dynamik leisten zu können, erwächst das Bewußtsein des Proletariats zum Bewußtsein des Prozesses selbst, erscheint das Proletariat als das identische Subjekt-Objekt der Geschichte, wird seine Praxis ein Verändern der Wirklichkeit“ (Lukács [1923] 1977:385).

„Die Frage, ob dem menschlichen Denken gegenständliche Wahrheit zukomme, ist keine Frage der Theorie, sondern eine praktische Frage. In der Praxis muß der Mensch die Wahrheit, d. h. die Wirklichkeit und Macht, die Diesseitigkeit seines Denkens beweisen‘ ... Der Standpunkt, daß das Proletariat das identische Subjekt-Objekt des Geschichtsprozesses ist, d. h. das erste Subjekt im Laufe der Geschichte, das eines adäquaten gesellschaftlichen Bewußtseins (objektiv) fähig ist, erscheint damit in konkreterer Gestalt“ (Lukács [1923] 1977:386-387, quoting from Marx, *Thesen über Feuerbach*).

„Denken und Sein sind also nicht in dem Sinne identisch, daß sie einander ‚entsprechen‘, einander ‚abbilden‘, daß sie miteinander ‚parallellaufen‘ oder ‚zusammenfallen‘ (alle diese Ausdrücke sind nur versteckte Formen einer starren Dualität), sondern ihre Identität besteht darin, daß sie Momente eines und desselben real-ge-schiichtlichen [SIC] dialektischen Prozesses sind. Das, was das Bewußtsein des Proletariats ‚abbildet‘, ist also das aus dem dialektischen Widerspruch der kapitalistischen Entwicklung entspringende Positive und Neue“ (Lukács [1923] 1977:393).

“That this restrictive influence of the clan was caused by the identity of the clan animal with the guardian spirit there can be little doubt” (Radin 1923:206).

„Was also in den angeführten drei Kapiteln schrittweise stärker zum Durchbruch kommt, das ist der moderne Totalitätsgedanke. Dieser Gedanke meint: es gibt Gebilde, bei denen das Ganze alle Einzelheiten kausal bestimmt. Jedes Ganze ist dabei etwas völlig Individuelles oder sogar eine ausgesprochene Individualität, also etwas Einmaliges und einzigartiges, das

jedesmal seinem eignen (singulären) Gesetz untersteht, und dessen Entwicklung insbesondere sich nur aus einem persönlichen Gesetz heraus verstehen und nicht in der analytischen Form der rationalen Wissenschaften aus allgemeingültigen Gesetzen (additiv) ableiten läßt“ (Vierkandt 1923:iv).

„Von der Definition der Gesellschaft wenden wir uns jetzt der Frage nach ihrer *Identität* zu. Wie lange hat eine Gesellschaft als ein und dieselbe zu gelten, und wann tritt an ihre Stelle eine neue? Wir würden uns natürlich im Kreise drehen, wenn wir antworten wollten, es käme auf die Identität oder den Wechsel derjenigen Vereinigung an, die der Träger der gesellschaftlichen Vorgänge ist. Denn ob und wie weit diese beharrt, hängt wiederum davon ab, wie weit die stattfindenden Wechselwirkungen als ein Ganzes betrachtet als identisch zu gelten haben. Ob z. B. eine Familie in dem hier in Rede stehenden Sinne einer Gesellschaft beharrt oder durch eine neue ersetzt wird, kann nicht nach rein äußerlichen Merkmalen, nach Gleichheit oder Verschiedenheit der Personen entschieden werden – ein solches Verfahren würde dem Sinne unserer Definition widersprechen - ; sondern darauf kommt es an, ob die stattfindenden Wechselwirkungen und Beeinflussungen ihrer ganzen Art nach als beharrend oder als im Wesen völlig wechselnd aufzufassen sind ... | ...

„Als beharrend und in sich identisch werden wir eine Gesellschaft demgemäß so lange aufzufassen haben, als der in ihr herrschende Geist sich im wesentlichen gleich bleibt“ (Vierkandt 1923:36).

„Wir besitzen eine lehrreiche anschauliche Schilderung von einer Marderfamilie, bei der die Mutter den Kindern die schwierigsten Sprünge so lange vormachte, bis diese sie nach einigem Zögern mit völliger Sicherheit nachzumachen vermochten. |

„Freilich ist bei diesem Mechanismus der Nachahmung die Identität der Resultate durchaus nicht verbürgt. Der Nachahmende will dasselbe tun wie sein Vorbild, aber es ist nicht selbstverständlich, daß er es wirklich leistet ...“ (Vierkandt 1923:139-140).

„Von einer Einheit der Gruppe weiß die verbreitete streng individualistische oder besser gesagt atomistische Auffassung überhaupt nichts ... Tatsächlich bildet jeder Gruppe eine organische Einheit, ist mehr als die Summe ihrer Individuen und entfaltet in ihnen neue Eigenschaften. | Insbesondere zeigt schon die tägliche Erfahrung, daß fast jede Gruppe einen besonderen Geist besitzt, der den Einzelnen erfaßt oder losläßt, je nachdem er in ihren Zusammenhang eintritt oder aus ihm ausscheidet“ (Vierkandt 1923:342-343).

„Wenn ... sämtliche Eingeborene eines Stammes aus eigenem Augenschein einen Berg kennen, so haben sie alle ein gleiches Wissen von ihm. Man mag in diesem Falle von einem Gesamtwissen der Gruppe sprechen; doch hat dieses Wort dann eine ganz andere Bedeutung als dann, wenn etwa ein Kollegium einen schwierigen Fall durch gewissenhafte Erforschung aufhellt und sich dann ein Gesamturteil über ihn bildet. Im ersteren Falle handelt es sich um bloßen Parallelismus gleicher Bewußtseinsinhalte, im zweiten Falle um eine durch Wechselwirkungen hervorgerufene Gleichheit“ (Vierkandt 1923:358).

„Wie die Gruppe überhaupt als Objektivgebilde ein selbständiges Leben führt ..., so besitzt sie auch ein Selbstbewußtsein ähnlich wie der Einzelne. Und gleich dem individuellen kann auch das kollektive Selbstbewußtsein sowohl nach der Vorstellungsseite wie nach der Gefühls- und Willensseite hin entwickelt sein. Das einschlägige *Wissen* der Gruppe von sich selbst kann sich beziehen auf ihr bloßes Dasein, auf ihre Eigenschaften und Werte und auf ihre Schicksale, Ruhmestaten, Nöte usw. Das *Selbstgefühl* der Gruppe gilt zunächst der Gruppe überhaupt oder im ganzen als einem einheitlichen Objektivgebilde. Es kann sich im

besonderen auf ihre wertvollen Eigenschaften beziehen; man denke z.B. an den Stolz auf die preußische Art oder die preußische Beamtentreue ... Endlich kommt neben der emotionalen auch die volitionistische Seite des Selbstgefühls in Betracht. Ihr Inhalt ist vor allem der Lebens- und Machtangst der Gruppe“ (Vierkandt 1923:367).

“the identity of cultural and political boundaries” (Wissler 1923:18).

“the rule is for identity of speech to cease when we reach the political or tribal boundary” (Wissler 1923:19).

“However, we have now carried this discussion far enough to see that the culture of the type to which we belong certainly centers somewhere among North Americans, British, French, and Germans. That one of these is more typical than the others and so is the most typical, follows as a natural corollary of our observations. On the other hand, to determine the identity of this most typical one people is difficult, because we have just seen that many important culture traits are unevenly distributed (Wissler 1923:31).

“Here again, we see another kind of parallelism that works toward similar ends and one which may at times contribute to the appearance of identity between tribal cultures” (Wissler 1923:198).

“So, in general, the contents of culture vary because they are in the broadest sense conditioned responses due to environmental and fortuitous causes. Historical methods can do no more than reveal the identity of these causes. On the other hand, in so far as tribal cultures are structurally alike, the causes lie in man’s original nature” (Wissler 1923:279).

“Il en va de même en littérature et en musique : le vocabulaire, la forme littéraire, le thème, le rythme, la mélodie populaires sont sans individualité propre, mais courent d’un lieu à un autre, d’un village à l’autre, parce qu’ils sont formés d’éléments constitutifs généraux, communs, collectifs” (van Gennep 1924:16).

“The principle of classification that is most commonly adopted in primitive society may be stated as that of the equivalence of brothers. In other words if I stand in a particular relation to one man I regard myself as standing in the same general kind of relation to his brother; and similarly with a woman and her sister” (Radcliffe-Brown 1924, 1952:14).

« La ressemblance entre l’image du rêve et le visage réel, dans le second rêve cité par Maury, n’est tout de même pas une identité: en vingt-cinq ans, les traits ne peuvent point ne pas se transformer: peut-être, si la personne ressemble à ce point à son image, cela tient-il à ce que l’image elle-même est assez brumeuse ? » (Halbwachs 1925 :13).

« Miss Calkins remarque que, dans certains cas, le ‘sentiment de l’identité personnelle peut disparaître explicitement. On imagine qu’on est un autre, ou qu’on est le double de soi-même, et alors il y a un second moi qu’on voit ou qu’on entend’ » (Halbwachs 1925 :14).

« A côté de ces cadres plus ou moins durables qui nous permettent de découper les visions d’une nuit en un petit nombre de tableaux, et en quelque sorte derrière eux, il en est un qui les enveloppe tous et dans lequel toutes ces images doivent prendre place : c’est le sentiment de notre identité » (Halbwachs 1925 :79).

« Bien plus, il [l'aphasique] reconnaît les personnes, et leur prête une identité définie » (Halbwachs 1925 :108).

« De chaque époque de notre vie, nous gardons quelques souvenirs, sans cesse reproduits, et à travers lesquels se perpétue, comme par l'effet d'une filiation continue, le sentiment de notre identité » (Halbwachs 1925 :121).

« Ou bien, entre le cadre et les événements il y aurait identité de nature: les événements sont des souvenirs, mais le cadre aussi est fait de souvenirs » (Halbwachs 1925 :134).

« Ce n'est que peu à peu et plus tard que le nouveau père et la nouvelle mère identifient leur fonction avec celle qu'ont exercée avant eux leurs parents, et cette identité ne leur apparaît jamais que comme une ressemblance plus ou moins approchée » (Halbwachs 1925 : 237).

“Levy-Brühl has proved that the fundamental law, governing thought amongst primitive men is ‘the law of participation’ but not the law of mental logic, the law of identity, the law of contradiction, etc. The law of participation consists in assuming the existence of a ‘causal’ connection where there is only some outward connection or proximity of events. The savage does not admit of the law of identity or contradiction, or of any other fundamental laws of logic. We see the same happening in revolutionary society. Its reflection is governed by the same ‘law of participation’” (Sorokin 1925:176).

“A casual outward connection – either one of time, place, or profession was sufficient to identify you with counter-revolution or profiteering, to create the presumption of a plot and execute you, though any normal reflection would have shown such an identification to be inadmissible” (Sorokin 1925:177).

“Revolutionary society, up to a certain point, loses its memory, the power to ‘memorize and reproduce.’ Suddenly it forgets traditions, beliefs, ideas, and is cut away from the past. All historical memories, all the mental luggage of the past, are cut off, as if touched by a magical wand. Society forgets its own likeness, its own name (e.g in the present name of Russia; The Union of the Soviet Republics, the name of Russia is absent), its national traditions, its heritage, its historical | features” (Sorokin 1925:179-180).

„Daß Sie Juden sind, konnte mir nur erwünscht sein, denn ich war selbst Jude, und es war mir immer nicht nur unwürdig, sondern direkt unsinnig erschienen, es zu verleugnen. Was mich ans Judentum band, | war – ich bin schuldig, es zu bekennen – nicht der Glaube, auch nicht der nationale Stolz, denn ich war immer ein Ungläubiger, bin ohne Religion erzogen worden, wenn auch nicht ohne Respekt vor den ‚ethisch‘ genannten Forderungen der menschlichen Kultur. Ein nationales Hochgefühl habe ich, wenn ich dazu neigte, zu unterdrücken mich bemüht, als unheilvoll und ungerecht, erschreckt durch die warnenden Beispiele der Völker, unter denen wir Juden leben. Aber es blieb genug anderes übrig, was die Anziehung des Judentums und der Juden so unwiderstehlich machte, viele dunkle Gefühlskräfte, umso gewaltiger, je weniger sie sich in Worten erfassen ließen, ebenso wie die klare Bewußtheit der inneren Identität, die Heimlichkeit der gleichen seelischen Konstruktion. Und dazu kam bald die Einsicht, daß ich nur meiner jüdischen Natur die zwei Eigenschaften verdankte, die mir auf meinem schwierigen Lebensweg unerläßlich geworden waren. Weil ich Jude war, fand ich mich frei von vielen Vorurteilen, die andere im Gebrauch ihres Intellekts beschränkten, als Jude war ich dafür vorbereitet, in die Opposition zu gehen und auf das Einvernehmen mit der ‚kompakten Majorität‘ zu verzichten“ (Freud [1926] 1941:51-52).

“Yet, as in the case of religion, political independence is not an indispensable condition of nationality. Many a nationality, in the long course of human history, has been engulfed by a ‘world-empire,’ such as the Egyptian, the Assyrian, Alexander the Great’s, the Roman, the Turkish, the Russian, the Austrian, the British, and has thereby been deprived of its distinctive political institutions without losing its identity as a nationality” (Hayes 1926:20).

“difference of historic traditions and emphasis upon cultural contrasts, real or fancied, especially when they are reënforced by political separation, may outweigh identity of language and thereby create a sub-nationality which becomes almost, if not quite, an absolutely independent nationality” (Hayes 1926:22).

“Gradually national characteristics were imaginatively depicted and national aspirations were poignantly voiced. In the sixteenth century, Machiavelli made eloquent national appeals to the Italians,” etc. (Hayes 1926:33).

“In the French Revolution, in the Industrial Revolution, and likewise in the romanticism which succeeded rationalism, are discoverable the factors that finally resolved all doubts about the future of national states and the currents that ultimately galvanized national consciousness everywhere into the nationalism which we know” (Hayes 1926:43-44).

“But it was the French Revolution which first put these doctrines into successful operation on a large scale. Political democracy was substituted in France for monarchical autocracy, class-privileges were broken down, local and provincial distinctions were swept away, and all French-speaking people in Europe were incorporated into the national state and infused with the national spirit” (Hayes 1926:44).

“The more the Germans endeavoured to Germanise their empire, the more the subject minorities of Poles, Danes, and Alsations sought to preserve their national individuality” (Hayes 1926:58).

“for every person who peruses a learned treatise on race there are at least ten thousand who read a novel or see a play in which national character is depicted as indelible and unchangeable” (Hayes 1926:67).

NOTE: This is one of 25 instances of “national character” in Hayes 1926; but some instances are used to refer to something that is “national in character.”

„Wenn das Wahlrecht in immer weiter ausgedehnter Verbreitung einer steigenden Zahl von Menschen verliehen wird, so ist das ein Symptom für das Bestreben, die Identität von Staat und Volk zu realisieren; ihm liegt eine bestimmte Auffassung über die Voraussetzungen, unter denen man die Identität als wirklich annimmt, zugrunde. Auch das ändert nichts an dem Grundgedanken, daß logisch alle demokratischen Argumente auf eine Reihe von Identitäten beruhen. In diese Reihe gehören: Identität von Regierenden und Regierten, Herrscher und Beherrschten, Identität von Subjekt und Objekt staatlicher Autorität, Identität des Volkes mit seiner Repräsentation im Parlament, Identität vom Staat und jeweilig abstimmendem Volk, Identität von Staat und Gesetz, letztlich Identität des Quantitativen (ziffernmäßige Mehrheit oder Einstimmigkeit) mit dem Qualitativen (Richtigkeit des Gesetzes).

„ Alle solche Identitäten sind aber nicht handgreifliche Wirklichkeit, sondern beruhen auf einer Anerkennung der Identität. Weder juristisch noch politisch noch soziologisch handelt es sich um etwas real Gleiches, sondern um Identifikationen“ (Schmitt 1926:35).

“To be sure, a more careful study might lead us to attempt to draw the lines between friendliness, fellowship, communion, | and identity. In this way, it might be possible to discuss “the degree of ‘at-one-ment present in the various Sacrifices,’ how far, for example, ‘any sense of Divine indwelling’ was conveyed by the ‘Jewish Peace Offering” (Cook 1927:xlili-xliv; with an internal quotation from S. C. Gayford, *Sacrifice and Priesthood*, London 1914, pp. 33 & 39).

“Long ago W. R. S. emphasized the difference between the Christian ‘conventicle,’ the group united only by ‘similarity of experience in details, identity of individual frames and habits of mind,’ and the Church as an ‘organic unity,’ uniting men of different types of religion and stages of spiritual growth (*Lectures*, 326 sq.)” (Cook 1927a: 594).

“To the lay reader these studies are interesting on account of the strangeness of the scene, the peculiar attitudes characteristic of foreign cultures that set off in strong light our own achievements and behaviour” (Boas in Mead 1927:xiii).

“In our own civilisation the individual is beset with difficulties which we are likely to ascribe to fundamental human traits. When we speak about the difficulties of childhood and of adolescence, we are thinking of them | as unavoidable periods of adjustment through which every one has to pass. The whole psycho-analytic approach is largely based on this supposition.

“The anthropologist doubts the correctness of these views, but up to this time hardly any one has taken the pains to identify himself sufficiently with a primitive population to obtain an insight into these problems. We feel, therefore, grateful to Miss Mead for having undertaken to identify herself so completely with Samoan youth that she gives us a lucid and clear picture of the joys and difficulties encountered by the young individual in a culture so entirely different from our own” (Boas in Mead 1927:xiv-xv).

“Of the different groups of little girls there was only one which showed characteristics which would make it possible to classify it as a gang” (Mead 1927:61).

“Each child is a person with a definite contribution to make regardless of sex and age. This emphasis on individuality is carried to limits which seriously mar the | dance as an aesthetic performance” (Mead 1927:117-118).

“In an account given of another person the sequence of traits mentioned followed a set and objective pattern: sex, age, rank, relationship, defects, activities. Spontaneous comment upon character or personality were unusual” (Mead 1927:126).

“Such judgments are the nearest that the Samoan approaches to | evaluation of temperament as opposed to character” (Mead 1927:127-128).

“Such then was the experience of the twenty-eight | little girls in the three villages. In temperament and character they varied enormously” (Mead 1927:138-139).

“While Lita attached herself to her cousin and attempted to learn from her every detail of another life, Sona identified herself passionately with the slightly more Europeanised family of the pastor, asserting always their greater relationship to the new civilisation, calling Ioane's wife, Mrs. Johns, building up a pitiable platform of *papalagi* (foreign) mannerisms as a springboard for future activities” (Mead 1927:167-168).

“Old identities were lost or transformed beyond recognition” in “the all-consuming cauldron that is adventure and the monotonous leveling that is the plains” (Radin 1927:293).

“Four Algonquian tribes – the Arapaho, the Cheyenne, the Blackfoot and the Gros Ventre – have practically lost all their old identities. They must have come into contact with the Mandans and the Hidatsa fairly early in their career, for their whole ceremonial life and most of their social life has been manifestly derived from them” (Radin 1927:294).

“Loss of old identities and disintegration – these stand out as the salient facts of the Plains ... The initiators and the organizers of these new changes were the Hidatsa and the Mandan and the essential transformations they wrought, consisted fundamentally in the specialization of a type of dancing-society which had been from time immemorial a very characteristic trait of most Siouan tribes – the military associations” (Radin 1927:296).

“Identity of man and animals, 538, n. 3; man and totem, 677” (Smith 1927:708 – General Index).

“The replies given by some of the foreign-born persons interviewed could not be classified under any one of the specific headings that have been discussed. When the foreigner expressed in | one way or another a general liking for this country he was said to have a ‘desire to become identified with the community.’ Mr. V, a middle-aged conductor, who was born in Sweden, said in reply to a query as to why he became a citizen: ‘I became a citizen because of general rights and privileges. America is my country. Same as if you ask a man why he got married. I like America, that’s all’” (Gosnell 1928:938-939).

« Un des grands principes de la philosophie de Leibniz, qui est en même temps le fondement essentiel de sa logique, le principe de raison suffisante, exprime bien, lorsqu'on le comprend, toute l'importance attribuée dans un tel système aux rapports de ressemblance. Il s'exprime d'ordinaire ainsi : il n'y a aucune vérité et aucun fait dont on ne puisse rendre raison pourquoi il est tel ; et il peut sembler d'abord que ce n'est point autre chose que le principe de causalité sous sa forme la plus populaire. Mais, chez Leibniz, il revêt une signification particulière : Leibniz veut dire que, étant donnée une proposition qui exprime un fait réel, il suffit d'analyser les termes de cette proposition pour trouver la raison suffisante de leur rapport; c'est dire qu'au fond, pour une intelligence capable d'effectuer cette analyse, le rapport entre les deux termes apparaîtrait aussi nécessaire que les relations des mathématiques ou de la logique pure; mais nous sommes incapables de faire cette analyse, parce que les faits sont trop complexes : ce que nous apercevons entre les deux termes, ce n'est jamais qu'un rapport de ressemblance, de convenance, mais jamais une identité ; il y a toujours quelque chose par où les termes diffèrent et qui résiste à toute réduction » (Halbwachs 1928 :61).

« Mais le champ des petites perceptions est encore plus étendu qu'il ne semble. Notre pensée présente n'est pas seulement grosse des pensées qui vont venir : toutes les pensées et toutes les impressions passées laissent en nous leur trace, sous forme de souvenirs conscients ou de réminiscences indistinctes. A vrai dire, toujours en vertu du principe de continuité, on ne

comprendrait pas plus l'anéantissement total de nos perceptions que leur création ex nihilo ; elles ne font, en réalité, que perdre momentanément de leur clarté; mais elles agissent encore, et c'est grâce à elles que nous avons la notion de notre identité » (Halbwachs 1928 :71).

“Something of the same sense of moral dichotomy and conflict is probably characteristic of every immigrant during the period of transition, when old habits are being discarded and new ones are not yet formed. It is inevitably a period of inner turmoil and intense self-consciousness ... It is in the mind of the marginal man that the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion manifests itself in the most obvious forms. It is in the mind of the marginal man – where the changes and fusions of culture are going on – that we can best study the processes of civilization and of progress” (Park 1928:893).

“To complete the identity of social with physical mechanics, these thinkers ... supply a considerable number of mathematical formulas ... which they have extracted from the subject matter of mechanics” (Sorokin 1928:18).

“does not mean an identity of the nature of these objects” (Sorokin 1928:209)

With reference to Eskimos, Chinese, and “South American native” Christians: “all these different Christians remain different from one another in spite of the identity of their religion” (Sorokin 1928:226).

“it is impossible from the fact of a community or similarity of language to infer the community or identity of race” (Sorokin 1928:267)

Sorokin on Tönnies: “Individuals are only members of a general body with a natural solidarity, harmonious interrelations, and an identity of will because the individual will is suppressed by the community will” (Sorokin 1928:491).

“the identity of the definitions” (Sorokin 1928:505 footnote 30).

Critique of Marx's distinction between technique and science: “a separation of what is identical and ..., and the establishing of identity between that which is different” (Sorokin 1928:537).

Critique of Freud's concept of libido, which, according to Sorokin, he defines narrowly and broadly: “the theory transgresses the fundamental logical law of identity” (Sorokin 1928:607).

“We may not assume that the round-headed or brunette individuals in Denmark are identical with the corresponding forms from Switzerland. Even if no anatomical differences between two series of such individuals are discernible they represent genetically distinctive strains. Identity can occur in exceptional individuals only” (Boas 1929:30-31).

“Each plant is so organized that it develops a certain form under given environmental conditions. Microorganisms differ so much in different environmental settings that it is often difficult to establish their specific identity” (Boas 1929:32-33).

“Human beings generally act and think as they do for no other reason than that they have picked up such behavior and thoughts from some social group of theirs, whether family,

gang, church, party, or nation. Every newborn unit of this sort is bound to invent some little tricks, badges, songs, and what not of its own. How, otherwise, would one college fraternity stand out from its neighbors? It's the particular Greek letters, the pin, and the ingeniously unique way of hazing the novice, that give it individuality" (Lowie 1929:4).

1930

"The closed group possesses well defined criteria of selection ... Criteria of selection are determined by the general pattern of the group ... Since selection is made with reference to this group-pattern, the criteria of selection represent the group-pattern in a distilled form, – are, so to speak, its index.

"While, therefore, the pattern of the group expresses its identity, its kind, it is primarily in the criteria of selection in which the group shows awareness of its identity" (Abel 1930:8).

"Since the continuance of the group's identity depends upon the conformity of the individual members to the group's ideas and purposes, the processes of conditioning aim at bringing the individual's own consciousness of | kind in line with or towards identification with the kind that the group represents" (Abel 1930:8-9).

"such group phenomena as the distinction between participant and active member, initiation ceremonies, hierarchical organization of functions and positions ... are all parts of the mechanism for the preservation of the identity of the group" (Abel 1930:9).

"The sensitivity with which the group reacts to all actions of members that are directed against those elements of group-structure with which group-kind is most closely identified, is a further illustration of the active rôle consciousness of kind plays in group-life. The action-patterns with regard to the traitor, the apostate, the transgressor against principles which are the very core of the group's identity are more violent, more uncompromising and lead more frequently to crowd behavior (e.g., lynching), than the action-patterns in cases where control is exercised against deviations from prevailing rules affecting the everyday routine of conduct" (Abel 1930:9).

"Consciousness of kind differs in strength, however, not only between different types of groups but also within the same group. The fact of variation is particularly important in connection with the phenomenon of group disorganization. The variation effective in this phenomenon is a gradual disintegration of consciousness of kind, in that more and more group-members cease to identify themselves with the kind that the group represents" (Abel 1930:9).

NOTE: Abel makes these comments in a discussion of Giddings's concept of "consciousness of kind."

"Identifizierung mit der leidenden Mutter" (Homburger 1930:206)

"It is essential to know whether on the human side the relation is one in which people are involved as a group or only as individuals, and, as regards the animal or plant, whether each species is concerned as a whole or single members of it alone are considered; whether the natural object is regarded as a representative or emblem of the human group; whether there is any idea of identity between a person and the creature or object and of descent of the one

from the other; and whether the interest of the people is focused on the animal or plant per se, or it is of importance primarily through a belief in its association with ancestral spirits or other deities” (Firth 1930:292).

“The common sense view of the matter is that an immigrant ... is able to find a place in the community on the basis of his individual merits without invidious or qualifying reference to his racial origin or to his cultural inheritance. Assimilation may ... be described as a function of visibility. As soon as an immigrant no longer exhibits the marks which identify him as a member of an alien group, he acquires ... the ... status of a native” (Park 1930:281).

“In some parts of Australia there is found a system of matrilineal clans. The clan consists of a body of people who are or who regard themselves as being closely related through females. The clans are totemic, i. e., they are identified by being each named after or connected with some species of animal or plant. Children belong to the clan of the mother, and consequently the members of a clan are found scattered through the tribe” (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:60).

“There are no specific names for the hordes, but any given horde can be identified by naming any of the important camping places of its territory” (Radcliffe-Brown 1930:208).

“We may note ... that the Koko-Yimidir distinguish between older and younger brothers and sisters of the father and mother. This is a characteristic feature of the next area to be considered, and in one tribe at least (the Wik-Munkan) is correlated with a special form of marriage rule” (Radcliffe-Brown 1930a:244).

„**Idem** [lat.], derselbe, dasselbe“ (Brockhaus 1931:17).

„**Identifizieren** [lat.], als identisch ansehen, gleichsetzen. **Identifikation**, Gleichsetzung“ (Brockhaus 1931:17).

„**Identität** [lat.], Diesselbigkeit, Einerleiheit; 1) die für die Logik grundlegende Eigenschaft der Dinge, jedes für sich selbst gleich, diesselbig zu sein. Nur wenn diese Eigenschaft den Dingen zukommt, ist die Bildung von strengen Begriffen im formalen Sinn möglich. Daher gilt der Grundsatz der I. (principium identitatis) als das erste und wichtigste Denkgesetz. I. ist immer I. *eines Dinges*, nicht mehrerer Dinge, zwischen denen höchstens Gleichheit bestehen kann, die ihrerseits wiederum auf I. der einzelnen Dinge beruht. „Driesch: *Ordnungslehre* (2. Aufl. 1923); Meyerson: *I. und Wirklichkeit* (1930); alle Literatur über → Logik“ (Brockhaus 1931:18).

„**Identitätsnachweis, Nämlichkeitsnachweis**, ...“ [Zollrecht] (Brockhaus 1931:18).

„**Identitätsphilosophie**, eine philos. Anschauung, nach der Gegensätze, wie die von Subjekt und Objekt, Denken und Sein, Idealem und Realem, Geist und Natur, auf ein Einheitliches, Identisches als letzte metaphysische Wesenheit zurückzuführen sind, die sich in diesen Gegensätzen darstellt ...“ (Brockhaus 1931:18).

“The critical spirit of the eighteenth century was not merely destructive” (Hayes 1931:8).

“The God of Nature and Reason intended, according to Bolingbroke, that national government ‘should be good.’ Its form is immaterial, provided it corresponds with the spirit of the particular nationality, but the ‘legal reverence’ which, under the second great natural

law, a nationality owes to a king or any other government is ‘national, not personal.’ And it is the prime business of every national government to further national interests, not dynastic or class interests; and true national interests, under the first great natural law, require a foreign policy | of peace and a reasoned respect for the rights and interests of other nationalities” (Hayes 1931:18-19).

“National character being natural and reasonable, Herder would have everyone prize it and labor for its full realization. ‘The savage,’ he said, ‘who loves himself, his wife, and child with quiet joy and glows with activity for his tribe as for his own life, is in my opinion a more real being than that cultivated shadow who is enraptured with the shadow of his whole species ... The savage has room in his poor hut for every stranger ... The deluded heart of the idle cosmopolite is a home for no one’” (Hayes 1931:30).

“Though usually unconcerned with political nationalism, and seemingly indifferent to forms of government, Herder asserted on one occasion when he was inveighing against imperialism that ‘the most natural state is one people with one national character ... Nothing appears so directly opposed to the purpose of government as the unnatural enlargement of states, the wild mixture of breeds and nations under one sceptre’” (Hayes 1931:32).

“Gradually, however, as the popular temper at Paris became more radical, and especially after the attempted flight of the King in June 1791 had discredited monarchy, Barere underwent conversion to republicanism and identified himself with the Girondists; his reward was membership from October 1791 to September 1792 in the newly instituted supreme court” (Hayes 1931:47).

“an identity of ideas and ideals ... “ (Hayes 1931:64).

“From God, according to Bonald, develops each nationality through the agencies of its divine language and its divine law; it certainly could not develop through the agency of impious revolution. As each nationality develops, it acquires a distinctive national character, a distinctive political constitution, and ‘natural frontiers.’ Such has been the historical evolution of Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Englishmen, and such will | be the outcome of the contemporary evolution of Germans and Italians” (Hayes 1931:96-97).

He [Bentham] repeatedly referred to ‘English liberties’ in such a manner as to suggest that the English nationality alone possessed a real love of freedom. He made mention of the ‘English mind’ and ‘the spirit of the British people’” (Hayes 1931:126).

“Yet, according to Taine, race and environment do not operate upon a tabula rasa; they are conditioned by time, by the ‘epoch.’ Each age becomes the heir to the benefits of preceding ages and thereby adds historic traditions to physical environment and affects the racial development. Again borrowing a figure from the plant-world, Taine explains that ‘the same plant, under the same temperature, and in the same soil, produces at different steps of its progressive development different formations – buds, | flowers, fruits, seed-vessels — in such a manner that the one which follows must always be preceded by the former, and must spring up from its death.’

“Race, environment, epoch – these three, then, are the forces which determine national character and national culture” (Hayes 1931:181-182).

“From such an arrangement, Fichte was sure that great happiness would result. Each nation would mind its own business and concentrate on the welfare of all its citizens. The nation would not need a large army or suffer the miseries of war. The citizens would strengthen their national character, attain to a high conception of national honor, and evince a noble national patriotism. Altogether, Fichte’s plea was for an economic adjunct to Jacobin nationalism, a kind of national socialism” (Hayes 1931:264?).

„Der Struwelpeter aber stellt nicht nur Szenen dar, wo fremde Wesen gequält werden, sondern auch solche, wo ein Kind — ein dem Lesenden identisches Wesen — bestraft wird“ (Homburger 1931:13).

„Eine breite Schicht von Künstlern ist es ja, die eine Neigung hat, das eigene Haar hoch zu bewerten und sich eben im Haarschnitt deutlich von anderen Menschen abzuheben; man kann es eine Art Kult mit sich, einen Narzißmus nennen, den sie auf diese Weise sehen lassen. Folgen wir diesem Anklang, so bemerken wir, daß es nicht etwa die persönlich eitlen Züge sein müssen, die den Narzißmus des Künstlers dokumentieren, hat er doch in seinen Werken ein umfassenderes Mittel, das Gleichnis seines Wesens auf eine Ebene der Kultivierung zu erheben, welche allen sichtbar ist. Und es muß zum Reiz des Kunstwerkes wie ein andermal des Künstlers selbst gehören, was Freud als das Anziehende des Kindes und Tieres und des narzißtischen Weibes bezeichnet hat: seine ‚Selbstgenügsamkeit und Unzugänglichkeit‘, ein Stück souveräner Welt, das sich keine Verkleinerung gefallen läßt“ (Homburger 1931a:420).

NOTE: See Schlein/Erikson 1987:42-43 for a translation of Homburger 1931.

“diesem Über-Ich,” “das Ich” (Homburger 1931a:423)

“The totemic situation must be recognized as atypical. As noted, in Polynesia there is no identity of the animal with the social group, the totem does not serve as group emblem; it does not act as an index of marriage regulations, not being associated with the rule of exogamy; a careful study of the evidence does not point to any real belief in the descent of the members of the human group from the totem. And as far as the majority of animal totem species is concerned, the economic interest in them is not of a pronounced type” (Firth 1931:394-395).

“The nearest approach to actual ‘incarnation’ is in the case of the personifications of Tuna and Feke, whose identity becomes easily merged in that of the individuals of their species” (Firth 1931:395).

“The assurances of love for Sicily, however, of identity with her people would have remained words had Frederick not cemented them with deeds” (Kantorowicz 1931:221).

“This does not involve the assumption that the Aranda system is derived historically from one identical with the existing Kariera system” (Radcliffe-Brown 1931:452).

“A SQUAT grey building of only thirty-four stories. Over the main entrance the words, CENTRAL LONDON HATCHERY AND CONDITIONING CENTRE, and, in a shield, the World State’s motto, COMMUNITY, IDENTITY, STABILITY” (Huxley [1932] 1994:1).

“ ‘Bokanovsky’s Process is one of the major instruments of social stability! ... Ninety-six identical twins working ninety-six identical machines!’ The voice was almost tremulous with

enthusiasm. ‘You really know where you are. For the first time in history.’ He quoted the planetary motto. ‘Community, Identity, Stability.’ Grand words. ‘If we could bokanovskify indefinitely the whole problem would be solved.’

“Solved by standard Gammas, unvarying Deltas, uniform Epsilons. Millions of identical twins. The principle of mass production at last applied to biology” (Huxley [1932] 1994:5).

“Sarojini apologized and slid into her place between Jim Bokanovsky and Herbert Bakunin. The group was now complete, the solidarity circle perfect and without flaw. Man, woman, man, in a ring of endless alternation round the table. Twelve of them ready to be made one, waiting to come together, to be fused, to lose their twelve separate identities in a larger being” (Huxley [1932] 1994:69).

“He woke once more to external reality, looked round him, knew what he saw – knew it, with a sinking sense of horror and disgust, for the recurrent delirium of his days and nights, the nightmare of swarming | indistinguishable sameness. Twins, twins. ... Like maggots they had swarmed defilingly over the mystery of Linda's death” (Huxley [1932] 1994:183-184).

“ ‘I was wondering,’ said the Savage ... Why don't you make everybody an Alpha Double Plus while you're about it?”

“Mustapha Mond laughed. ‘Because we have no wish to have our throats cut,’ he answered. ‘We believe in happiness and stability. A society of Alphas couldn't fail to be unstable and miserable. Imagine a factory staffed by Alphas-that is to say by separate and unrelated individuals of good heredity and conditioned so as to be capable (within limits) of making a free choice and assuming responsibilities. Imagine it!’ he repeated” (Huxley [1932] 1994:195).

“The utilitarians have been criticized because no inference could be made of the identity of interests from the solidarity of interests; but it is the same with the solidarity of perfection. The choice must be made; if my first duty is to be a person, I must reduce to the minimum all that is impersonal in me” (Durkheim 1933 :414).

“Each of us has his opinions, his beliefs, his personal aspirations, and holds to them. It is even mingled with altruism, for it happens that we have a way of our own of being altruistic which clings to our personal character, to the texture of our spirit, and which we refuse to cast off” (Durkheim 1933 :198).

“The growth of the division of labor is thus brought about by the social segments losing their individuality, the divisions becoming more permeable. In short, a coalescence takes place which makes new combinations possible in the social substance” (Durkheim 1933:256).

“One can, nevertheless, ask oneself if, in organized societies, the organ does not play the same role as the segment; if it is not probable that the corporative and occupational mind replaces the mind of the native village, and exercises the same influence as it did. In this case they would not gain anything by the change. Doubt is permitted to a great extent, as the caste-mind has certainly had this effect, and the caste is a social organ. We also know how the organization of bodies of trades has, for a long time, hindered the development of individual variations” (Durkheim 1933 :302).

“The average type results from the superposition of individual types, and expresses what they have most in common. Consequently, the traits of which it is formed are as much more defined as they are more identically repeated in the different members of the group, for, when this identity is complete, they are found again intact, with all their characteristics and in all their details” (Durkheim 1933 :326-327).

“Mr. Davies and Mr. Cameron naturally gravitated towards each other in the corner of the pill-box furthest from the door—artillery officers always seemed to drift into the corner of the pill-box furthest from the door—and in a short time were deep in conversation. They discussed the usual topics, the general bloodiness of the war, the shocking hold-up in the leave-rotation since the Passchendaele offensive first began, the tragic sublimity of the Staff, and the foulness of the weather. They compared the number of consecutive days on which their respective batteries had received marmalade in their rations instead of jam—the East Flint battery apparently was leading by a hundred and eighteen days against ninety-six—returned to the general bloodiness of the war, and then settled down to discuss, in discreet whispers, their infantry hosts and, finally, the general characteristics of the nation from which both Rutland Fusiliers and Melton Mowbray Light Infantry were recruited” (Macdonell 1933:8).

“ ‘Oh, by the way, since I saw you last I've found out something about the English. There are two things you must never, never rag them about. One is the team spirit in cricket. You must never suggest in any sort of way that there are any individuals in cricket. It's the highest embodiment on earth of the Team.’” (Macdonell 1933:48).

“Nor did the French, usually so gallant, come well out of the subsequent controversy, for the only counter which they could find to the Teuton argument that the spirits of Bernhardt, of Hindenburg, of the Vaterland itself, are all like solid cylinders of basalt, was that Madame Bernhardt, in her later years, was just as solid a cylinder as any dirty little Prussian general” (Macdonell 1933:70).

“In the middle of August, Davies telephoned to Donald and asked him to come round to the office in Henrietta Street and report progress. Donald was frankly depressed, and he said so. ‘I'm out of my depth,’ he said. ‘My feet aren't on the ground.’ Davies laughed. He found his young friend's perplexities amusing. ‘I didn't imagine you'd find it very easy,’ he said. ‘But don't forget what I told you in that infernal pill-box, years ago. I've got a sort of instinctive notion that the English character – ’ ‘There's no such thing,’ interrupted Donald. ‘They're all different.’ ‘That the English character,’ went on Davies firmly, ‘is based fundamentally upon kindness and poetry. Just keep that notion in mind, whether you agree with it or not. And now listen to me, I've got a job for you’” (Macdonell 1933:141).

“The guardians of the law were thus fully occupied at the moment of the dastardly outrage, and Gwladys was never called upon to testify, coyly, in a witness-box to the identity of the curly-haired young man who had smiled upon her so fetchingly” (Macdonell 1933:172).

“In culture too we must imagine a great arc on which are ranged the possible interests provided either by the human age-cycle or by the environment or by man's various activities. A culture that capitalized even a considerable proportion of these would be as unintelligible as a language that used all the clicks, all the glottal stops, all the labials, dentals, sibilants, and

gutturals from voiceless to voiced and from oral to nasal. Its identity as a culture depends upon the selection of some segments of this arc” (Benedict 1934:24).

“Nevertheless, nationality, meaning the feeling of appurtenance to a nation, is fundamentally different from nationality in the sense of membership of a state. They spring from different causes; and it is perfectly possible for them to be directed towards different objects.

“The former, which may for convenience be called the sense of personal nationality, is founded on characteristics which are personal, often inherited, and usually objective. These characteristics exist in the individual quite independently of the locality in which he may be domiciled, whether the majority of its inhabitants share them or no, and independently of the political regime under which he may live, whether this be in the hands of persons possessing the same characteristics or no. The body of persons possessing these characteristics constitutes the nation. The knowledge which each man must possess that he belongs to some such community, which is linked together and differentiated from the rest of the world by common possession of these national characteristics, constitutes his national consciousness.

“The characteristics on which this [national] consciousness is based | vary greatly, but, broadly speaking, they are covered by the trinity of the Minority Treaties; race, language, and religion. These between them comprise practically every aspect under which the sense of personal nationality can be apprehended and manifested. The importance attached to each of them varies, indeed, greatly at different times and in different places. In one man’s mind religion may be the dominating factor, in another’s race, language in that of a third. Usually, however, it is true to say that at any given moment most members of the same nation recognize at least one of them as the essential factor in their national identity” (MacCartney 1934:6-7).

“each language, with its choice of words, its turn of phrase, its every idiom and peculiarity, is a sort of philosophy which expresses the past history, the character, the psychological identity of those accustomed to use it” (MacCartney 1934:7).

“Civilized Greece was never tempted, like the barbarian nations of the west and the north, to merge her individuality in that of the conqueror.

“The assimilation seems to have been largely painless, after the first savage resistance of the barbarians had in each case been broken. There is record enough of rebellions against Roman rule, and especially against the harsh tributes imposed and the conscription of manpower for foreign service in the legions. There is, however, little evidence of any tenacious struggle for the retention of national individuality as such” (MacCartney 1934:28).

On Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages: “The same localization of interests and decay of the true national spirit had operated through the east upon the conquered peoples, and perhaps to an even greater degree, since with few exceptions they were reduced almost entirely to serf status” (MacCartney 1934:66).

“The Magyars had been subjected for three hundred years to the Habsburgs, who had done their best to crush their national spirit” (MacCartney 1934:90).

“The closing years of the eighteenth century saw the commencement of an extraordinary national revival which gradually swept over Europe until hardly one of her nations escaped it. It came not merely to the Poles, the fall of whose kingdom shocked them into a truer and more intense patriotism; not merely to the Magyars, whose leaders had been almost content to sell their birthright for Maria Theresa’s pottage, till her less cautious son threatened their

social order with their national identity together, and drove them into defence of both” (MacCartney 1934:92).

“For the German thinkers, on the other hand, it was freedom that was irrelevant – freedom, that is, as between the members of the nation. It was no hypocrisy that led many of their most fervent nationalists to prostrate themselves in a manner almost incredible to western thinkers before the physical force of Prussia and the authority of her deeply undemocratic form of government. For them the highest ideal was the unity of the nation (i.e. the personal nationality), and institutions safeguarding the liberty of the individual were far less important than those factors by which the unity of the race could be fostered. Thus the state assumes what is almost a mystical function. Its first duty is to develop the national character, the specific national Kultur. Treitschke, for example, specifically denies that the functions and nature of the state are exhausted by its political duties as guardian of order. The Rechtsstaat is not enough.

“‘The State’, he says, ‘is a moral community, and is called on to positive achievements for the education of the human race, and its last purpose is that in it and through it a people shall educate itself to a real character; for that is the highest moral duty, for a people as for an individual’¹” (MacCartney 1934:103).

“¹ Politik, i. 81” (MacCartney 1934:103, footnote 1).

“The very era which saw the first burgeonings of the national spirit in eastern Europe witnessed the greatest violation ever committed against it in modern times, in the shape of the partition of Poland. The effect of this political crime was profound” (MacCartney 1934:104).

1 “‘Statement of claims’ by the Italian Delegation to the Peace Conference: ‘There need be no fear that Italy will create new forms of irredentism, which is always the result of injustice and persecution, since Italy’s history gives assurance in this respect. The French-speaking citizens of the Valle D’Aosta, the Slavs of the Natisone, the Germans of the Sette Comuni, have never felt that they were living under a foreign Government, because Italy has always respected their individuality.

“‘Europe, which has never heard any complaints or protests on the part of these long-standing citizens of the Italian State, will likewise never hear in the future of any injustice inflicted upon Germans and Slavs whom the course of events will now bring within the new Italian boundaries’” (Reprinted in M. Currey, *Italian Foreign Policy, 1918-32*, pp. 15 ff.). (MacCartney 1934:109, footnote 1).

“The state of Turkey was still primitive. It was therefore reserved to Hungary to become the scene of the first really violent minorities struggle, just as it was in the same territory that many of the most difficult minority problems presented themselves in the twentieth century

...

“This unenviable distinction fell to Hungary partly in consequence of her extreme racial complexity. Partly, too, it was undoubtedly due to the peculiar national character of the Magyars. A fiery warrior people, intensely proud, impetuous, and always inclining to extremes, the Magyars preserved throughout their long struggle with their minorities an attitude of sovereign and unconcealed contempt, expressed in the frankest terms, which was peculiarly galling to their enemies” (MacCartney 1934:113).

“As has already been stated, steps had early been taken to enlarge the system of minority protection beyond the boundaries of Poland. At its very first meeting, the New States Committee had referred to its future task of drafting a treaty for Czecho-Slovakia, and had agreed that ‘apart from any detailed modifications of form which may appear necessary, those changes which have been drafted especially for the case of Poland should be applied also to Czechoslovakia’ (MacCartney 1934:240).

“* Cf. Temperley, H.P.C., vol. v, pp. 126 ff, which counts the Serb-Croat-Slovene Kingdom as an extension of Serbia. In May 1919 it was clearly considered that there had been a ‘breach of identity.’ On June 30th the New States Committee discussed the question and failed to find an answer” (MacCartney 1934:240, footnote).

“Finally, we come to the most difficult class of all: those minorities which possess an active national consciousness, ardently desire to belong to a national state of their own, and could, by their geographical position, have done so, had the frontier lines been drawn somewhat differently. A mere frontier revision, keeping intact the existing state system, could yet give them what they want and what their | kinsmen want for them. Such are the remaining Germans of the Corridor, and of Polish Upper Silesia; the Ruthenes of east Galicia and the Bukovina; the Russians of Bessarabia ; the Magyars of Slovakia, Transylvania, and northern Yugoslavia; the Bulgars of the Dobrudja, western Serbia, Macedonia, and Thrace; the Albanians of Montenegro, Old Serbia, and north-western Greece; the Germans of Slovenia, and, among the minorities not protected by treaty, the Austrian Germans and the Slovenes of Italy” (MacCartney 1934:415-416).

“The slightest attempt by members of the minority to assert their national identity is construed as irredentism, and the persons making it thrown into prison or driven into exile. The vernacular press has been suppressed or, at best, subjected to the most rigid censorship” (MacCartney 1934:417).

“There seems no doubt that the Communists are genuinely trying to realize their own theories of the absolute equality of all nationalities, the identity of interests of the proletarians of all nations, and. the disassociation of nationality from questions of state” (MacCartney 1934:462).

“Finally, generalization would raise a whole series of difficulties, of quite a different nature, but exceedingly formidable. Are immigrants, for example, to be entitled to international protection? It is clear that their position is entirely different from that of autochthonous populations transferred to alien sovereignty by treaty. They enter their new home of their free will, establishing themselves among a population which regards the country as its own. As a rule, indeed, they are only anxious to become assimilated. In their case it is eminently desirable that the general provisions of Arts. 2 and 7 (Polish Treaty) should be applied; but those provisions which are designed to permit the retention of national identity stand on a different footing. If a state is willing to allow them their schools, it is acting in the interests both of humanity and of its own welfare. Yet so long as every state enjoys, as it does to-day, full and complete discretion as to whom it will or will not admit as immigrants, it is surely reasonable that a state should refuse to admit as permanent settlers a large body of alien population which proposes to retain its alien characteristics, particularly if this is an overflow from a | neighbouring country, and most certainly if that country is then to be allowed to interfere in its domestic affairs” (MacCartney 1934:493-494).

“identity of stimuli” (G. H. Mead 1934:65); “identity of response” (G. H. Mead 1934:125); “identity of function” (G. H. Mead 1934:325); “a sympathetic identity with the hero or heroine” (G. H. Mead 1934:371).

“That conception of democracy is in itself as universal as religion, and the appearance of this political movement was essentially religious in so far as it had the gospel of Rousseau behind it. It proceeded also with a sense of propaganda. It undertook to overthrow the old organization of society and substitute its own form of society in its place. In that sense these two factors – one the dominance of the individual or group over other groups, the other the sense of brotherhood and identity of different individuals in the same group – came together in the democratic movement; and together they inevitably imply a universal society, not only in a religious sense, but ultimately in a political sense as well. This gets an expression in the League of Nations, where every community recognizes every other community in the very process of asserting itself. The smallest community is in a position to express itself just because it recognizes the right of every other nation to do the same” (G. H. Mead 1934:287).

“The unconscious identification of the country in which one lives with the threatened or suffering mother, and the enemy with the brutal father against whom the boy, the young hero, has to defend her may be pointed out as a common one” (Homburger 1935, reprinted in Erikson/Schlein 1987:19).

“From the experience of earlier students he [the anthropologist doing research in the Plains] knows what details are significant in setting off his tribe from its neighbors. If he inquires whether it is customary to raise a tipi on a three or four-pole foundation, if he notes the precise arrangement of painted lozenges and triangles on a rawhide bag, it is because these apparent trivialities have proved important in defining tribal individuality” (Lowie 1935:xvii).

“All Crow agree that the Sacred Pipe ... came from the Hidatsa in relatively recent times ... In a way it remained an alien medicine in tribal consciousness, and many were afraid to own it for fear of breaking some of the taboos” (Lowie 1935:269).

“We have reached here the peak of the Crow spirit. With a splendid gesture the hero turns away from the earthly goods that figure so largely in Crow prayers; he has no thought even of glory, he thinks only of his suffering kin in a hostile camp ...” (Lowie 1935:334).

“We have seen how the Mundugumor ideal of character is identical for the two sexes; how both men and women are expected to be violent, competitive, aggressively sexed, jealous and ready to see and avenge insult, delighting in display, in action, in fighting. The Mundugumor have selected as their ideal the very types of men and women which the Arapesh consider to be so incomprehensible that they hardly allow for their occurrence” (M. Mead [1935] 1948:225).

“The average man in any society looks into his heart and finds there a reflection of the world about him. The delicate educational process that has made him into an adult has assured him this spiritual membership in his own society. But this is not true of the individual for whose temperamental gifts his society has no use, nor even tolerance” (M. Mead [1935] 1948:290).

“A society without a rigid sex-dichotomy merely says to the child who shows aberrant behaviour traits: ‘Don’t behave like that’ ... But it does not occur to either the Arapesh or the Mundugumor to add: ‘You aren’t behaving like a boy at all. You are behaving like a girl’ ... It is not forced to identify with a parent of opposite sex by being told that its own sex is very much in question ... The | Arapesh and Mundugumor children are spared this form of confusion” (M. Mead [1935] 1948:296-297).

“A third way in which our dichotomy of social personality by sex affects the growing child is the basis it provides for a cross-sex identification with the parents. The invocation of a boy’s identification with his mother to explain his subsequent assumption of a passive rôle towards members of his own sex is familiar enough in modern psychiatric theory. It is assumed that through a distortion of the normal course of personality development the boy fails to identify with his father and so loses the clue to normal ‘masculine’ behaviour. Now there is no doubt that the developing child searching for clues to his social role in life usually finds his most important models in those who stand in a parental relationship to him during his early years. But I would suggest that we have still to explain why these identifications occur, and that the cause lies not in any basic femininity in the small boy’s temperament, but in the existence of a dichotomy between the standardized behaviour of the sexes. We have to discover why a given child identifies with a parent of opposite sex rather than with the parent of its own sex ... some children ... choose the parents of opposite sex, not to love best, but as the persons with whose motives and purposes they feel most at one, whose choices they feel they can make their own then they are grown” (Mead [1935] 1948:299).

“the little girl may build up an identification with her father, and a theory that she is more like a boy than like a girl ... The psychiatrist who finds her later in life wearing mannish attire, following a male occupation, and unable to find happiness in marriage may say that identification with the opposite sex was the cause of her failure to adjust as a woman. But this explanation does not reveal the fact that the identification would not have occurred in these terms if there had been no dichotomy of sex-attitudes in the society. The Arapesh child ...” (Mead [1935] 1948:301).

“in modern society, ... deviant men often choose deviant women. So the child, groping for clues, may make a false identification because its own temperament is like that decreed for the opposite sex, or a false identification because, while it is itself fitted for easy adjustment, the parent of its own sex is maladjusted” (Mead [1935] 1948:302).

“I have discussed first identification along temperamental lines, but the identification may also be made in other terms. The original identification may be through intelligence or specific artistic gifts, the gifted child identifying with the more gifted parent, regardless of sex” (Mead [1935] 1948:302).

“A version of this tale is given by Landtman (1917, p. 489), but in this story two Kiwai men quarrelled about the identity of the sun and moon” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. I., 1935:42).

“Mummification was practised even when the corpse was destined for cremation or some other form of destruction ... [this] suggests that the custom was borrowed and followed as a mere ritual practice that had neither a utilitarian purpose to serve, nor could it have been prompted by the motives that originally gave rise to the art of embalming – i.e. to preserve

the corpse indefinitely from decay, and perpetuate the identity of the individual” (Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vol. I., 1935:331).

Note: Add passages from Bateson 1936.

“We are now in a better position to understand this doctrine of identity when we meet with it again, notably among the Koryaks ...

“The equivalences are somewhat obscured, but they can still be seen: – whale = image; animal = performer; performer = creator and ancestor ...

“Ritual equivalence then nowhere consists in material identity, but in sharing a common spirit, life, or whatever you may choose to call it” (Hocart [1936] 1970:51, 53, 58).

“the [Tongan] king was occasionally inspired by the spirit of a one-time ruler, and a prince by that of his father’s immediate predecessor. The latter ... | felt himself all over in a glow of heat and quite restless and uncomfortable, and did not feel his own personal identity as it were, but seemed to have a mind different from his own natural mind” (Lowie 1936:89-90).

“the alleged identity of nature-spirits with human souls ...” (Lowie 1936:116).

“ ‘You have least to complain of. You lose your sons, but these people have lost a way of life, and with it their pride, their dignity, their strength. Men like Jeff Irving have murdered their fathers and their sons with impunity. Gross-natured officials have despoiled them, they are insulted when they present grievances. Of course’ since Grepilloux was a priest, and a faithful one, he added what in his heart seem to balance all that he had set against it – ‘they have God’” (McNickle 1936:59).

“If we tax our imagination and ask what a perfect classificatory system would be like, there is apparently a clear answer. A perfect classificatory system would consist of but a single term, this term being used to designate all relatives indiscriminately. This would mean complete terminological identity of all kinsmen, complete failure to recognize any of the categories of relationship, complete failure to express degrees of distance” (Davis and Warner 1937:308-309).

“All systems, for example, that leave the sibling relationship indefinite (and thus emphasize the identity of brothers) can be put into one class; all that leave the vertical connection indefinite can be put in another, etc.” (Davis and Warner 1937:309-310).

„Some think that even in the messianic age the Jewish people will retain its identity, as will other nations, the only difference being that all will profess the same creed. Some, whom we may call religious internationalists, dream of the mingling of all nations into one uniform mankind, likewise under the domination of one creed, the Jewish. Then the Jewish people will disappear, because it will have accomplished its duty and also because, in a sense, all men will have become Jews” (Baron 1937, vol. I:13).

“The tribes that went to Egypt were obviously a scant minority in the midst of a powerful nation. Nevertheless, after migrating through the desert, these tribes kept the memory of their previous dwelling in Palestine and of their blood relation with the Palestinian Hebrews ... Neither the territory of Palestine, nor the desert, nor Egypt is regarded as significant, but the memory of unity, a consciousness of a common history apart from that of other peoples. Only in this way can we explain the survival of the tribes in Egypt, the retention of their identity

and their return to a country which, while not that of their primeval origin, was the land of some of their brethren and, they felt, the scene of their destiny” (Baron 1937, vol. I:35).

“expressing an identification with a mother image” (Homburger 1937 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:84).

“men easily identify women with the wishes which they | stimulate” (Homburger 1937 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:129-130).

“Different in nature, but similar in function, is the role of the *logico-meaningful method of ordering chaos*. Here, however, the ordering element is not uniformity of relationship between the fragmentary variables, but *identity of meaning* or *logical coalescence*. Hidden behind the empirically different, seemingly unrelated fragments of the cultural complex lies an identity of meaning, which brings them together into consistent *styles*, typical *forms*, and significant *patterns*. If, therefore, *uniformity of relationship is the common denominator of causally united phenomena, in the logico-meaningful union it is identity of central meaning or idea*” (Sorokin 1937, vol. I:23).

“Any unit or subject exists as long as it retains its sameness or identity. When it | loses this, it ceases to exist as a given unit, as the same logical subject. If it ceases to exist, it cannot be in any process or in any change, because the nonexistent cannot either change or remain unchangeable. At least, while concerned primarily with the change, we must think of this subject or unit as unchangeable, as a mode of Being. Whatever it is that changes, whether man, electron, plant, earth, the Universe, Boston, a Beethoven symphony, even a process which is in course of modification, we can talk of its change or of its being in process only when we assume that that which changes preserves its identity (its Being), that it remains the same throughout the process it goes through: that, in brief, it remains unchanged to the extent of preserving its identity. When we say, ‘Mr. J. B. Smith has changed during the last fifteen years,’ or ‘Boston has changed greatly during the three hundred years of its existence,’ or ‘The process of education has undergone great transformations in the last forty years,’ we assert that these subjects have been changed but at the same time we believe that, in spite of change, we are still dealing with Mr. J. B. Smith, and not Mr. A. B. Jones; it is Boston and not New York; it is the same process of education, not that of baking bread. In spite of change these units preserved their identity, remained in the domain of Being. Otherwise we cannot contend that there was any change in these units, because if they were not the same subject in each case then there would have been no change but just two or more subjects quite different from the very beginning” (Sorokin 1937, vol. I:154-155).

“This reconciliation of permanent sameness with change is not the illogical matter that it seems. It is based on the fact that if the unit of change A consists of the essential elements a, b, c, together with other elements which are not essential — now m, now n, now f, now k, now l, or some combination of these. A, as an integration of the elements a, b, c, can remain constant and at the same time be in a process of change with reference to m, n, f, k, l, or their combinations; and thus A may change without losing its identity. In other words, any proposition that describes a process or a change in any unit A always concerns these additional elements, whether they be qualities, quantities, or other ‘modalities’ of A, the *differentia specifica* of its subclasses, sub-subclasses, varieties, or what not. But there must always remain some substratum as permanent and unchanging in the process. Otherwise, A ceases to exist. We can then state that the process of its change is ended by cessation of its existence, but we cannot say that A continues to change after it has ceased to exist. Such is

the logic of the “paradox” of the unification of unchangeableness with change” (Sorokin 1937, vol. I:155).

“Whether any process or phenomenon is recurrent or unique depends, by definition, on whether or not it is like some other phenomenon or process. If logically the concept of identity is absolute, empirically it is relative and has gradations. Any two phenomena or processes may be exactly alike in all their characteristics. Their identity in that case is complete. From this state of complete identity there may be gradations of decreasing identity until the phenomena become quite dissimilar” (Sorokin 1937, vol. I:164).

“We rarely deal in empirical reality with complete identity or complete dissimilarity. These ‘poles’ are rather ideal limits. We usually deal in fact with phenomena showing greater and less similarity or dissimilarity. As long as the phenomena are similar in all or in the majority, of their essential traits, they may be regarded as alike and as repeated. When they do not have any similar essential traits, they cannot be regarded as similar and therefore as recurrent. Between these limits there is considerable room for varying degrees of similarity and dissimilarity” (Sorokin 1937, vol. I:166).

“For those who know indeed the real character of the Soviet system in the period 1918-1922, its striking similarity – nay, identity – with the totalitarian system of Diocletian and the later Roman Empire needs no further evidence” (Sorokin 1937, vol. III:188)

“... the *relationships between different groups interacting with one another can either be organized or not ...*

“Any organized intragroup or intergroup system of social relationships experiences change in the process of its existence. These changes may be gradual or sudden, orderly or disorderly, slight or great, but any such network experiences them. Its change is one of the recurrent processes in the life history of any organized social group or intergroup relationship.

“The change may be orderly, brought about by the constituted authorities of the group, according to its written or unwritten laws and constitution, or according to the desires and mores of its members. Such a change represents an orderly modification or reconstruction of the system of social relationships of a given group or intergroup, and by it the network of social relationships at no moment is broken or smashed or ceases to function. Like a house which is being renovated gradually, the system, in such a reconstruction, continues to preserve its identity, its continuity, and its functions. It, and the group, or the intergroup, remain completely organized in all such reconstructions” (Sorokin 1937, vol. III:260).

“This axis has numerous ingredients, of which the sibling-link, L, is one of the most important. When the L category is left indefinite by a terminology, siblings of the same sex are not differentiated ... Omission of L is called ‘equivalence of brothers’ because a system which fails to distinguish between siblings of the same sex emphasizes their social identity” (Davis and Warner 1937:312).

“collective psychology”, “collective mentality” (Halbwachs 1938:title; 616).

“No single group has the undivided allegiance of the individual. The groups with which he is affiliated do not lend themselves readily to a simple hierarchical arrangement. By virtue of his different interests arising out of different aspects of social life, the individual acquires

membership in widely divergent groups, each of which functions only with reference to a single segment of his personality (Wirth 1938:16) ... While in a primitive and in a rural society it is generally possible to predict on the basis of a few known factors who will belong to what and who will associate with whom in almost every relationship of life, in the city we can only project the general pattern of group formation and affiliation, and this pattern will display many incongruities and contradictions (Wirth 1938:22) ... In view of the ineffectiveness of actual kinship ties we create fictional kinship groups. In the face of the disappearance of the territorial unit as a basis of social solidarity we create interest units (Wirth 1938:23).

“The character of a nation, in its formation and its manifestation, has its analogies with the character of an individual man. Each of us, in his moral growth, starts from a raw stuff of original nature, which is partly a matter of temperament, as determined by bodily structure and its peculiarities, and partly a matter both of inherited instincts common to our general kind and of inherited predispositions common to our immediate stock or family. We shape that raw stuff into a settled form, partly by submission to social discipline, in all its phases, and partly by the repeated exercise of moral choice along lines which gradually become definite and marked. That settled form is character — the sum of acquired tendencies built upon native bases and when it is achieved we have attained both unity of self and permanence of behaviour — we have built an identity which is constant, and expresses itself in what we may call expectable " action. In much the same way a nation starts from the raw stuff of its material basis ; in much the same way it builds upon it a sum of acquired tendencies ; in much the same way it settles into the unity and permanence of form which we call by the name of national character” (Barker 1939:5).

“For long centuries we were an agricultural people. To practise agriculture in uncertain weather is to learn not to make plans ahead, but to seize the occasion with a ready initiative, and to improvise for the emergency the measures which it demands. To distrust foresight (perhaps unduly) and to cultivate insight (perhaps with too large a temerity) – this will be a natural tendency. A people prone to such a tendency may seize opportunity by the forelock with a prompt response to the need of the hour ... it may show a rich individuality in design and execution; but it may readily fall into opportunism – being afraid, and almost incapable, of making plans for to-morrow” (Barker 1939:79).

“The engrained character of a nation is far more likely to affect and control the growth of occupationalism than to be controlled or expunged by it. There have always been guilds, but there are still nations; and the spirit of a nation still rises readily (perhaps only too readily) to meet even a fancied challenge, whether from without or from within, which menaces the sanctities of its tradition” (Barker 1939:96).

“we are now moving fast to the idea of a single society, in which all the members must be treated as | equally worth while, and in which the State, acting on a principle of equality (alike in its law, its suffrage, and its system of education), shoulders the burden of responsibility for the education of its members. But equality is not the same as identity ; and civic equality in the sphere of education does not imply that every citizen receives the same type of education” (Barker 1939:250-251).

“a nationalistic movement of mystic character” (Erikson 1939:107) – Ghost Dance

“But the Indian wars are an object lesson in the psychological fact that human beings in general harbor every degree of cruelty, and manifest it if they are either primitive and naïve enough not to suffer from identification with the victim, or if a leader’s fanaticism is allowed to take possession of their minds, releasing an ‘aggression in *majorem gloriam*’, and thus relieving the individual of the inhibitive burden of sympathy and individual responsibility” (Erikson 1939:108).

“the unwritten laws of the Plains Indians” (Erikson 1939:108)

“Due consideration is necessary as to the degree to which it is possible, advisable, and practical to make a striving member of one race, group, or generation understand – i.e., identify with – a member of another one” (Erikson 1939:121).

“conscience” (Erikson 1939:123)

“as far as the latent psychological prerequisites are concerned, it seems that at the moment there is more inclination towards delinquency, both in the narrower sense of actual juvenile delinquency and in the form of a general and intangible passive resistance against any further and more final impact of the white standards on the Indian conscience than toward neurotic tension, such as self-blame in the service of the white standards” (Erikson 1939:124).

“Indian conscience” (Erikson 1939:125)

“centrifugal character” of Sioux man (Erikson 1939:126)

“group spirit” (Erikson 1939:144, footnote 21)

“mental state of individual members” (Erikson 1939:151)

“character” (Erikson 1939:151)

“the child is developing in himself a system of communication between self and body and self and kin on the unequivocal [sic] firmness of which mental health is based” (Erikson 1939:153)

“his racial as well as his individual history” (Erikson 1939:153)

“national pattern” (Erikson 1939:153)

“two opposing systems of conscience” (Erikson 1939:154)

1940

Note: “First published in *Cyclopedia of Medicine* (Philadelphia: Davis Col., 1940), 714-30. Reprinted in *Outline of Abnormal Psychology*, eds. Gardner Murphy and Arthur J. Bachrach (New York: Modern Library, 1954), 3-36). This article is Erikson’s first paper on human development and the life stages” (Schlein in Erikson/Schlein 1987:547, footnote).

“the integrity of the personality” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:548)

“the developing personality” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:550)

“cultural problems of a new personality” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:551)

“the acculturation of the vital orifices of the body” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:551)

“delusions of omnipotence and panics of impotence” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:552 [sic])

“individual personality” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:554)

“psychic integrity” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:559)

“As these tendencies appear and disappear on the surface of behavior, they may result in not so easily observable *lasting identifications* with father, mother, or other important members of the household” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:560).

“Often mother and father are fighting educational battles with their children which have remained undecided in their own childhood; families, generations, races, classes, cultures may be found to be represented in small differences which are jealousy [sic] guarded. Physicians have no right to belittle them; they once were, are, or are going to be the safeguard and symbol of virtues which helped a group to maintain itself in its historical setting. They are thus comparable to the developmental habits of the child, which, if they become compulsive, deserve serious consideration” (Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:561; cf. Erikson 1954:24).

“Freud on occasion referred ... to such similarities between his concepts and those of prepsychological thinkers, the last example being the identity of the *life and death instincts* with Empedocles’ *philia* and *veikos*” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:146).

“brought the toy dog with a damage identical with her dog friend’s injury” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:153).

“Today, ... he acts as a victim ... when asked for the identity of somebody who is characterized as ‘mother’s *many* brothers’” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:168).

“After having assumed the good mother role (mother identification) and ...” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:179)

“similarly he changes his roles of identification easily, although at times radically” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:192)

“His acts and words are almost identical with those of the first contact ...” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:194)

“These two classes of ideas in almost identical formulations ...” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:198)

“After having ... arranged ... for the physician and himself to be identified in standards and functions in regard to such children ...” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:206)

“Dick today is completely identified with the voice of conscience” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:209).

“It represents what Anna Freud calls ‘the identification with the ... aggressor’” ... (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:229)

“a given complex of ideas is represented on the dynamic scale of a culture’s collective consciousness: in one variation as historical memory and in another as mythological history” (Erikson 1940a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:235, endnote 2)

“What we understand by political structure will be evident as we proceed, but we may state as an initial definition that we refer to relations within a territorial system between groups of persons who live in spatially well-defined areas and are conscious of their identity and exclusiveness” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:4).

“The adult male population falls into stratified groups based on age, and we call these groups ‘age-sets’ ... | ... Though the sets are conscious of their social identity, they have no corporate functions” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:6-7).

“The linguistic identification of a man with his favourite ox cannot fail to affect his attitude to the beast, and to Europeans the custom is the most striking evidence of the pastoral mentality of the Nuer” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:18).

“So many physical, psychological, and social requirements can be satisfied from | this one source that Nuer attention, instead of being diffused in a variety of direction, tends ... to be focused on this single object and to be introvertive, since the object has a certain identity with themselves. We will now examine briefly some linguistic material wherein we shall perceive further evidence of this hypertrophy of a single interest and of the identification of men with cattle” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:40-41).

“All Nuer live in a continuous stretch of country. There are no isolated sections. However, their feeling of community goes deeper than recognition of cultural identity ... a Nuer is never a foreigner to another as he is to a Dinka or a Shilluk” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:123).

“each of its segments tends to be associated with a segment of the tribe in such a way that there is a correspondence, and often linguistic identification, between the parts of the clan and the parts of a tribe” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:212).

“The age-set system ... segments the male population of a tribe into stratified groups which stand in a definite relationship to one another and it cuts across territorial divisions, giving identity of status where there is political disparity and differentiating status where there is political identity” (Evans-Pritchard 1940:260).

“We must ... distinguish between the set of relationships linking the individual to other persons and to particular social units through the transient, bilateral family, which we shall call the kinship system, and the segmentary system of permanent, unilateral descent groups,

which we call the lineage system. Only the latter establishes corporate units with political functions” (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard 1940:6).

The king “symbolized for the Zulu their identity as a nation as against the Swazi and other Bantu, and European, powers. The nation is a federation of tribes whose separate identities were symbolized by their chiefs. The tribes were even autonomous within the national organization for on occasion many tribesmen supported their chiefs in quarrels with the king, though some were swayed by national loyalties. However, it was in the relations between tribes that tribal identities mainly appeared ... For the people of any tribe of some strength were proud of their traditions and their chiefly line, were loyal to their chief and quick to resent any attempt by other chiefs to interfere in their tribal affairs” (Gluckman 1940:40).

“the chiefs, and especially the king, symbolize Zulu traditions and values” (Gluckman 1940:49).

“Rights and duties, privileges and obligations are vested in corporate units; and any authorized member can act on behalf of the unit. The principle of representation, rooted in the identification of lineage members with one another, is inherent in Tale social structure.

“The range of participation determines what units emerge in a particular situation – the maximal lineages in clan activities, the constituent segments in lineage affairs, the clans in activities [*sic*] involving many communities ... Segments bitterly opposed over divergent interests unite vigorously on matters of common interest ...

“The corporate identity and solidarity of the units thus delimited by agnatic descent and locality are functions of a differentiated constitution sustained by definite sanctions” (Fortes 1940:251).

“The *kpeem* is the principle representative of the lineage, the focus of the forces maintaining its corporate unity and identity” (Fortes 1940:252).

“Every lineage, whatever its span, worships the shrine ... of its ancestors separately. This is the primary index of its differentiation from other like units and the arch-symbol of its corporate identity and relative autonomy” (Fortes 1940:253).

“People who sacrifice together, whether as kinsfolk or through ties of ritual collaboration, must be at amity with one another, else they offend the ancestors” (Fortes 1940:253).

“the Council of Austrians can claim to be more representative of a refugee community than any other body in this country; it can probably speak for over half of the 12,000 Austrians in the country, and certainly for the majority of Austrian refugees who do not wish to lose their Austrian identity” (Lafitte 1940:54).

“The essential identity of anthropology and sociology is becoming ever more apparent” (Redfield 1940:733).

“Since the Negroes were brought from all parts of the African continent, spoke diverse languages, represented greatly differing bodies of custom, and, as a matter of policy, were distributed in the New World so as to lose tribal identity, no least common denominator of understanding or behavior could have possibly been worked out by them” (Herskovits 1941:1).

“No other representatives of a primitive race have had so prolonged and so intimate an association with European civilization, and still preserved their racial identity” (Herskovits 1941:12).

“The realistic appraisal of the problem attempted here follows the hypothesis that this group, like all other folk who have maintained a group identity in this country, have retained something of their cultural heritage, while at the same time accommodating themselves, in whatever measure the exigencies of the historical situation have permitted, to the customs of the country as a whole” (Herskovits 1941:145).

“The artist was self-effacing and merged his identity in that of the community: Phidias, Polycletus, Polygnotus, Sophocles, and other masters were just *primi inter pares* in a collective religious or patriotic enterprise embracing the whole community” (Sorokin 1941:38).

“The whole community built a cathedral or church. Individual leaders did not care to affix their name to their creation. With very insignificant exceptions, we do not know even the identity of the creators of the foremost cathedrals, sculptures, or other masterpieces of medieval art” (Sorokin 1941:41).

“If our culture becomes more and more torn by inner contradictions; if its soul is split and divided against itself; if it loses more and more its identity and uniformity, if it ceases to be loyal to itself; if it begins to doubt its primogeniture; if its selective rigor and digestive power diminish; if it turns more and more into a mere dumping place; if the disease of quantitative colossalism increasingly eats away the vitals of its creative genius, what except a decline of its creativeness can be expected?” (Sorokin 1941:256-257).

“The Indians today live for the most part in communities in each of which they retain ethnic identity and separateness from Ladinos expressed in a unified Indian social-political-religious system, in a body of cultural meanings and beliefs not shared by Ladinos, in a distinguishing costume pattern, and in the use of an Indian dialect” (Tax 1941:28).

“Certain associations may be informal ... Nevertheless there is a feeling that the group is ‘ours,’ that a member should do and not do certain things lest he offend those whom belong to his association. There is ordinarily a close identity among the various members and usually a feeling of intimacy among them. The *clique* in our society is an example of an informal association” (Warner and Lunt 1941:32).

“Constant identification with clique members of a higher class and possession of the ‘right’ behavior symbols almost guarantee upward mobility” (Warner and Lunt 1941:351).

“tribal identity” (d’Harnoncourt 1942:146).

“The other Western nations had their democratic revolutions. They, as the great German sociologist Max Weber demonstrated, by gradually taking over the privileges of their aristocratic classes, had thereby identified with aristocratic ideals” (Erikson 1942:479).

“The identification with the father which had been well established in early childhood, would come to the fore” (Erikson 1942:480).

“This chapter [in *Mein Kampf*] ... asks both fathers and sons to identify with the Führer” (Erikson 1942:480).

“He is the Führer: *a glorified older brother*, who replaces the father, taking over all his prerogatives without over-identifying with him” (Erikson 1942:480).

“American mentality” (Erikson 1942:482),

“The German, without integrating identifications anywhere, began to listen to Hitler’s imagery ...” (Erikson 1942:486).

“Soon the adolescent finds that he has relinquished his old self without either gaining a new self or a sustaining social recognition” (Erikson 1942:486).

“There is only one goal: to be himself, even if there is little he can call self ...” (Erikson 1942:486).

“But to indicate the elaboration in a cultural systems of adolescent or infantile potentialities does not mean to belittle it” (Erikson 1942:486).

“the German national character” (Erikson 1942:489).

“If Hitler, therefore, denied the defeat of this army with all the weapons of self-deception and fake, he saved for himself and for German youth an image to identify with” (Erikson 1942:489).

“it is probable that they can identify with their machines without losing their heads” (Erikson 1942:490).

“the German mind” (Erikson 1942:490)

“the German character” (Erikson 1942:490),

“contradictions between his personal and his collective ideals” (Erikson 1942:490).

“the boy’s first important steps toward an identification with his father (Erikson 1942:492)

“The magic spell of collective ideals” (Erikson 1942:492)

“personality” (Erikson 1942a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:354)

“To Hitler, as for many Germans, his identification with the ‘lonely infantrist’ who does not ask questions is as basic as the identification with the ‘little man’ is for Henry A. Wallace or Wendell Willkie” (Erikson 1942a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:358).

“In asking the German people also to identify with the German soldiers, he implicitly and explicitly suggests that they forget about war guilt and war aims and try to make the best of the situation as it is” (Erikson 1942a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:358).

“America’s mechanical genius, industrial spirit, and traditional personality traits” (Erikson 1942a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:361).

“American personality structure” (Erikson 1942a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:361, footnote; with reference to M. Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry*, 1942).

“These primary ties block his full human development; they stand in the way of the development of his reason and his critical capacities; they let him recognize himself and others only through the medium of his, or their, participation in a clan, a social or religious community, and not as human beings; in other words, they block his development as a free, self-determining, productive individual. But although this is one aspect, there is another one. This identity with nature, clan, religion, gives the individual security. He belongs to, he is rooted in, a structuralized whole in which he has an unquestionable place. He may suffer from hunger or suppression, but he does not suffer from the worst of all pains – a -- complete aloneness and doubt” (Fromm 1942:29).

??? “The loss of the self and its substitution by a pseudo self leave the individual in an intense state of insecurity. He is obsessed by doubt since, being essentially a reflex of other people's expectation of him, he has in a measure lost his identity. In order to overcome the panic resulting from such loss of identity, he is compelled to conform, to seek his identity by continuous approval and recognition by others. Since he does not know who he is, at least the others will know--if he acts according to their expectation; if they know, he will know too, if he only takes their word for it” (Fromm 1942:176).

“the ancient identity of god and victim and worshipper is gone” (Hocart [1942] 1953:231).

“It seems likely that a study of existent relations here, taken together with their history, will help clarify the problem for all Guatemala; the study might also show why acculturation has gone much farther here than in the west, and indicate whether such Indians as of Totonicapan in Western Guatemala are undergoing a process of Ladinoization or only pseudo-Ladinoization in which they adopt certain Ladino while retaining their identity as Indians” (Beals, Redfield, and Tax 1943:17).

“our conscious and unconscious mental life remains filled with urges and aversions, with images and analogies which are the residues of the body’s earliest experiences” (Erikson 1943:iv).

“primitive systems of child training ... reveal mechanisms of an automatic mutual regulation of child training, tribal preservation, and individual mental health” (Erikson 1943:iv).

“Yurok culture” (Erikson 1943:257)

“ethnic background” (Erikson 1943:257)

“The ethos and peculiar logic of their life” (Erikson 1943:257)

“we would expect an individual ego to synthesize individually experiences typical form many; similarly, we assume that a group ego (or whatever we choose to name the organized and organizing core of a culture situated as it is in its constituent individual egos) tends to

take stock of and to synthesize what has been selected, accepted, and preserved” (Erikson 1943:259).

“the psychology of the ego, and its synthetic functions, in the sense that a tendency toward a conceptual synthesis of the inner and outer environment is a potentiality of the human mind ... which is developed as one of the infantile ego’s methods of orientation in the world, and which in adult life ... manifests itself in institutionalized human pursuits ...” (Erikson 1943:259).

“culture pattern” in same sentence with ref. to Kroeber (Erikson 1943:266)

With reference to a Yurok man – “his culture” (Erikson 1943:269)

“personality” and “ego” (Erikson 1943:276)

“cultural personality” (Erikson 1943:284)

An apparent equivalent of group identity?: “Probably there are healthy cultures and defective or senile ones; but the phobic potentiality of such, if part of a cultural personality, has at least a chance of integrating the unknown, of clarifying daily goals, of distributing attention and energy, and of preserving vitality” (Erikson 1943:284).

“his fraternity with all [Yurok] men” (Erikson 1943:290)

“the economic ethos” (Erikson 1943:290)

“cultural character” (Erikson 1943:290)

“group differences in character not only resemble, but are the conditioned results of, specific differences characterizing the various types of the inescapable traumatization of the human baby” (Erikson 1943:291).

“racial history” (Erikson 1943:291)

“We like to use ‘dirty’ terms for a form of defamation which often seems like an elimination in the direction of the defamed or even identifies him with the eliminated” (Erikson 1943:295).

“ ‘anal-neurotic’ individuals” combine “a narcissistic holding on to the ‘treasures’ of the cloaca ... with a sadistic identification of other individuals with an expelled waste product” (Erikson 1943:296).

Despite seeming to be expressions of anality, “Yurok child training and the Yurok’s identification of world and body focus on the *alimentary zone*” (Erikson 1943:297).

“sub-cultures” (Erikson 1943:299)

“race,” “class,” “tribe” (Erikson 1943:300, footnote 12)

“cultural and national differences” (Erikson 1943a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:347).

“The promiscuous girl is less desirable socially, but there is also less risk in having relations with her. Only pregnancy can impose a responsibility; and, since the identity of the father is difficult to prove, such entanglements may frequently be avoided (Whyte 1943:26).

“The head of each numbers company belongs to the syndicate, and there is one man who serves as president or chairman of the syndicate. His functions and even his identity are unknown to all but a few Cornerville people” (Whyte [1943a] 1955:120).

“If the man takes the trouble of appearing before the board of elections and proves his identity, he will be allowed to vote” (Whyte [1943a] 1955:239).

“Can any program be effective if all the top positions of formal authority are held by people who are aliens to Cornerville? What is the effect upon the individual when he has to subordinate himself to people that he recognizes are different from his own?” (Whyte [1943a] 1955:276).

“The constituents of practically all the medieval nations are diversified and without common tribal or cultural background. Professor Trend writes of the Catalan nation, which developed a clearly marked identity earlier than the larger nations of the West, that it ‘is above all an historical product ... On to the old Iberian stem have been grafted stocks that were Greek, Roman, Goth, Arab and Gaul ... It is the Catalan tradition which counts, not the descent of the Catalan race’” (Cobban 1944:47).

“The history of Europe is unique in that nowhere else, and at no other time, has such a considerable group of nation states survived in geographical contiguity and close association with one another over a period of many centuries ... It is therefore justifiable to regard the development of a widespread civilisation, in which nation states have not passed away before the attack of the imperial principle, as a peculiar characteristic of the Western | world” (Cobban 1944:50-52).

“There are several dangers in writing up constitutions for groups that are still predominantly full-blood and that maintain their culture largely on traditional patterns” (Mekeel 1944:210).

“Given the strength of the sentiment of national independence, and the existence in Europe and throughout the world of an array of separate nations, conscious of their identity and requiring satisfaction in the form of political rights, the real task is to integrate them into the fabric of a stable, prosperous, and peaceful world” (Cobban 1945:3).

“Only by solidifying round Prussia could the formless, non-political, national feelings of the Germans acquire political substance. In doing so they took to themselves the peculiar character of the Prussian state” (Cobban 1945:8).

“The new states that were constituted by the Peace settlement, as might have been expected from all that has been said, were far from embodying the strict principle of self-determination. The union of Slovaks with Czechs represented an aspiration towards national identity, rather than an existent fact. In the same state the Ruthenes were treated practically as a colonial population, and there was only a pretence at consulting their wishes; while the Bohemian Germans were also included willy-nilly in the new state” (Cobban 1945:27).

“It was ironic that a settlement supposed to have been largely determined by the principle of nationality should have produced a state like Czechoslovakia, with minorities amounting to 34.7 per cent of its population, quite apart from the question of the doubtful identity of nationality between Czechs and Slovaks” (Cobban 1945:35).

“Masaryk, who perhaps understood the spirit of Russia as well as any external observer, described the Tsarist empire as Byzantine rather than Slav” (Cobban 1945:101).

“In the Middle Ages the Catalans had formed a distinct Latin nationality, with a separate language and a sense of separate identity, though divided between the south of what is now France and the north-east of Spain. The French Catalans have been absorbed in the French nation,, but Spanish Catalonia preserved many of its privileges and separate institutions up to the eighteenth century” (Cobban 1945:143).

“Smaller nationalities, such as the Scots, the Welsh, the Bretons, the Catalans, and so forth, which had been brought into membership of the larger nation-states, such as Great Britain, France, or Spain, have awoken to a sense of their separate identity. Marchlands, like Alsace, which had been incorporated in modern states, have reasserted their individuality” (Cobban 1945:149).

“Plebiscites may be of use in determining whether a separate national spirit sufficiently strong to justify the recognition of regional rights of self-government exists. In such cases the public would be asked, not ‘Do you wish to belong to Austria, or Italy, or Yugo-Slavia?’ but ‘Do you wish for Tyrolese or Slovenian autonomy?’ The use of plebiscites in the delimitation of frontiers is more open to criticism, though if self-determination means anything it cannot be entirely excluded” (Cobban 1945:174).

Note: In Cobban 1945, “identity” appears 14 times, seven times in the sense of sameness and seven times in the sense of distinctiveness. “National character” appears mostly in quotations. “Individuality” appears three times, twice in quotations.

“Today, Indian tribes are American minorities. Remnants of their old concepts of childhood are compromised by attempts at acculturation, whether successful or not” (Erikson 1945:320).

“During this historical period the Sioux encountered successive waves of white men who typified the restless search for space, power and new ethnic identity” (Erikson 1945:321).

Note: The phrase “ethnic identity” is used with reference to “white men.”

“Thus, in trying to understand the grievances of both races, the author encountered ‘resistances’ which, he believes, are not based on malice nor entirely on ignorance, but rather, on anachronistic *fears of extinction*, and *fear of loss of group identity*; for the Indian is unwilling to part with the past that provided him with the last cultural synthesis he was able to achieve” (Erikson 1945:323).

“In introducing the data on Sioux childhood, the author points to the various resistances which stand in the way of conceptualizing a child as a gradually conditioned rather than a ready made member of his tribe, race, or nation” (Erikson 1945:324).

Ref. to Margaret Mead (Erikson 1945:325, footnote 2).

“Incorporation and assimilation, retention and elimination, intrusion and inception, are some of the basic problems of organismic existence” (Erikson 1945:326).

“Sioux character” (Erikson 1945:327)

“the Sioux personality” (Erikson 1945:327)

“human beings always have attempted to derive a condensed design of group living that guarded against the *combined* dangers of physical harm (hunger, pain), group disintegration (panic), and individual anxiety; and had as their further goal: survival, accomplishment, self-expression. The treatment of children and other manifestations of a primitive culture evolve from an increasing synthetic tendency in the group-ego, situated as it is in its constituent individual egos” (Erikson 1945:330).

In contrasting today’s Yurok with today’s Sioux, EHE refers to “the prairie man’s passive resistance” (Erikson 1945:335).

“The Sioux, in his official sexuality, was more phallic-sadistic in that he pursued whatever roamed: game, enemy, woman ... The Yurok was more phobic-compulsive in that, in his sexuality, he identified with his prey” (Erikson 1945:342-343).

“primitive cultures are exclusive ... In civilization the image of man is expanding and is ever more inclusive. New syntheses | of economic and emotional safety are sought in inclusive formations of new entities and new identities: regions, nations, classes, races, ideologies. These new entities, however, overlap, and anachronistic fears of extinction cause some areas to seek archaic safety in spasms of reactionary exclusion” (Erikson 1945:344-345).

Ref. to “three kinds of organization”: the “biological one,” the “social one,” and the “ego-principle, reflecting the synthesis of experience and resulting defensive and creative mastery (ego development)” (Erikson 1945:345).

Ref. to Freud and Anna Freud (Erikson 1945:346).

“Anna Freud reports a case of altruism by identification and projection” (Erikson 1945:347).

Ref. to the exceptional “national character” of the U.S. (Erikson 1945:347).

“It was customary in some psychiatric circles in Europe to discuss what appeared to be a relative ‘ego weakness’ in American patients. There are indications that in the depths of their hearts American neurotics, beyond seeking relief for guilt and inferiority feelings, desire to be cured of a basic vagueness and confusion in their identifications. Often they turn to psychoanalysis as a savior from the discrepancies of American life; abroad, they were willing to dissimulate their American identity for the sake of what promised to be a more comfortable one, made in ‘the old country’” (Erikson 1945:348).

Note: It seems that “identity crisis” (a phrase not yet used by Erikson in 1945) is typically American?

“The less neurotic American ... receives his very ego strength from a kind of proud refusal to settle on any form of group-ego too early, and too definitely” (Erikson 1945:348).

Ref. to M. Mead, *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (1942) – (Erikson 1945:348, footnote 6).

“What is popularly called an ‘ego’ in this country [U.S.], seems to be the defiant expression of the owner’s conviction that he is somebody without being identified with anybody in particular” (Erikson 1945:348, footnote 7).

On the grandfather of “a patient whose grandparents came West”: “his sons cannot keep pace with him and are left as respectable settlers by the wayside; only his daughter is and looks like him. Her very masculine identification, however, does not permit her to take a husband equal to her strong father” (Erikson 1945:349).

“Special conflicts and resistances result: the patient ... is afraid that the brittleness of his ideal identity will be uncovered” (Erikson 1945:349).

“The individual is not merely the sum-total of his childhood identifications ... | If not impoverished too early by indifferent communities and selfish mothers, children early develop a nucleus of a separate identity. Anxiety may cause them to sacrifice this individual awareness to blind identifications with parental persons. In the psychoanalytic treatment of adults this nucleus should be recovered. The patient, instead of blaming his parents (i.e. turning his positive over-identification into negative ones), should learn to understand the social forces responsible for the deficiencies of his childhood” (Erikson 1945:349-350).

“We perceive the ego as a central regulator which, closest to the history of the day, guards a measure of safety, satisfaction and identity. As we add to our knowledge and technique the understanding of resistances that originate in contemporary conflicts of ego-ideals, we cannot fail to make new and, in a sense, perpetual contributions to the study of childhood in a world characterized by expanding identifications and by great fears of losing hard-won identities” (Erikson 1945:350).

Note: The paper isn’t about American Indians at all. Rather, they serve as the backdrop for analysis of and critical comments on contemporary American identity.

Apparently critical reference to “He who wants to reeducate another nation or ‘change’ another nation’s ‘basic character structure’” (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:368).

“Germany is a nation, not a tribe ... primitive tribes attempt to arrive at a synthesis of economic and emotional safety on the most centripetal, exclusive basis ... Modern nations are the outcome of a tendency to base such a synthesis on the inclusion by expansion or identification of ever-larger portions of mankind: regions, nations, classes, continents. this inclusion varies in focus, scope, tempo, and intensity: accordingly it burdens individuals and groups with varying specific problems of identification. The fact that wars are becoming ever more intensive and extensive probably is not so much the result of an insurmountable devilishness of human nature as rather of the fact that now and from now on, larger entities than ever before experience both the triumph of identification with one another and the fear of loss of identity. There are periods of consolidation of that which has been included but wherever the more inclusive tendencies periodically prove insufficient to allay (1) panic (fear

of loss of collective safety and identity); (2) ego anxieties (fear of loss of libido and ego satisfactions within the cultural sanctions of one's childhood ideals) temporary regressions to quasi-primitive ideologies occur, all isolationist in character and accompanied by open sadistic horrors.

"It will not do to call one nation psychiatric names. Every nation has particular regressive syndromes to which it is apt to revert when safety and identity are threatened. The Germans overdo this greatly, too, yet a neuropsychiatric theory of historical events should be universally applicable" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:369).

"The concept of basic character structure ... seems to imply something very static, which fits tribes better than nations. Dynamically seen, much of what is described as character is often rather what in individuals we would call reaction formation, maintained with the more monomaniacal effort and the more panicky intensity, the more a collective loss of identity is threatened. In the so-called German character structure repressed guilt feeling toward mankind is discernible behind arrogance; all too clear insight behind defiance; and a great love for the non-German world behind paranoia and projection and hate. All this belongs to the basic character structure, too. In every German there is guilt feeling, insight, and love of progress, together with arrogance, defiance, and paranoid hate" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:370).

"while we may not like the Nazi party, still we ought to study the revolutionary change in the forms of mutual identification which this has brought about" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:371).

"Certain regions would probably yield at an early date and by their example and their consequent experience bring the pressure of example and identification to bear on other German regions and communities" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:372).

"In order to bring educational pressure to bear on anybody, you have to make him desire education through identification" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:372).

"As for the propaganda material which the panel may want to prepare, it would be quite necessary to tone down the oversimplified descriptions and diagnosis of the German character structure" (Erikson 1945a in Erikson/Schlein 1987:373).

"the first modern synthesis of its national personality traits" (Erikson 1945b in Erikson/Schlein 1987:363).

"there is no use denying to ourselves that the common German man temporarily has good reason to identify himself with the Nazi cause, either because he is obsessed or paralyzed or merely because he cannot visualize any other cause. But in preparation for the breakdown of this identification, the German must be told what the Allied world stands for" (Erikson 1945b in Erikson/Schlein 1987:363-364).

"Anticipating some of the subsequent results, I should say, for instance, that Graebner's criteria of identity, the well-known principle of criteria of form and quantity, and of unrelated traits will have to be dropped" (Malinowski 1945:19).

"All this refers to the forces of conservatism inherent in Native institutions. A comprehensive institution endures because it is organically connected and satisfies an essential need of

society. It can be suppressed, but is then driven underground. It can be mutilated, deprived of this or that aspect or prerogative, but it disappears only with the destruction of the whole cultural identity of a people” (Malinowski 1945:53).

“Greece ... had no political identity from 1453 to 1823, when it was under the dominion of the Turkish empire” (Warner and Srole 1945:157).

“It is understandable ... that immigrant groups from these several countries, moving into Yankee City and finding themselves again a minority, should each turn to re-create that church which in other times and circumstances had served to keep alive the national group identity ... The church was the first line of defense behind which these immigrants could organize themselves and with which they could preserve their group, i.e., system, identity” (Warner and Srole 1945:160).

“The church structure to an ethnic group threatened with loss of identity serves more than any other structure to organize the group as a community system” (Warner and Srole 1945:218).

“At marriage an individual may move out of his ethnic group into that of his spouse; or an individual who has become partly American may re-identify with his ethnic group and become more ethnic than in the past.

“Cliques and associations also operate to increase or decrease ethnic identification. If the child in school becomes a part of an American clique he is likely to move rather rapidly into the American way of life. On the other hand, if he is rejected and forced to participate in ethnic cliques he may become closely identified with the cultural group of his parents” (Warner and Srole 1945:284).

“If and when the Spanish Americans and Mexicans lose their cultural identity, those of the more Caucasoid type will become a part of our class order and be capable of rising in our social hierarchy” (Warner and Srole 1945:295).

“The present collection of notes offers questions, illustrations, and theoretical considerations concerning the relation of the child’s ego to the social prototypes of his day” (Erikson 1946:359).

Subtitle: “I. Group Identity and Ego Identity” (Erikson 1946:359).

“the concept of the ego was first delineated by previous definitions of its better-known opposites, the biological *id* and the sociological ‘masses’” (Erikson 1946:359).

On why we need “identity”: “From the study of the ego’s dissipation in an amorphous multitude or in a leader-mob, we have turned to the problem of the infantile ego’s origin in organized social life. Instead of emphasizing what social organization denies the child, we wish to clarify what it may first grant to the infant, as it keeps him alive and as, in administering to his needs in a specific way, it seduces him to its particular life style. Instead of accepting the oedipus trinity as an irreducible schema for man’s irrational conduct, we are striving for greater specificity within this scheme, by exploring the way in which social organization predetermines the structure of the family; for, as Freud said toward the end of his life, ‘... what is operating (in the superego) is not only the personal qualities of these parents but also everything that produces a determining effect upon themselves, the tastes and

standards of the social class in which they live and the characteristics and traditions of the race from which they spring” (Erikson 1946:360).

“Child training in such groups, so we concluded, is the method by which a group’s basic ways of organizing experience (its group identity, as we called it) is transmitted to the infant’s early bodily experiences and, through them, to the beginnings of his ego.

“Let me first illustrate the concept of group identity by a brief reference to anthropological observations made by Mekeel and myself some years ago. We described how in one segment of the reeducation of the American Indian the Sioux Indians’ historical identity of the – now defunct – buffalo hunter, stands counterposed to the occupational and class identity of his reeducator, the American civil service employee. We pointed out that the identities of these groups reset on extreme differences in geographical and historical perspectives (collective ego-space-time) and on radical differences in economic goals and means (collective life plan).

“In the remnants of the Sioux Indian’s identity, the prehistoric past is a powerful psychological reality. The conquered tribe behaved as if guided by a life plan consisting of passive resistance to the present which does fail to reintegrate the identity remnants of the economic past ...” (Erikson 1946:361).

“In turning from the consideration of groups to that of individuals, let me postulate that the growing child must derive a vitalizing sense of reality from the awareness that his individual way of mastering experience (his ego synthesis) is a successful variant of group identity and is in accord with its space-time and life-plan” (Erikson 1946:362).

“self-esteem grows to be a conviction that the ego is learning effective steps toward a tangible collective future, that it is developing into a defined ego within a social reality. This sense I wish to call ego-identity” (Erikson 1946:363).

“I shall first take recourse to the well-established concept of ‘personal identity’ ... the immediate perception of one’s selfsameness and continuity in time; and the simultaneous perception of the fact that others recognize one’s sameness and continuity. What I propose to call ego-identity concerns more than the mere fact of existence, as conveyed by personal identity; it is the ego quality of this existence.

“Ego-identity, then, in its subjective aspect, is the awareness of the fact that there is a self-sameness and continuity of the ego’s synthesizing methods and that these methods are effective in safeguarding the sameness and continuity of one’s meaning for others” (Erikson 1946:363).

“When Freud spoke of ‘the superego *or* ego-ideal’, he tentatively tossed together a dynamic and an ideational concept, one that has force and one that has image. For decades, psychoanalysts have used whichever of these concepts suited their argument ... Most workers are concerned only with what happens to the energy; the ideational part is left to social anthropology ... |

“It is there that the ego concepts must close a gap. We must find the nexus of social images and of organismic forces – and this not merely in the sense that here images and forces are, as the saying goes, ‘interrelated’. More than this: the mutual complementation of ethos and ego, of group identity and ego-identity puts a greater common potential at the disposal of both ego synthesis and social organization” (Erikson 1946:363-364).

“We see here the identification of a son with his father ...” (Erikson 1946:366).

“A child has quite a number of opportunities to identify himself, more or less experimentally, with real or fictitious people of either sex, with habits, traits, occupations, and ideas. Certain crises force him to make radical selections ...” (Erikson 1946:367).

“this same father ... | helped establish in this boy the military prototype which is a part of every European’s group identity, and in the German mind has the special significance of being one of the few thoroughly German and highly developed identities. As a historical focus of the family’s general trend of identifications the military identity continues to exist unconsciously in those who are excluded from its consummation by political developments” (Erikson 1946:368-369).

“In an outstanding document Bruno Bettelheim has described his experiences in a German concentration camp of the early days. He reports the various steps and external manifestations (such as affectations in posture and dress) by which the inmates abandoned their identity as anti-fascists in favor of that of their tormentors. He himself preserved his life and sanity by deliberately and persistently clinging to the historical Jewish identity of invincible, spiritual and intellectual superiority over a physically superior outer-world: he made his tormentors the subject of a silent research project which he safely delivered to the world of free letters” (Erikson 1946:369, footnote 6).

“The father was an Eastern European Jew whom the mild and meek grandparents had taken as a five-year-old to the New York East Side, where he could survive only by superimposing on his childhood identity that of a guy who hits first” (Erikson 1946:370).

“In the analysis of adults the historical prototypes which determined infantile ego-identity crisis, appear in specific transferences and in specific resistances” (Erikson 1946:370).

On how “Streicher’s image of an evil Jewish identity does not surpass that harbored by many a Jew” (Erikson 1946:373).

“American character” (Erikson 1946:373)

“After only three semesters, he succeeded in changing externally from a slender mother’s boy to a massive, beer-drinking, duel-marked, cigar-puffing student of Imperial Germany, whom his mother greeted with a slap in the face. Clearly, this was the father’s son. The two models of identification and their associated values, rooted in mother and father, never disappeared from Max Weber’s inner life ... A profound individual humanism, the ‘freedom of a Christian,’ and the lofty heights of his ethical demands were derived from identification with his mother” (Gerth and Mills 1946:29).

“Weber does not seem to have had much basis for his intense identification with Germany” (Gerth and Mills 1946:30).

“At the age of 20, Weber was identified with the cause of National Liberalism, but he was cautious not to commit himself definitely to any specific party” (Gerth and Mills 1946:32).

“The new emphasis on ancient history aroused in the Italians a new consciousness of their identity with the ancient Romans, and thus with the only truly civilized people” (Kohn 1946:122).

“The imperial idea dominated the German humanists. In the center of their thought stood the universal mission of the emperor, the Electors representing the whole of Christianity rather than only the German people. Sebastian Brant in his *Narrenschiff* (1494) and Hans Sachs forty years later in his *Histori: das römisch Reich* both stressed the universality of the Empire and its identity with the Roman Empire from Romulus to Charlemagne” (Kohn 1946:138).

“A nation [England] had come into being, directing its own destiny, feeling responsible for it, and a national spirit permeated all institutions . It sprang from a unique consciousness of the identity of divine, natural, and national law, based upon the dignity and liberty of every individual as God’s noblest creature, upon his individual conscience inspired by the inner light of God and reason alike” (Kohn 1946:183).

“Rousseau, in what appeared to his contemporaries a daring paradox, was the first to doubt the identity or at least the parallelism of progress in civilization and the growth of moral consciousness” (Kohn 1946:240).

“Like Montesquieu, Rousseau understood the differences which the traditions of history and the conditions of climate and environment produced among different human groups. Two con- | stitutions which he proposed for Corsica and for Poland ... show a growing understanding of the nature of nationalism, perhaps reflecting therein the general trend of the time ...

“The two projects show an increased emphasis on national character and institutions, products of history and education, not gifts of nature. In institutions, festivals, and customs, peoples differ from one another. If they cling firmly to these differences they can survive the loss of national independence and still maintain national individuality” (Kohn 1946:252-253).

“Corsica gave Rousseau an opportunity to propose his favored Utopia, a small, completely self-contained agrarian community, where all would be equal without any great differences of wealth or property. He hated the great metropolitan capitals, which seemed to him to destroy the individuality of nations and to level the peoples of Europe” (Kohn 1946:254).

“In the pamphlet Moser for the first time used the word *Nationalgeist* (a translation of Montesquieu’s *esprit de nation*) which later, as *Volksgeist*, played such a role in German nationalism. For Moser the national spirit was nothing all-pervading, it was more of a legal concept than a vital reality. Of the several published answers to Moser’s pamphlet only one, by an anonymous author – | probably Johann Jacob Bülau, town clerk of Zerbst – interpreted the national spirit in a broader sense. ‘I imagine,’ he wrote in his ‘Noch etwas zum deutschen Nationalgeiste,’ ‘the national spirit is a peculiar quality, or the aggregate of all the peculiar qualities, by which a people differentiates itself from all others. These distinguishing qualities express themselves in all actions of all the members of the people, in general, and in the public actions undertaken by the people as people, in particular.’ Bülau stressed the uniqueness of each national character and demanded a comparative study of the different ways in which these characters manifest themselves, in war and peace, in commerce and scholarship, in religion and law, and the changes which they undergo in history” (Kohn 1946:374-375).

Herder “found humanity | threatened by the growing mechanization of life which cast its shadow over the eighteenth century, by the dryness of the vulgar and overconfident rationalism of a utilitarian epoch, and by the progressive specialization and devitalization of

scholarship and science. Against these tendencies he asserted the fullness of life and the uniqueness of all individuality, which is irreducible to any general scheme. His romanticism found this individuality not only, and not even mainly, embodied in persons; he discovered it in national communities, in corporate personalities which to him were not simple aggregates of individuals, but a new, unique, and fuller manifestation of the great forces of nature and history ... [but] Herder never arrived at a clear conception of national characters, of Volksgeist. Sometimes he clearly envisaged the uniqueness of all historical moments. 'No one in the world feels the weakness of general characterizations more than I do. If we characterize a whole people, a whole epoch, a whole continent, whom have we characterized?' ... | ... He was overwhelmed by his discovery of the uniqueness, the apparent irrationality, of individuality, and even more by his discovery of national individuality which determines all its members. He knew that no two moments in the world were identical and that therefore, Egyptians, Romans, and Greeks could not have been the same at all times, that there was a development in the national character, 246 that there was a growth, that external events and conditions, climate, geographic factors, events, necessities imposed from outside, influenced and shaped it. Yet at other times national character gained definite and permanent reality for him. It became an essential substance, something ancient, interwoven with forces of nature which could only grow out of its own originality, and to which all influences from outside were harmful"(Kohn 1946:444-446).

"Christianity, that greatest fusion of Jewish, Oriental and Graeco-Roman beliefs, ceremonies and ecclesiastical forms, though starting as a new divisive force, ultimately became the main leveling factor in the formation of the new all-embracing Roman Catholic civilization.

"The diverse nationalities were not completely submerged, however, for the empire had not lasted long enough. With a constantly weakening socioeconomic and cultural structure, slight technological advances and continued slowness of communications it could not overcome completely the old ethnic and religious loyalties of the provincial populations. Peasants living at a distance from the emporia of trade and culture and traditionally conservative, long staunchly adhered to their local mores and deities. Paganus (peasant) now came to be identified with the heathen inordinately resistant to the Christian mission. Even when he ultimately surrendered and adopted Christianity he often succeeded in smuggling into the new religion his local gods as saints and in mixing the new ritual with his ancient worship. More, to preserve his own national identity, he often sought refuge in sectarianism. Monophysitism, for instance, served as a convenient cloak for Egyptian as well as Armenian nationalisms, which refused to be submerged in the sea of Romanism" (Baron 1947:10).

"The Arianism of the Gothic conquerors of Spain long differentiated them from the conquered "Roman" population as well as from the Catholic Franks across the border. Based on the Bible translation of Ulfilas, it had many decidedly nationalist features. But when the Goths lost their national identity and | became absorbed by the superior culture of the natives they readily surrendered their sectarian beliefs as well" (Baron 1947:10-11).

"The national identity of the Saxon and Hungarian colonists in the Danubian Principalities was likewise successfully maintained only so long as they remained Catholic in contrast to the Orthodox Rumanians" (Baron 1947:16).

"When, in the following years, the Revolution was finally driven to the suppression of all established religions and their substitution by the Religion of Reason, the Jews faced the alternative of either suffering religious persecution or completely losing their identity" (Baron 1947:16).

“Despite its priority in fascist doctrine and practice and its equal glorification of unbridled political nationalism, Italy acquired its racist ideology as a late importation from the stronger Axis partner. Nor did the fascist government ever become quite so hostile to the established church which, because of the country's overpowering Catholic traditions, it had long treated as a peculiar manifestation of the Italian national spirit” (Baron 1947:19).

“Being generally averse to the growing cosmopolitan leveling of European culture, he [Rousseau] objected to the very internationality of the church. On more than one occasion he bitterly complained of the progressive disappearance of the national characteristics which had distinguished Frenchmen from Germans, Spaniards or Englishmen, all of whom now increasingly shared the same tastes, the same passions and mores. This unity of mores, letters and commerce, together with religious unity and a uniform international law, was, in his opinion, responsible for that unstable European balance of power which necessarily led to wars. For only one law ultimately governed relations among peoples: the law of the strong” (Baron 1947:26).

“Despite his profound admiration for the English national character and institutions, Burke was an internationalist through his deep belief in the unity of Christendom” (Baron 1947:31).

“In Russia, too, Turks and Tartars retained their ethnic identity only when they persevered in their ancestral, Muslim faith” (Baron 1947:227, endnote 29).

Note: In Baron 1947, national character 12 times, identity (distinctiveness) 10 times, and identity (sameness) 2 times.

“I was to learn something of the kinds of personality-structures shaped through lifelong, age-long personal and social striving; shaped to the end that the tribe was at one with the world” (Collier 1947:10).

“in ethnic groups of low prestige the apparent inferiority ... may mask an actual superiority. In most Indian groups the academic lag of children is pronounced, but if these children were given non-language tests that have been standardized on whites, they excel, even to a sensational extent” (Collier 1947:171).

“the Indians and their societies disclose that social heritage is far more perduring than is commonly believed” (Collier 1947:171).

“Through wise speech, even Socratic discourse could be entered into with them. This required, on the white man's side, knowledge, but more than that, it required empathy – the power to identify one's own | thinking and feeling with the thinking and feeling of others” (Collier 1947:177-178).

“What is described as ‘tribes’ in this book are groups which conceive of themselves as units, which speak of their members as being 'like brothers', and of their component sections as being, ultimately, ‘one’ ... Language and culture may seem to constitute ... significant criteria. For the consciousness of tribal ‘one-ness’ is invariably expressed in terms of cultural identity and diversity. The people of the tribe see themselves as a group possessed of identical, and even unique, culture, and separated from other, similarly organized groups by

dissimilarity of custom. But more often than not the anthropological evidence fails to support these claims. We shall meet with groups which, though they are close neighbours and possess an almost identical language and culture, do not regard themselves as one tribe (e.g. Heiban, Abol, Laro); and we shall also meet with tribes which claim this unity regardless of internal cultural differentiation (Otoro, Mora). Cultural and linguistic uniformity, then, does not imply, and cultural and linguistic diversity – at least within certain limits – not preclude, the recognition of tribal unity. It is, in fact, easy to see that culture and language cannot provide infallible criteria of tribal identity; for culture and language admit of degrees and shades of uniformity or diversity: while the tribal concept tends towards a sharper crystallization – one either is, or is not, a member of the tribe. The tribal concept thus hinges on a theory of cultural identity, which ignores or dismisses as immaterial existing variations, and ignores or disregards uniformities beyond its self-chosen boundaries. The tribe exists, not in virtue of any objective unity or likeness, but in virtue of an ideological unity, and a likeness accepted as a dogma” (Nadel 1947:13).

“The most interesting feature in this immigration and re-emigration is the change of social identity which it entailed. Originally an exiled local group, the immigrants came to be regarded as a new clan and were as such incorporated into the clan system of the groups among which they had settled ... One large Otoro section of alien origin, however, | maintained its own social identity and its original clan names” (Nadel 1947:86-87).

“To these ‘formal’ clan observances we must add another, different, category of clan rights and obligations, which express the unity and identity of the clan, not through the sameness of action, but through concerted action and co-operation. They define the identity of the clan negatively, by forbidding members of different clans to eat meat or drink milk together (other food being regarded as harmless), threatening them with the penalty of leprosy. They assert its identity positively, through a special institution, the ‘clan meal’ (under which name this usage is known)” (Nadel 1947:98).

“However, though co-existing, patrilineal and matrilineal influences are not of equal weight in the social life of the tribe. The social identity of the individual is derived exclusively from clan membership, i.e. patrilineal descent” (Nadel 1947:107).

“In speaking of political systems or political units (as against kinship system, racial or tribal units), we think, above all, of two aspects of social existence: the collective identity which the group assumes towards outside, i.e. towards other, similarly organized groups; and the internal identity and unity which it presents to its own members” (Nadel 1947:146).

“The traditional political unit in this sense is the single hill community, The group sharing a common tract of land and united in the tasks of livelihood also accepts the union of a common peace. In the small Heiban | tribe the hill community happens to coincide with the tribe. In Otoro the wider identity of tribe and political unit appears as the goal of the political development. Chieftainship, which emerged in one hill community, Chungur, was moving towards a far-flung tribal rule” (Nadel 1947:146-147).

“Yet this ‘sympathetic’ link rests less on the concrete, substantial identity of the cause and the cure than on the identity of the group from which both cause and cure are derived” (Nadel 1947:193).

“The segments are indispensable to each other and thus to the existence of the society as a whole. Though possessed of individual identity, they cannot stand by themselves. But in fulfilling their own individuality they render the life of the whole society possible. They are, to use a concept which I have developed elsewhere, elements in a ‘symbiotic’ union” (Nadel 1947:207).

“Omitting the children of a mother's brother from this classificatory relationship, they modify the principle of the ‘identity of brothers’ in the sense of a more exclusive recognition of patrilineal descent” (Nadel 1947:210).

“The concept of clan identity could not be more strikingly expressed: to kill a clansfellow and to kill oneself are, morally, identical acts” (Nadel 1947:250).

“group identity” (Nadel 1947:264).

“In comparing the two tribes the predominant impression is that of two cultures complementing each other like variations of the same theme. The clan system of symbiotic type represents the theme. Much as musical variations pick out and develop different features and motifs embodied in the theme, so the two societies elaborate different aspects of the range of realizations which the cultural theme allows. A motif ignored or only just touched upon in one society is fully developed in the other. Thus the two cultures select different phases of individual life, which they ritualize and work into emblems of clan identity: Tira culture seizes, above all, on death and burial rites; Moro, on birth” (Nadel 1947:264).

“consciousness of tribal identity” (Nadel 1947:269).

“political identity” (Nadel 1947:301).

“To-day, the Truj live side by side, and politically under, the Daju, and are rapidly losing their tribal identity” (Nadel 1947:319).

“The coherence and continuity of the patrilineal lineage is contradicted by the clan organization. Matrilineal, it cuts across this local grouping. The successive generations which occupy the same house and locality must belong to different clans. Social identity established through clan membership and that other, inescapable, identification of individuals | with the groups among which they are living, follow divergent paths” (Nadel 1947:327-328).

“We note that the two principles of identity are, structurally, not of the same order. In spite of the massing of patrilineal kin in the same locality, the local group is not thought of as derived from common descent. It does not therefore represent the exact counterpart to the matrilineal clan, i.e. a patrilineal ‘sib’” (Nadel 1947:328 footnote 1).

“ethnic identity” (Nadel 1947:363).

“Chapter 22. How Social Groups Maintain their Identity and Continuity” (= chapter title in Sorokin 1947:380-389).

“almost every group possesses devices for an incessant indoctrination of its members: the ceremonies of initiation and baptism; rituals and festivals; indoctrination through the family,

through the school, through the church, through the press, and through addresses; the commemoration of group heroes; the celebration of important events (George Washington's birthday, Lincoln's birthday, the Fourth of July, etc.), and so on ... If members of the Roman Catholic Church are ignorant of its credo and main values, if citizens of the United States are unfamiliar with the values the United States stand for, such a church and state will rapidly lose their identity in a welter of heterogeneous values, meanings, and norms" (Sorokin 1947:388).

Erikson, Erik Homburger. 1948. *Childhood and Tradition in Two American Indian Tribes with Some Reflections on the Contemporary American Scene*. In *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*. Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, eds. Pp. 176-203. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Erikson 1948 = a revised version of Erikson 1945, "Childhood and Tradition."

- In 1945 version, "identity" appears 9 times.
- In 1948 version, "identity" appears 20 times.
- Addition of "identity" in first 5 and last 6 pp. of text; middle 17 pp. are w/o "identity," presumably because these descriptions of Sioux and Yurok are largely or entirely unchanged since publication of original two articles in 1939 and 1943.

"Whoever and whatever can be identified today as Jewish contains in its identity the extreme (but variably intense) opposition of two trends favored by centuries of dispersion, namely dogmatic orthodoxy vs. relativistic adaptability. We think here not so much of types as of attitudes and symbols; yet there is the extreme role of the religiously dogmatic, culturally reactionary Jew, to whom change and time mean absolutely nothing: the Word is his reality. And there is his opposite, the Jew to whom geographic dispersion and cultural multiplicity have become second nature: *relativity is his absolute*" (Erikson 1948a:503).

"Strong peoples – peoples whose sense of identity is enhanced, not endangered, by redefinitions facilitating progress – can assimilate strong Jews. In times of collective anxiety, however, the very concept of relativity is resented-and this especially by those classes which are about to lose prestige, status, and self-esteem" (Erikson 1948a:504).

"Hitler's Jew came to be the embodiment of a diabolic principle. For while exposure to cultural relativity endangered the German's identity in his own country, universal dispersion seemed to sustain the Jew in remaining himself. He seemed to succeed in making relativism a means of self-preservation" (Erikson 1948a:504).

"Between identity and equivalence a very fine line is drawn, so fine at times it is invisible. The Hebrew prophets and the Puritans could see it. They accused idolators of worshipping stocks and stones. It is, however, very doubtful whether idolators, when they think out their actions, ever address their worship to stones, but rather to something that resides in the stones" (Hocart 1948:86).

"The word 'race' is used here in its strict or biological sense, as denoting a subspecies or other group set off by heredity, ... not in the loose popular sense of a group set off by speech, religion, or social consciousness" (Kroeber 1948:177).

"There are the Jews, whose culture differs from that of coterritorial Gentiles primarily in religion and ritual practices. When this religion loses its hold, Jews come to approximate

Gentiles very closely, and generally tend to merge socially, or at least are willing to lose their group identity” (Kroeber 1948:278).

Peasants “constitute part-societies and part-cultures. They lack the isolation, the political autonomy, and the self-sufficiency of tribal populations; but their local units retain much of their old identity, integration, and attachment to soil and cults” (Kroeber 1948:284).

“Civilizations differ in ‘configuration,’ in modern scientific jargon; ‘spirit’ would have been an earlier word, ‘genius’ before that” (Kroeber 1948:316).

“The trouble is that there is as yet no word in English, or in any other language, to express this concept [the total pattern of a culture] except vague or metaphorical terms like ‘genius,’ ‘spirit,’ ‘style,’ ‘trend,’ ‘direction’” (Kroeber 1948:319).

“As for the Japanese, they sought for Chinese civilization at various times, and absorbed and assimilated it with skill, yet always managed to give the borrowed product a distinctive national individuality” (Kroeber 1948:420).

“Exceptionally exposed in these long roamings to a multitude of possible diffusions, they [the Shawnee] have ended up by developing an anti-acculturation attitude, in order to preserve their identity” (Kroeber 1948:430).

In comparison with the Japanese, “The Lithuanians furnish the contrary example of a people voluntarily submerging both their culture and most of their identity” (Kroeber 1948:435).

“Chapter 15 – Cultural Psychology” (Kroeber 1948:572-621)

“244. National Temperaments or Types” (Kroeber 1948:582-584)

“245. Empirical Descriptions of National Characters” (Kroeber 1948:584-592)

“As to the Yurok, they are construed as oral by E. H. Erikson in *Univ. of Calif. P. A. A. E.*, Vol. 35, 1943, pp. 257-302” (Kroeber 1948:855; notes to chapter fifteen: Cultural Psychology).

“In 1938 two dialectic subgroups of the Nambikuara (Matto Grosso), which had been diminished by feuds and diseases, joined forces, but retained their identity and their respective headmen” (Lowie 1948:246).

“the old notion of the American melting pot is unsound, for – irrespective of whether foreign elements can be assimilated or not – many immigrants do not want to be melted down, preferring somehow to preserve their identity” (Lowie 1948:287).

Among the Canella of Brazil, “When the time for retirement arrives, members of an age class pass into the council, still preserving their group identity, and a junior class supersedes them in the plaza” (Lowie 1948:306).

“The ‘Nordic race’ is made up, according to one view, of populations that, considered statistically, show average or modal distributions which tend to fit this ideal picture. According to another current view, the ‘Nordic race’ is made up of individuals who show

more Nordic than non-Nordic traits or who have an assemblage of physical traits each of which, though no one of them may fit the type description perfectly, approaches the standards set. That is, individuals are selected from a population, and the selected group is called "Nordic," even though few individuals come close to identity with the imaginary type of the "pure Nordic" (Kluckhohn 1949:120-121).

"These are also instances of the intensely emotional symbolism of language. During the course of the development of nationalism and the romantic movement, every tongue was seized upon as the tangible manifestation of each culture's uniqueness. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century Magyar nobles spoke Latin in the Hungarian Parliament because they could not speak Magyar and would not speak German ... This tendency is about as old as written history. In the Bible we learn that the Gileadites slew everyone at the passages of Jordan who said *sibboleth* instead of *shibboleth*.

"Groups within a culture emphasize their unity by a special language. Criminals have their own argot. So, indeed, do all the professions ... 'The linguistic community' is no meaningless phrase. The use of speech forms in common implies other things in common. The hunting or 'county' set in England affects the dropping of final g's as a badge of their being set apart ... Individuals of many countries pronounce words in certain ways in order to associate themselves with particular social classes. The extent to which an elderly or middle-aged Englishman is still identifiable as Harrow or Rugby – and not as a Yorkshireman nor even as an Oxonian nor as an army man – proves the identification of distinctive language with social status ... Idiomatic turns of speech identify to society at large the special positions and roles of its various members. Cliques and classes unconsciously use this device to prevent absorption into the larger group. 'He talks like one of us' is a declaration of acceptance. Euphemisms, special terms of endearment, and slang are class labels" (Kluckhohn 1949:151-152).

"Ceremonials may fulfill the latent function of reinforcing the group identity by providing a periodic occasion on which the scattered members of a group assemble to engage in a common activity. As Durkheim among others long since indicated, such ceremonials are a means by which collective expression is afforded the sentiments which, in a further analysis, are found to be a basic source of group unity" (Merton 1949:65).

"The ideal set up by the Party was something huge, terrible and glittering – a world of steel and concrete of monstrous machines and terrifying weapons – a nation of warriors and fanatics, marching forward in perfect unity, all thinking the same thoughts and shouting the same slogans, perpetually working, fighting, triumphing, persecuting – three hundred million people all with the same face" (Orwell [1949] 1987:77).

" 'Are you prepared to lose your identity and live out the rest of your life as a waiter or a dock-worker?'" (Orwell [1949] 1987:180)

" 'Do you understand that even if he survives, it may be as a different person? We may be obliged to give him a different identity'" (Orwell [1949] 1987:180).

" 'The members of the Brotherhood have no way of recognising one another, and it is impossible for any one member to be aware of the identity of more than a very few others'" (Orwell [1949] 1987:181).

“He gave Winston a single sharp glance, as though verifying his identity, and then paid no more attention to him” (Orwell [1949] 1987:233).

“ ‘How many fingers, Winston?’ ... He was trying to count them, he could not remember why. He knew only that it was impossible to count them, and that this was somehow due to the mysterious identity between five and four. The pain died down again” (Orwell [1949] 1987:263-264).

“ ‘I think I exist,’ he said wearily. ‘I am conscious of my own identity. I was born, and I shall die. I have arms and legs. I occupy a particular point in space. No other solid object can occupy the same point simultaneously. In that sense, does Big Brother exist?’” (Orwell [1949] 1987:272).

“ ‘Alone – free – the human being is always defeated ... But if he can make complete, utter submission, if he can escape from his identity, if he can merge himself in the Party so that he *is* the Party, then he is all-powerful and immortal” (Orwell [1949] 1987:277).

“Here we have a further identification with the spirit-deities” (Radin 1949:117).

1950

“We began to conceptualize matters of identity at the very time in history when they become a problem. For we do so in a country which attempts to make a super-identity out of all the identities imported by its constituent immigrants; and we do so at a time when rapidly increasing industrialization threatens these essentially agrarian and patrician identities in their lands of origin as well.

“The study of identity, then, becomes as strategic in our time as the study of sexuality was in Freud’s time. Such historical relativity in the development of a field, however, does not seem to preclude consistency of ground plan and continued closeness to observable fact. Freud’s findings regarding sexual etiology of a mental disturbance are as true for our patients as they were for his; while the burden of identity loss which stands out in our considerations probably burdened Freud’s patients as well as ours, as re-interpretations would show. Different periods thus permit us to see in temporary exaggeration different aspects of an essentially inseparable whole” (Erikson 1950:242-243).

Note: Corresponding passages, somewhat altered, appear in Erikson 1965:274-275.

“Although there is this greater cohesion in camps, the families and joint families and larger clusters of kin, whose social distinction is evident in the distribution of homesteads in the villages, maintain their identity in the distribution of camp windscreens and huts” (Evans-Pritchard 1950:363).

“Attached to the lineage, directly or indirectly, are also a considerable number of affines of diverse kinds ... there is a fusion of the attached elements with the lineage. They are incorporated in it and the resultant whole is spoken of as the *cieng* or *wec* (community) of the lineage, which is both its core and the symbols of its social identity as a unit in the tribal system” (Evans-Pritchard 1950:387).

On “corporate lineage”: “organized kinship group of several generations depth reckoned in one line, which is internally segmented on a genealogical system, the whole and each segment having identity and unity against corresponding groups” (Gluckman 1950:166).

“The social identity of siblings is closest for children of the same sex by the same mother as well as by the same father” (Kuper 1950:97).

“The local continuity of the kind group, through residence and inheritance of land, is determined exclusively by the patrilineal factor ... Yet the social identity of the individual retains unequivocally its dual character, and patrilineal and matrilineal affiliation are balanced in many fields” (Nadel 1950:346).

“For the ordinary individual, patrilineal descent beyond the traceable short lineage offers no definition of social identity” (Nadel 1950:348).

“the social (i.e. clan) identity of the eastern section” (Nadel 1950:351).

“Social identity derived in the mother’s line ...” (Nadel 1950:354).

“A clan system ... also provides a division of the tribe into a number of distinct separate groups, each having its own identity” (Radcliffe-Brown 1950:41).

“The separate identity of each segment or *house* of the compound family is also reflected in the family names” (Wilson 1950:113).

“This is a book about ‘character’ in the contemporary scientific sense of ‘social character’ – the patterned uniformities of learned response that distinguish men of different regions, eras, and groups. It is a book about the nature of the processes that produce the differences in character of Americans, Frenchmen, Pueblo Indians, and so on; of northern Americans and southern Americans; of middle-class Americans and lower-class Americans. Furthermore, it is a book about the way in which certain social character types, once they are formed at the knee of society, are then deployed in the work, play, politics, and child-rearing activities of adult life” (Riesman 1950:v).

“To the reader who is familiar with Erich Fromm’s treatment of the role of social character types in the historical process, this approach will not present difficulties; our principal reliance has been on the concepts he has done so much to develop” (Riesman 1950:vi).

“Let us begin by defining character structure as the more or less permanent, socially and historically conditioned organization of an individual’s drives and satisfactions. The term as thus defined is less inclusive than ‘personality,’ the word which in current usage denotes the total self, with its inherited temperament and talents, its biological as well as psychological components, its evanescent as well as more or less permanent attributes. My reason for selecting from this complex the abstraction called ‘character’ is that in this book I propose to deal with those components of personality that also play the principal role in the maintenance of social forms – those that are *learned* in the lifelong process of socialization ... And to speak of character in these terms is to speak of character as ‘social character.’ This notion of social character, the character that is clearly generalized in a society, permits us to speak elliptically but meaningfully of the character of classes, groups, regions, and nations” (Riesman 1950:4).

Note: In definition and discussion of “social character,” Riesman cites the following: (1950:4 footnote 1) cites Erich Fromm (1947), *Man Makes Himself* (Riesman 1950:4 footnote 1); Erik H. Erikson (1943), “Observations on the Yurok” (Riesman 1950:5, 5 footnote 2), and Erich Fromm (1944), “Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis” (Riesman 1950:5, 5 footnote 3).

Note: In Riesman 1950, the index lists three page references to Erikson and 14 page references to Fromm (Riesman 1950:378).

“The ‘adjusted’ are ... the people who respond in their character structure to the demands of their society or social class ... Such people fit the culture as though they were made for it, as in fact they are ...

“In each society those who do not conform to the characterological pattern of the adjusted may be either anomic or autonomous. Anomic is English coinage from Durkheim’s *anomique* ... meaning ruleless, ungoverned. My use of anomic, however ... is virtually synonymous with ‘maladjusted’ ... The ‘autonomous’ are those who on the whole are *capable* of conforming to the behavioral norms of their society – a capacity the anomics lack – but who are free to choose whether to conform or not” (Riesman 1950:287).

“Many disciples of Freud have commented on the paradox of a therapy which aims at the emotional restoration of a patient by literally taking him apart. They have attempted to restore the individual’s personality ... in a variety of ways. Erikson speaks of ego-identity, Fromm speaks of self-realization (in the Hegelian tradition), others again speak of ego-structure or strength. And the bridge to the Behaviorists is established by Sullivan who speaks of the self as an outgrowth of reflected appraisals” (Bendix 1951:22).

“Let eighteen strangers, familiar with the rules of baseball and having nothing to do, be told to choose up sides and play a game. At the moment the choosing begins, it makes not the slightest difference to any potential player which side he is on-or which side wins, though if competitively indoctrinated, he might want to be on the winning side. The groups, if such they may be called-the two teams-have no identity. If they could go ahead and play under such conditions-of no identity-the game would be almost pointless” (Foote 1951:15-16).

“Now by contrast consider a ball game like last year’s World Series, when the Dodgers came up against the Yankees. The roles and the statuses are the same, as are the rules of the game. But what a difference! And what is the nature of the difference? It is in the fact that the empty bottle of role and status suddenly has a content. That content is not drives, tensions, energy or needs; it is identity. Yet remember that it is still a game; for all the frenzied involvement of players and spectators, of winners and losers, the gain and loss are purely symbolic. Except for the special identity which gives value to their ensuing activity, the behavior of the players would be mere rote-a perfect example of anomie” (Foote 1951:16).

“As Mead has shown, one learns many more roles than he ever plays overtly. To interact intelligently with another, he must learn correctly to anticipate the responses of that other-that is, to empathize. But implicit role-taking is no metaphysical transmigration of consciousness. It requires playing sub-overtly the role appropriate to the identity of the other in the situation, as accurately as one can read off that identity” (Foote 1951:16).

“We mean by identification appropriation of and commitment to a particular identity or series of identities. As a process, it proceeds by naming; its products are ever evolving self-

conceptions-with the emphasis on the con-, that is, upon ratification by significant others. If space permitted, it would be valuable to show in detail how much this concept of identification owes to Freud⁸ – where it differs from his concept, and where it supplements. Being more psychologist than sociologist, Freud tends to ignore the functions of language; for all his discussion of identification, he never speaks of identity or common identity. We are not concerned here to kick the dead horse of Freudian instinct theory, nor to appreciate the leads he gave to the study of empathy, but only to affirm that his concept of identification is inadequate as a basis for a situational theory of motivation. Neither is it the missing link of social psychology-a description of the specific tie which unites individuals with their fellows. Yet expansion and reinterpretation in interactional terms of his concept of identification provides both” (Foote 1951:17).

“The regularities in his behavior toward us are in turn based in the same way upon his sharing our conception of his identity and his expectation that we share his conception of our identity” (Foote 1951:17).

“Establishment of one's own identity to oneself is as important in interaction as to establish it for the other. One's own identity in a situation is not absolutely given but is more or less problematic” (Foote 1951:18).

“In abstraction one can consider statuses analytically, as the anthropologists do, but in action it is the unique concatenation of relevant statuses at this one time and place-in this situation-which constitutes identity” (Foote 1951:18).

“Moreover, it is only through identification as the sharing of identity that individual motives become social values and social values, individual motives. Fuller recognition of these functions of identity should increase the scope, power and precision of situational analysis in social research, while in turn research oriented to identification should contribute to the elaboration and clarification of its working. It is only because one conceives of himself, via a certain identity, as a member of a class which includes certain others, that he can enjoy or suffer the successes and failures of a group. It is only commitment to his identity which makes him subject without physical compulsion to the control of the groups to which he belongs, or arouses his antagonism to members of a category construed as inimical to his category. In fact, we will carry this so far as to say that only full commitment to identities shared with others makes possible the grand human phenomena of love and grief” (Foote 1951:20).

“identification is the process whereby individuals are effectively linked with their fellows in groups” (Foote 1951:21).

“One has no identity apart from society; one has no individuality apart from identity.¹⁷ Only by making use of this concept can we account for motivation in terms consistent with the only social psychology that truly deserves the name ‘social’” (Foote 1951:21).

¹⁷ Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*, New York: Prentice-Hall, 1945, pp. 469-470. A searching criticism of the organism-environment framework” (Foote 1951:21, footnote 17).

Note: Foote cites G. H. Mead, Cooley, Dewey, K. Burke, among others; but he does not cite Erikson.

“... the only settlements that held together over long periods were those of the pietistic communist sects, mostly German, in which religious authority furnished the sanctions for rigid control ... | Yet even the fellowships at Amana, Iowa, or Harmony, Pennsylvania, were not simply counterparts of the European villages. They were far closer in spirit and in organization to such native American societies as sprang up at Brook Farm, Massachusetts, at Oneida, New York, and at Phalanx, New Jersey” (Handlin 1951:83-84).

“... as outsiders, the Jews or Quakers or Baptists had to cherish the differences which were the marks of their election ... | For these evidences reminded them of their own consciousness of community as a group; and though they were a community of noncommunicant outsiders, still that consciousness was precious to them, worthy of preservation wherever they were” (Handlin 1951:123-124).

“Discontent had developed first among native Catholics ... Interested above all in proselytizing among Americans, such men regarded the Irish character of the Church as a positive impediment and claimed that Catholicism could only be attractive to native Protestants in the United States if it adapted itself to local conditions” (Handlin 1951:133).

“Dissenters encountered comparable difficulties of adjustment when it came to setting up their churches in the United States ... The struggled stubbornly to maintain their identity as religious groups and to reconstruct the old faiths in the New World” (Handlin 1951:140).

“The theater was also a house of mirth ... |

“Those who lean back on the hard seats exhausted with merriment find the scene familiar. They recognize every character. Is the name Mike? Then he carries a whiskey bottle and a clay pipe as he jigs across the platform. Fritz waddles on, big-bellied, clutching the mug of beer. Ike pulls the black derby hard down over his ears. Tony is not without his shovel. The mouths open and the lurid distorted speech that spills forth, in whatever language, clinches their identity” (Handlin 1951:183-184).

“So, generally, immigrant groups named themselves by their language rather than by place of origin. The experience of the Germans was repeated by almost all later comers; even in the twentieth century, ‘Syrian’ societies included not simply those born in Syria, but all Arabic-speaking peoples. Awareness of the identity of the group had come through the concrete activities of the New World; and in those activities the ability to understand one another was critical” (Handlin 1951:187).

“After 1850 the non-Catholic Hibernians more generally fell into the British category, while by contrast the Scots and Welshmen more often asserted their own individuality, founded separate societies and newspapers, and struggled to preserve or revive distinctive language and custom” (Handlin 1951:188).

“The experience of life in the United States had not broken down the separateness of the elements mixed into it; each seems to retain its own identity. Almost a half-century after the great immigration of Irish and Germans, these people had not become indistinguishable from other Americans; they were still recognizably Irish and German” (Handlin 1951:270).

“Americans of the first half of the century had assumed that any man who subjected himself to the American environment was being Americanized. Since the New World was ultimately to be occupied by a New Man, no mere derivative of any extant stock, but different from and

superior to all, there had been no fixed standards of national character against which to measure the behavior of newcomers” (Handlin 1951:270).

“When we say that the behavior of a clique is an expression of its distinctiveness or its identity, we still have to explain what we mean by ‘expression’ and ‘identity.’ Have we really said any more than this, ‘The more often a number of persons interact with one another, die more alike their behavior tends to become’? If this is what we mean, why not say it as simply as possible, without drawing long words across the trail of our thought?” (Homans 1951:137).

“Something of the same sort may be said about the comparative and historical methods; we may compare groups or we may follow at least one group through time. Here is one group, a primitive family let us say. In this group a series of items of social behavior ... take such and such forms. Here is another group, where the comparable items take somewhat different forms. We may be able to make some sense out of the differences by appealing to the internal coherence of each set of items. Thus we may point out that certain attitudes within one group are compatible with the locus of authority in this group, and that different attitudes within the other group are compatible with the different locus of authority in that group. This is what we did when we compared the attitudes of father and son toward one another in the Tikopia and Trobriand families. But the fact remains that the groups differ in a number of ways, and we may have no example of forms of behavior intermediate between those of the two groups. The variations are discontinuous; there is a jump. A historical study of a single group has no such disadvantage. The changes in the various items of behavior can be traced continuously while the group, preserving its identity, changes from one state into another. We are no longer limited to two separate sets of items, but can follow the change in each of the items in relation to the others over a period of time. We have used the comparative method, at least by implication, in studying our first three groups. In the remaining chapters we shall be following changes of single groups in time” (Homans 1951:335-336).

“But what marks a lineage out and maintains its identity in the face of the continuous replacement by death and birth of its members is the fact that it emerges most precisely in a complementary relationship with or in opposition to like units. This was first precisely shown for the Nuer by Evans-Pritchard and I was able to confirm the analysis among the Tallensi (Fortes, 1949). It is characteristic of all segmentary societies in Africa so far described, almost by definition. A recent and most interesting case is that of the Tiv of Northern Nigeria (P. J. Bohannan, 1951). This people were, until the arrival of the British, extending their territory rapidly by moving forward en masse as their land became exhausted. Among them the maximal lineages are identified by their relative positions in the total deployment of all the lineages and they maintain these positions by pushing against one another as they all move slowly forward” (Fortes 1953:27).

“It is in the latter context that kinship carries maximum weight, first, as the source of title to membership of the groups or to specific jural status, with all that this means in rights over and toward persons and property, and second as the basis of the social relations among the persons who are identified with one another in the corporate group” (Fortes 1953:30).

“It must be emphasized that in the 1860’s and 1870’s, at the very time when ‘big business’ was becoming enrooted on the Continent of Europe (and in America), a series of wars was eventuating in the erection of national states for Italians, Germany, Magyars, and Balkan

peoples (and the repression of sectionalism in the United States) and was promoting an intensification of national spirit and rivalry all over Europe (and America)” (Hayes 1953:34).

“the bourgeois spirit” (Hayes 1953:37).

On the Gaelic League, founded 1893 by Douglas Hyde: “they were intent upon reviving ... a knowledge of the national language and an appreciation of traditional Irish character, custom, and culture” (Hayes 1953:57).

Members of the “industrial and financial bourgeoisie [in Austria] were inclined to emphasize the German character of the state ...” (Hayes 1953:153-154).

“the nationalistic spirit ... was beginning to take possession of the Turks” (Hayes 1953:177).

“scientific spirit” (Hayes 1953:201).

“Norwegian character” (Hayes 1953:229).

“the spirit of the age” (Hayes 1953:233).

“European character” (Hayes 1953:271).

“Siam was a third country of the Far East which came under some degree of European tutelage during the latter part of the nineteenth century without losing its identity or sovereignty” (Hayes 1953:296).

“The chief proponents of these provisions for ‘minority rights’ were Jews, who were fearful of losing their identity or being discriminated against in the strongly nationalistic countries of east-central Europe, and they gained the interested support of the British and American governments. The British government had already committed itself, in 1917, to Zionist demands for a ‘Jewish home land’ in Palestine” (Hayes 1953:430).

“Four great imperial domains were dismembered – the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, the Russian Empire, the German Empire. Moreover, certain small states or provinces whose inhabitants comprised but a part of a given nationality lost their historic identity – for example, Montenegro, Croatia, Bohemia, Transylvania, Galicia, Livonia, Courland, Schleswig” (Hayes 1953:457).

Note: The word “losing” appears seven times in Hayes 1953, and in three of those instances it appears together with “identity.”

“Under Mustafa Kemal’s dictatorship, ... | Turkish institutions were pried loose from their historic Moslem setting and endowed with a secular and national character” (Hayes 1953:489-490).

“Iraq was already a practically independent Arab state, with rich natural resources, a fairly strong army, a form of parliamentary government, and a resolute national spirit” (Hayes 1953:493).

“Statues, bronze horses, pillars, a theatre inscribed ‘Herculaneum’ ... put the identity of the discovered town beyond doubt” (Macaulay 1953:289).

Reference to “Freudian theories of character formation (see esp. Fromm, 1941; Kardiner, 1945; Erikson, 1950)” (M. Mead 1953:643).

“to lose their separate identity” (Pearce 1953:134).

“the totem which the son bears on this skin must be cut out to show that he has no tribal identity” (Pearce 1953:217).

“So Earth loses even his Indian-hating identity ...” (Pearce 1953:235).

« La Révolution américaine, où se fonde une nation, sur une pleine crise nationale, opposant une jeune démocratie à un vieux royaume et à une bureaucratie coloniale, fut, elle aussi, à demi inconsciente de son caractère fondamental » (Mauss 1953-1954 :9).

« D'ailleurs dans ces sociétés, l'importance des droits locaux, l'indépendance toujours possible, le plus souvent réelle de provinces, des vice-royautés, très souvent des villes, enfin et surtout le caractère souvent, le plus souvent même, composite de la société, la persistance des clans ou des anciennes tribus, l'isolement des villages sont très souvent des traces persistantes du caractère segmentaire des sociétés qui ont précédé les sociétés qui ont une formation définie » (Mauss 1953-1954 :19).

« Cette unité locale, morale et juridique est exprimée dans l'esprit collectif, d'une part par l'idée de patrie, d'autre part, par l'idée de citoyen. La notion de patrie symbolise le total des devoirs qu'ont les citoyens vis-à-vis de la nation et de son sol. La notion de citoyen symbolise le total des droits qu'a le membre de cette nation (civils et politiques, s'entend) en corrélation avec les devoirs qu'il doit y accomplir » (Mauss 1953-1954 :29).

« Cette individuation dans la formation des nations est, | en effet, un phénomène sociologique considérable, et dont la nouveauté n'est d'ordinaire pas suffisamment sentie. On peut même dire que la sociologie tout entière souffre encore du vice de cette vue erronée. Par une erreur de dialectique des contradictions, comme il en existe tant dans l'histoire des sciences, elle a alternativement fait considérer toutes les sociétés, même les plus primitives, sous l'aspect de nations modernes, et, à ce titre, les a fait considérer comme plus individuées qu'elles ne sont, et, d'autre part, considérant l'histoire des sociétés comme une, et réduite en somme à celle de la civilisation, a négligé de faire leur part aux individualités surtout nationales, et surtout dans les temps modernes » (Mauss 1953-1954 :31-32).

« Le développement des grandes littératures scientifiques et morales, avec le tour d'esprit que créent des méthodes identiques d'éducation à une échelle et avec des forces insoupçonnées, arrivent à façonner des esprits nationaux, même hors des limites des États. Les sympathies diverses des Suisses pendant la guerre, Romands favorables à la France et à ses alliés, Alamans sympathiques aux deux empires centraux n'avaient rien d'extraordinaire » (Mauss 1953-1954 :36).

« La protection des écoles des minorités nationales, dans presque toutes les régions à population mixte, par le Traité de Versailles est un signe du droit d'un peuple à avoir sa langue, et des individualités nationales. Il est seulement regrettable que des exceptions aient

été faites à la règle en faveur de l'Italie qui a absorbé sans garantie plusieurs centaines de milliers de Yougoslaves. Si les grandes puissances avaient bien voulu s'appliquer la même règle qu'aux petites, elle n'aurait rien eu de blessant pour celles-ci » (Mauss 1953-1954 :37).

« Chaque nation est comme ces villages de notre antiquité et de notre folklore, qui sont convaincus de leur supériorité sur le village voisin et dont les gens se battent avec 'les fous' d'en face. Leur public ridiculise le public étranger, comme dans *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* les Parisiens bafouaient les Limousins. Elles sont les héritières des préjugés des anciens clans, des anciennes tribus, des paroisses et des provinces parce qu'elles sont devenues les unités sociales correspondantes, et sont les individualités qui ont un caractère collectif » (Mauss 1953-1954 :38).

« Ici nous employons à dessein le mot caractère dans son sens psychologique. Un caractère, c'est l'ensemble intégré des diverses facultés d'un individu, les uns étant plus ou moins sensibles, les autres plus ou moins intelligents, ou volontaires ; les uns plus ou moins bruts ou vifs, forts ou faibles, les uns personnels, d'autres dépourvus de toute personnalité. Or, chose remarquable, le développement des nations, | la formation surtout des grandes nations ont abouti, non pas à la destruction des caractères collectifs, mais à leur accentuation. Le siècle dernier a vu la naissance d'un nouveau genre de littérature. A l'étude des caractères individuels, classique depuis Théophraste et Mandeville et La Bruyère, s'ajoute celle du caractère des peuples. De là les innombrables psychologies du peuple français, du peuple anglais, etc. On trouverait dans Montesquieu, et dans Voltaire, et dans Kant l'origine de ces études qui ont si heureusement fixé d'avance tant de documents pour la sociologie, encore à développer sur ce point. Mais ceci n'est que la manifestation littéraire d'un fait : la formation consciente des caractères nationaux. jusqu'à des époques récentes les caractères des sociétés étaient plutôt l'œuvre inconsciente des générations et des circonstances où elles s'étaient trouvées, intérieures et extérieures» (Mauss 1953-1954 :41-42).

« Les arts et la science, à la suite sans doute des techniques, n'ont pas été les seuls à former la conscience, même dans l'esprit des nations modernes puissamment individualisées, d'une humanité supérieure à la nation » (Mauss 1953-1954 :57).

« Et nous concluons cette première partie de notre travail sur les phénomènes internationaux en marquant que maintenant l'œkoumène forme un monde, qu'il n'est plus aucun peuple qui ne soit en rapports directs ou indirects avec les autres et que, malgré tous les chocs et les échecs, le progrès, ou si on ne veut pas employer ce terme optimiste, la suite des événements va dans le sens d'une multiplication croissante des emprunts, des échanges, des identifications, jusque dans le détail de la vie morale et matérielle » (Mauss 1953-1954 :67).

“Often the mother and father are fighting educational battles with their children which have remained undecided in their own childhood. Often, very often, the mother fights them alone, with the father in a state of prebelligerent neutrality.

“Small differences, jealously guarded, preserve the virtues and the latent panic of generations, classes, nations: they are symbols of status and identity and to many, especially in times of change in the structure of society, identity becomes as important as food, security, and sexual satisfaction” (Erikson 1954:24, quoted partially from Coles 1970:82, 421; cf. Erikson 1940 in Erikson/Schlein 1987:561).

“Foster parenthood is taken for granted by most Eskimos, and there is little concern over the biological identity of the father or mother” (Hoebel 1954:75).

“When a man or woman marries, he also takes on a degree of identity to his spouse’s family, from whom he receives support and to who he lends his aid – providing always that his identity to his own genetic group takes precedence in any legal squabble” (Hoebel 1954:162).

“Thus by an artificial discrimination, through an arbitrary process of paring down, the kinship group is enabled to retain a sharper identity in the face of expanding numbers” (Hoebel 1954:317).

“The kinship group is frequently powerful enough, and it is commonly so self-conscious of its own solid identity and self-loyalty that it thinks | more of its own special interests than it does of the concern of the society at large” (Hoebel 1954:321-322).

“A person's name or names express both his present social position and his other existences. The individual may also be considered as having a supernatural aspect, though no sharp distinction is made in Tlingit thought between what we call natural and supernatural. It is through this supernatural side that the individual is drawn into intimate relationship with supernatural powers. He may manipulate such beings or forces himself, or be affected by them, sometimes becoming so identified with the supernatural that he may even lose his human identity” (Laguna 1954:72).

“A most important criterion of group identity is that all Shans are Buddhists” (Leach 1954:30).

“Details of such apparent change of cultural identity are given in Appendix I” (Leach 1954:40).

“In this country [the British Isles] we use language identity in several different ways” (Leach 1954:47).

“... unity of language can be used as a badge of | political or national solidarity ... In North Burma localized language groups such as Hpon, Maingtha, Gauri and Duleng ... have this kind of political solidarity. Such groups usually have a tradition of common origin and descent and share a wide range of common customs. Language unity here is only one cultural badge among many which serve to mark off ‘we’ from ‘they’” (Leach 1954:48).

“The six linguistic groups in Hpalang are six factions which use language as a badge of group solidarity and group difference” (Leach 1954:50).

“It is advantageous for the individual to identify himself linguistically with those who possess political and economic influence” (Leach 1954:50).

“Moreover this link up | between the Jinghpaw-speaking Gauri and the Maru-speaking Atsi does not operate only at the linguistic level. Many of the commoner lineages also are ‘the same’ in both language groups ... This identity is socially recognised” (Leach 1954:53-54).

“Thus where the anthropologist talks about ‘being in relation’ the actor must symbolise his meaning through concepts associated with the everyday facts of kinship behaviour and friendship; similarly ‘being distinct’ tends to be represented in images of hostility and contrast. But in abstract technical language relationship and distinction are merely two

aspects of the same thing; the mental operation of classifying A and B as similar is the same as the mental operation of distinguishing A plus B from C. In the language of ritual this identity introduces an element of paradox. Very similar social situations may be described at one moment as systems of social solidarity and the next as systems of mutual hostility. Indeed it must be so, for every social group that is to continue as a group must at one and the same time emphasise its difference from other like groups and yet maintain alliances with these other contrasted parties” (Leach 1954:86).

“In Zone A, on the other hand, there is much less pressure on resources, the economy is more soundly based, it is less essential for the village group to retain its territorial identity in face of political change” (Leach 1954:290).

“The Athabaskan Kiowa-Apache, too, are apparently old inhabitants of our area, centering in southwestern Oklahoma. As a small group they attached themselves to the Kiowa for the celebration of the Sun Dance as though a band of the larger tribe, but otherwise preserved their identity; the two peoples communicated with each other mainly by gestures” (Lowie 1954:192).

“Most Indian groups in the United States, after more than 100 years of Euro-American contact and in spite of strong external pressures, both direct and fortuitous, has not yet become assimilated in the sense of a loss of community identity and the full acceptance of American habits of thought and conduct. Nor can one expect such group assimilation within any short, predictable time period, say, one to four generations. The urge to retain tribal identity is strong, and operates powerfully for many Indian groups” (Provinse et al. 1954:388).

“Surely such things as these – a ‘sacred scripture,’ and a sacred class to interpret it, leading personalities, ‘sacred geography’ and the associated rites and ceremonies – must in any civilization be important vehicles for the formation of that common cultural consciousness from which a Great Tradition is fashioned and to which it must appeal if it is to stay alive. It is in this sense that the universalization of cultural consciousness is a necessary ingredient in its formation and maintenance. Moreover, as the discussion of the role of ‘sacred geography’ in the formation of Hinduism has intimated, this process does not begin only at the point where the villager and the urbanite merge their distinct cultural identities in a higher identity, but is already at work at the simpler levels of family, caste and village, and must play an important part in the formation and maintenance of the Little Tradition at these levels” (Redfield and Singer 1954:68).

“the rapid growth of Indian cofradias (sodalities) after the late sixteenth century gave to parishioners a series of organized and stable associations with which personal and communal identification might readily be made” (Gibson 1955:600, quoted in Wolf 1957:8).

Note: Hallowell 1955 is a collection of essays published at different times. Date of original publication is indicated in the citations; however, I file these under 1955, because I have not checked the original publications.

“self-identity” (Hallowell 1955 [1954]:94)

“personal identity” (Hallowell 1955: [1954] 94; 95; 104; 174; 392 in citation of Abeles and Schilder 1935).

“self-identification” (Hallowell 1955: [1950]10, [1954] 90, 93, 173, [1955] 186)

“identification” in Freudian sense (Hallowell 1955: [1950] 12)

“the individual ... identified with other members of his group” (Hallowell 1955:[1954] 102)

“identification” with “close kin” (Hallowell 1955:[1946] 147)

“identification with his father” (Hallowell 1955: [1938] 260)

“identification” in sense of sameness (Hallowell 1955: [1955] 39, [1940] 160, 161, [1938] 252)

“It would also appear that there are some analogies, although by no means an identity, between the anxiety created in some of these traumatic disease situations among the Saulteaux and neurotic anxiety” (Hallowell 1955:[1941] 271).

“The northern Algonkian soon identified their own Supreme Being with the Christian God, despite the fact that some missionaries resisted this idea. Indians who have spoken to me about this cannot understand why the identification was not an obvious one” (Hallowell 1955: [1945] 324).

“Where social interaction involves marked differences in power between the members of two groups, one type of response that may result from anxieties arising from feelings of insecurity in members of the subordinate group is identification, in one way or another, with the dominant group” (Hallowell 1955: [1945] 329).

Note:

- Hallowell 1937, 1954 cite Sherif 1936
- Hallowell 1940 cites Schoolcraft 1857
- Hallowell 1946 cites Schoolcraft 1851
- Hallowell 1954 cites Abeles and Schilder 1935
- Hallowell 1954 & 1955 cite Fromm 1941, 1947
- Hallowell 1954 cites Sherif and Cantril 1947
- Hallowell 1955 cites Schoolcraft 1839

“What are generally denominated tribes really are small nationalities, possessing essentially uniform speech and customs and therefore an accompanying sense of likeness and likemindedness, which in turn tended to prevent serious dissensions or internal conflicts. The genuinely political units were smaller units - corresponding rather to what it is customary to loosely call ‘bands’ or ‘villages.’ These were de facto self-governing, it was they that each owned a particular territory, rather than that the nationality owned the over-all territory. Ordinarily, the nationality, miscalled tribe, was only an aggregate of miniature sovereign states normally friendly to one another” (Kroeber 1955:303).

“Meanwhile, in the clinic and the class-room, in the writing of social scientists and the deliberations of international bodies a new concept is clamoring for acceptance – the concept of *identity*, ‘the adolescent search for identity,’ the need for ‘a national identity,’ the significance of ethnic identity.’ Dickinson laments the loss of identity in Scotland; and Nigel

Dennis skits it all in his coruscating new book *Cards of Identity*, in which a new whimsical [sic] elite solve the servant problem and the problem of boredom by playing games with identity – turning upper-middle-class sycophants into butlers and maids by psychological sleight of hand. It's a useful approach, this emphasis on identity, focusing attention on what seem to be burning problems of the present age. One is reminded of the small South Sea communities confronted by the armies of great nation states as they suddenly discover the meaning of nationality, and, in terms of their hundreds or few thousands, try to build a group identity to give each of them a dignity with which to meet the modern world. It seems to be a concept that could be used with profit to add a non-isolationist dimension to the | Riesman, Glazer, Hofstadter, Collier's analysis, the question of a change in our definition of our national identity which reverberates, although often without conscious recognition, down to the small child who comes home from school with eyes wide and frightened because the teacher said that there were other countries in the world "bigger than the United States" (M. Mead 1955:381-382).

"...I had tried to formulate several broad hypotheses concerning the relation of little and great traditions in Indian civilization. These were: ... (3) That this common cultural consciousness has been formed in India with the | help of certain processes and factors which also play an important role in other primary civilizations: i.e., sacred books and sacred objects as a fixed point of worship, a special class of literati (Brahmans) who have the authority to recite and interpret the sacred scriptures, professional story tellers, a sacred geography of 'sacred centers' – temples, pilgrimage places, shrines, etc., and leading personalities who by their identification with the great tradition and with the masses mediate the one to the other" (Singer 1955:23-24).

"... and losing their separate identity as a group which they have long sought to maintain" (Thompson and Adloff 1955:141).

"Such tribesmen constitute an insignificant segment of the modern Latin American population, and as long as they retain their aboriginal cultures and their identity as tribesmen they are, in reality, carriers of distinct cultures within the geographic boundaries of Latin America and not subcultures of modern Latin America" (Wagley and Harris 1955:430).

"Before long, however, a distinctive Latin American Peasant subculture took form as the various tribal groups of the lowland region came under the influence of missionaries and colonial governments, lost their identity as autochthonous peoples and borrowed or had forced upon them European culture patterns" (Wagley and Harris 1955:447).

"The Tenetehara might now | be classed as a Modern Indian subculture and, as the process of acculturation continues, they will lose their identity as 'distinct people' and their culture will be transformed into that of a Peasant subculture of modern Brazil. Likewise, in Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, and other countries where there are large numbers of people living by Modern Indian subculture patterns, there is a noted trend for such Indians to adopt Peasant patterns (i.e., mestizo, ladino, or cholo patterns) and to lose their identity as Indians" (Wagley and Harris 1955:447-448).

"It is well known that most students of assimilation were interested in personality problems concerning disorganization, loyalty conflicts, marginality, rejection and identification" (Willems 1955:625).

“The Gujar population is subdivided into a number of named patrilineal tribes or clans-units claiming descent from a common known or unknown ancestor, but without supporting genealogies. There are sometimes myths relating to the clan origin, and these frequently serve as etymologies for the clan name. The clans vary greatly in size and only the smallest are localized. The effective descent units are patrilineal lineages of limited depth, though there is greater identification between unrelated Gujars bearing the same clan name than between strangers of different clans. These clans are irrelevant to marriage regulations. There is little intermarriage between Gujars and the host group” (Barth 1956:1083).

“Slowly, the growing person learns to love, to develop reason, to look at the world objectively. He begins to develop his powers; to acquire a sense of identity, to overcome the seduction of his senses for the sake of an integrated life” (Fromm 1956:26).

“While the practice of concealing community identity may be questioned by some, ...” (Mintz 1956:317).

“The Spanish language became a symbol of Puerto Rican national identity only when the United States attempted to enforce the teaching and use of English upon the people” (Steward et al. 1956:500).

“Prophets do not lose their sense of personal identity but psychotics tend to become the object of their spiritual longing” (Wallace 1956:271; with citation of Erich Fromm).

Of the “dreamer” turned “prophet”: “both he and his society will benefit materially from an identification with some definable new cultural system” (Wallace 1956:273).

“Without losing identity, groups exchange and share members, so that even relatively unacculturated individuals (e.g., rural Hindus) have a good deal of knowledge of and experience with members of groups other than their own” (Crowley 1957:824).

“For the townsman, the distinction between santri and abangan becomes even sharper, for it emerges as his primary point of social reference; it becomes a symbol of his social identity, rather than a mere contrast in belief” (Geertz 1957:37).

“For the handling of cultural elements as parts of a structure Radcliffe-Brown has suggested a very useful technique involving the use of the technical term *identification* ... The term is a shorthand method of referring collectively to the structural aspects of large numbers of details of a culture. When I say that siblings are *identified* I mean that in this culture there is a large number of details of culturally standardized behaviour in which the behaviour of one sibling resembles that of the other; and I also mean that many details of the behaviour of outside individuals towards one sibling are reproduced in their behaviour toward the other. Further, ... in Iatmul culture at least, when two individuals are identified it is usual for one of them to behave as if he had performed certain acts which as a matter of fact were performed by the other. Similarly, outside persons behave toward the one individual as if he had performed the acts which were performed by the other.

“The statement that siblings are identified does not imply the absence of details of behaviour which would discriminate between them. Thus the word identification is used relatively and not absolutely. It is common to find that in one series of contexts two individuals are identified, while in another series they are contrasted ...” (Bateson 1958:35-36).

“Elsewhere, and even within these regions along the coasts, at the mouths of the great rivers and at railway centres, a new spirit arises; for the population is detached from traditions and dominated by what can be called class representations ; at factory exits, in the districts where they live, the workers meet and mingle and become aware of each other as opposed to other social groups ; they feel the identity of their situation and the interests they have in common” (Halbwachs 1958:7).

“And so far the cohesive force keeping men of different social levels together in one nation has been stronger than any attraction that could unite all the members of one class across various countries. It is not that the identity of their situations does not provide a reason for establishing connexions between even the most distant groups. But national divergencies, especially since the war, are growing more accentuated” (Halbwachs 1958:124).

“These remarks should be sufficient to call it to your attention that a man’s work is one of the more important parts of his social identity, of his self” (Hughes 1958:43).

“At some point these irregulars, having become aware of themselves as a new group with a social identity, set about setting the terms of entry of their successors, the second generation” (Hughes 1958:158).

„Für uns erscheint also die Gemeinde als ein ‚soziales System,‘ d.h. als ein Zusammenhang, der sich unter anderem dadurch auszeichnet, daß alle Menschen, die in ihn einbeschlossen sind, ein Bewußtsein dieses Zusammenhangs sowie seiner Grenzen und seiner Verschiedenheit von anderen ähnlichen Zusammenhängen haben. Dieser Strukturzusammenhang, der über das Überleben der betreffenden Gemeinde und ihre sozial-kulturelle Identität entscheidet, ist also unabhängig von den zahllosen Einzelercheinungen, die ihm einen spezifischen Inhalt geben, was darin zum Ausdruck kommt, daß niemals bei den Beteiligten ein Zweifel über die Individualität ihrer Gemeinde aufzutauchen pflegt“ (König 1958:29).

„Eine interessante Parallele zu der deutschen Untersuchung stellt die Studie von Herman R. Lantz über Coal Town dar, eine Zechengemeinde aus dem Kohlengebiet des amerikanischen Mittelwestens ... | ... In der Tat ist aus dem Zusammenstoß zwischen einer eingeborenen Subsistenzwirtschaft und der Einwanderung von Industriearbeitern keine ‚dritte Kraft‘ entstanden, die an der Gemeinde als solcher und an der Verlängerung ihrer ‚kulturellen Identität‘ interessiert gewesen wäre. Das besiegelte dann das Schicksal der Gemeinde, nachdem 1948 zunächst die erste, 1956 die zweite Kohlengrube geschlossen wurde“ (König 1958:70).

“Picture a piece of land on the Iowa River in Central Iowa ... for the past 100 years this has been the home of a growing community of American Indians who call themselves Mesquakies. They are commonly known as Fox Indians ... when I first visited the settlement in 1932 and 1934 ... They seemed to be a going concern in terms of their ancient culture ... they had maintained not only their identity and pride in their own history, but also a large core of their traditional culture” (Tax 1958:17).

“The two irreducible conditions of community-wide change are that the new behavior does not require either 1) a loss of Fox identity, or 2) a violation of Fox moral beliefs” (Tax 1958:18).

“Most simply, we have been telling everyone we can just what I am saying here: that neither assimilation nor its opposite are inevitable; that Indians can maintain their identity as Indians while making such changes as will not violate their own values but are still sufficient to make them self-sustaining” (Tax 1958:18).

“Freedom ... means freedom for individuals to choose the group with which to identify and freedom for a community to choose its way of life. We would ... be embarrassed if it were shown that we are, for example, encouraging Indians to remain Indians, rather than to become something else, or trying to preserve Indian culture, when the Indians involved would choose otherwise ...” (Tax 1958:18).

“With a view to the particular orientation of this essay, the implications of unilineal descent may be expressed in terms of their significance for individual choices. For each ‘ego’ in society, unilineal descent resolves a problem of identification. Through his two parents, two different assemblages of kin have claims on his loyalty and support. Unilineal descent gives primacy, for specified purposes, to one of these relations; it defines a bond which in these situations overrides other bonds. Thus, in a patrilineal society, sons are unambiguously identified with fathers in the culturally defined contexts in which descent is relevant.” (Barth 1959:6).

“This fusion of interests is situational; it implies an identification in situations of conflict with those more closely related by lineage bonds against those less related, or unrelated. Implicit in the framework of a lineage, then, are both identification and opposition, both fusion and fission. The opposition between near and distant collaterals, defined by their descent from two different ancestors on one level of segmentation, in one generation of the genealogy, is overridden in the case of outside threats by fusion in terms of the sibling bond which unites these two ancestors and defines a common interest for their descendants. The solidarity implicit in such a description of the political system is derived from the likeness of the groups concerned, and their ego-centric conception of rights and wrongs. The implied solidarity of groups is thus a mechanical solidarity (Durkheim 1947)” (Barth 1959:6).

“Conflicts over land mobilize all the tenants of the land-owners concerned in groups based on common interest; they divide co-villagers and identify followers more closely with their leaders. They enable the landowner to cement the unity of his own following by leading them in activities where their common interest is clear” (Barth 1959:77, quoted in Asad 1972:78).

“For certain languages – e.g. Zend and Old Slavic – even the identity of the original speakers is unknown, but lack of such information in no way hinders us in studying these languages internally and learning about the transformations that they have undergone” (Saussure [1959] 1966:22).

“Part II, Chapter III IDENTITIES, REALITIES, VALUES” (Saussure [1959] 1966:107-111).

What is a synchronic *identity* ? Here it is not a question of the identity that links the French negation *pas* ‘not’ to Latin *passum*, a diachronic identity that will be dealt with elsewhere (see p. 181), but rather of the equally interesting identity by virtue of which we | state that two sentences like *je ne sais pas* ‘I don’t know’ and *ne dites pas cela* ‘don’t say that’ contain the same element” (Saussure [1959] 1966:108).

“From volume to volume some major areas of interest will presumably remain major, others will be temporarily eclipsed, and still others will lose their prominence or their identity as new concerns emerge” (Siegel 1959a:v).

“Sol Tax, an active leader in the field of ‘action anthropology,’ is identified in particular with the Fox Indian project. In two related articles ... he justifies interference and hypothesizes that any change is possible if it does not interfere with Fox identity or violate Fox moral beliefs” (Spindler and Spindler 1959:52).

“A unique case of plural and differential acculturation in Trinidad is analyzed by Crowley ... He attempts to show how Trinidadians of diverse origins adjust to a complex social situation without losing their subcultural identity” (Spindler and Spindler 1959:57).

Chapter 4 The Ritualization of the Past. Subtitle: The Citizens of Yankee City Collectively State What They Believe Themselves to Be (Warner 1959:107-113)

“During the early period of our research, Yankee City celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of its existence. Forty thousand people came from all over the country to be a part of the historic event. Natives gone to the West and to the great metropolitan cities returned home and others born elsewhere came there for this historic moment, many seeking ancestors and hoping to identify with a known and desirable past. The people of Yankee City had spent the major part of a year carefully preparing for this tercentenary celebration. Everyone was involved ...

“Five days were devoted to historical processions and parades, to games, religious ceremonies, and sermons and speeches ... At the grand climax a huge audience assembled to watch the townsmen march together ‘as one people’ in a grand historical procession. This secular rite, through the presentation of concrete historical incidents, stated symbolically what the collectivity believed and wanted itself to be” (Warner 1959:107).

Reference to Durkheim in “collective rites” and “collective representations” (Warner 1959:109-110).

Reference to “George Mead” on the “ ‘significant symbol’ ” (Warner 1959:110).

Reference to “the unconscious symbols of Freud or perhaps Jung. But since the individual concepts of Freud do not fit the group phenomenon, and Jung’s ‘*racial* unconscious’ although collectively founded carries false implications, we must examine these signs of meaning as the expression of the unconscious emotional group-life of the species, given cultural form in the experience of each individual” (Warner 1959:110).

“Nahua-speakers reached Yucatán and the southeastern highlands ... But they never seriously modified the prevailing linguistic picture. Here and there we find islands of Nahua-speakers, called *pipil* or rulers, but they are always surrounded by a sea of Maya-speakers. It is possible that some of the ruling groups among both the highland and lowland Maya after A.D. 900 were of Nahua derivation, but if this is so they quickly lost their linguistic identity among the people they ruled” (Wolf 1959:42).

“A nation, says Ortega y Gasset, is an invitation extended by some men to others to join them in a common undertaking. To make themselves heard in such a venture and to insure continuity of purpose, men must be able to communicate. To become a nation, groups of men

must learn to transact business with one another. They need an etiquette to rule this newly discovered mutuality, a shared grammar of manners and moral and of shared emotional inflections to govern their exchanges in a common market place of goods and ideas, to channel their conflicts in a common political arena. In the hidden passageways of society, as he tightened the informal networks of economic, military, and political relations, the mestizo learned just such a new etiquette of communication. Yet the gates of the citadel of power and wealth stood shut. As long as | the structure of privilege persisted, his newly found idiom could remain no more than a subterranean jargon. Hacienda and Indian community discoursed endlessly over their closed circuits on the subject of their separate identities” (Wolf 1959:244-245).

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“First, the objective situation as presented and observed; second, the immediately associated memorial elements or the factor of retentiveness; and, thirdly, the situation of the whole state of mind (with special reference to the consciousness of self or of personal identity in all participants) in which the content of the specific language finds its meaning completed.

“In some respects, this analysis has links with my own point of view though I do not require his trinity of situations, nor do I wish to introduce a reference to retentiveness nor to consciousness of self or of personal identity” (J. R. Firth 1960:103).

“A far more healthy state of affairs was indicated by my namesake, Raymond Firth, when he remarked in a humorous vein at a meeting in which we both took part, that the audience should not allow themselves to be confused by the identity of the patronymic but should remember that though we were colleagues working in similar fields, neither of us really knew, in any technical sense, what the other fellow was talking about” (J. R. Firth 1960:116).

“the apparent identity of Polish interests with those of the world at large” (Firth 1960:14).

“Freud himself, incidentally, was well aware of the problem. In *Totem und Tabu* he frequently comments on the danger of identifying the symptoms and mental states of neuroses with primitive customs. He emphasizes that it is analogies and coincidences not identity that he is investigating” (Fortes 1960:171).

“Moreover Nanchao should not be thought of as a state with borders but as a capital city with a wide and variable sphere of influence. The inhabitants of Nanchao had no specific identification with the state, there was no Nanchao nation which would be dispersed by the elimination of Nanchao as a separate political entity” (Leach 1960:56).

“His principle of the ‘common factor’, to be found wherever there is ‘a long-run identity of interests between Europeans and Africans’ and hence a ‘basis for collaboration’, establishes an ideal, not an empirically based proposition” (Mair 1960:235, quoting from Malinowski 1945:56).

“Colson makes an interesting point on the relation of cultural to structural changes in her study of the Makah Indians, who have retained their sense of separate identity while almost completely abandoning all the cultural features which previously distinguished them from white Americans” (Mair 1960:238).

“Colson’s study of the Makah (1953), already quoted, deals with tradition in a manner fully in accordance with Malinowski’s view. The theme of this book is not the process of social change, but the present relationship of the Makah to the rest of the American nation and the forces making for and against that total assimilation which was the aim of United States policy for a long period. This policy has been successful to such a point that no distinctively Indian customs are now practised; yet the memory of them is preserved as part of an ideology representing the whites as despoilers of the Indians, which is an important factor in preserving their consciousness of their separate identity as a people” (Mair 1960:243).

“For years, Romania and Hungary quarreled over Transylvania ... In August, 1940, Germany and Italy forced Romania to give northern Transylvania to Hungary. After World War II, Transylvania was returned to Romania, and lost its political identity” (Rubinstein 1960:322).

“This wide spread and the relative feebleness of the intervening strata between the most powerful and the most wealthy-foreign businessmen, plutocrats of very particularistic indigenous provenience and quasi-feudal landowners – on the one side, and the least powerful and the poorest on the other, makes the feeling of remoteness from the center of things more pronounced among the poor; it also heightens the sense of separateness between the modern section of the population and the more traditional, less educated or utterly uneducated strata. This attenuates the sense of affinity necessary for the development of a modern political society and hampers its further growth. It makes for mutual alienation and a failure of mutual identification” (Shils 1960:271).

“Almost every feature of the social structure of the new states conspires to separate the ordinary people from their government. Naturally, even the most advanced states which have achieved a relatively effective democratic system, e.g., the Scandinavian countries, do not disclose a full participation of the mass of the population or a full sense of identity between rulers and ruled. These states, too, manifest bureaucratic tendencies and some measure of anti-political alienation in the mass among intellectuals. All that is asserted here is that the phenomenon of the "gap" is far more pronounced in the new states” (Shils 1960:281).

“The ruling political elite, having carried the banner of the nation for so many years, under conditions of stress, continue to think of themselves as identical with the nation and after their accession to power, with the State” (Shils 1960:289).

“Civility has no occasion for birth in such a society; its place is taken by unity. The polity would become not just congruous with society-the requirement for political society but identical with it and superior to it. Moreover, the identity will be, according to the totalitarian model, unilateral, i.e., the society will take all its lineaments from the polity: the polity will take none from the society. The result will be not a ‘political society’ but an ‘ideological society’” (Shils 1960:402).

“Thus, although the exact genealogical details of their relationship are forgotten, cognates may know or believe that two of their grandparents were cousins; the usual limit to this kind of identification being fourth cousinship, that is, where individuals assert that their grandparents were second cousins” (Freeman 1961:207).

“Erikson’s concept of identity ... becomes an exciting and illuminating concept when applied ... to the problem of political development in the emergent countries. These are societies whose peoples, in spite of their slogans of nationalism, lack a sense of identity. When old

forms and customs lose their binding, their sustaining, and their reassuring powers, the people must restlessly search for new personal identities and for a new sense of collective identity ... Before the nation can develop, leaders must emerge who have found integrity in their own quests for identity, and who can therefore speak in terms that will bring meaning to other people's search for identity. The need is for that set of shared orientations which force a people steadfastly to face reality, and which make it impossible for them to turn from reality" (Pye 1961:309).

"During the same period, some analogous developments had occurred in psychoanalytic thought – and it was psychoanalytic psychology which was most stimulating to anthropologists and other social scientists concerned with personality and culture ... Freud's theory of psychosexual stages, as elaborated by Karl Abraham, applied the concepts of the 'oral' and the 'anal' character to whole cultures, thus implying the centrality of a biological universalism for the understanding of history. In contrast, our effort in *The Lonely Crowd* was to deal with an historical problem that was broader than genitality, though narrower than fate. Thus, we ourselves were in the tradition of the neo-Freudians, particularly Erich Fromm, with whom I had studied. Fromm's *Escape from Freedom* and *Man for Himself* were decisively influential models in the application of a socially oriented psychoanalytic characterology to problems of historical change" (Riesman 1961; in Riesman 1989:xxv-xxvi).

"The current preoccupation with identity in this country (notable in the great impact of Erik H. Erikson's work) reflects the liberation of men from the realm of characterological necessity. The power of individuals to shape their own character by their selection among models and experiences was suggested by our concept of autonomy; when this occurs, men may limit the provinciality of being born in a particular family in a particular place. To some, this offers a prospect only of rootless men and galloping anomie. To more hopeful prophets, ties based on conscious relatedness may some day replace those of blood and soil" (Riesman 1961; in Riesman 1989:lxx; with footnote to Fromm 1953).

"This book is about social character and about the differences in social character between men of different regions, eras, and groups ...

"Just what do we mean when we speak of 'social character'? We do not speak of 'personality,' which in current social psychology is used to denote the total self, with its inherited temperaments and talents, its biological as well as psychological components, its evanescent as well as more permanent attributes. Nor even do we speak of 'character' as such, which, in one of its contemporary uses, refers to only a part of personality – that part which is formed not by heredity but by experience ...

"'Social character' is that part of 'character' which is shared among significant social groups and which, as most contemporary social scientists define it, is the product of the experience of these groups. The notion of social character permits us to speak ... of the character of classes, groups, regions, and nations" (Riesman 1961; in Riesman 1989:3-4).

"Local-genealogical segmentation: A political structure is often a system of local segmentation. That is, segments of the same order within the same inclusive political body are contiguous. Among the Tiv and the Nuer, local segmentation is simultaneously lineage segmentation (see Fig. 1). It is not simply that each territorial entity is identified with a lineage segment, but also that contiguous segments of the same inclusive territorial entity are identified with equivalent branches of the same inclusive lineage" (Sahlins 1961).

“The authors of the Truk study ... concentrate ... on the variations in personality development as a function of variations in life experiences, e.g., having a parent of the same sex with whom to identify, size of household, the ‘times’ during which one grows up, and the like” (Singer 1961:38).

“Action-seeking episodes are, after all, a source of fun and excitement, as well as an opportunity for exploring one’s identity as an individual and group member” (Gans 1962:69).

“Similarly, adults are ill-at-ease with people who try to take their point of view, for example, with well-meaning social workers or doctors who assume the West Enders to have a sense of identity to the benefit of which they can contribute” (Gans 1962:99).

“In short, the object-oriented individual can be described as having a dualistic self, which allows him to be sensitive to the actions of others as they become part of himself. He is able to be self-conscious and develops a self-image or sense of identity” (Gans 1962:101).

« En mai 1918, la 42e division se trouvait déployée près de la 77^e, qui ornait ses équipages de son emblème distinctif ... La division Arc-en-ciel adopta cet usage, imité de sa voisine, mais aussi dans l’intention de s’en distinguer ... De telle sorte qu’à la fin de la guerre, le corps expéditionnaire américain était organisé ‘en une série de groupes bien définis et souvent jaloux les uns des autres, et dont chacun se caractérisait par un ensemble particulier d’idées et de pratiques’ [Linton 1924] (p. 298). L’auteur énumère : 1) La division en groupes conscients de leur individualité ; 2) ... » Lévi-Strauss 1962 :14).

« Chaque groupe était sans doute guidé par les mobiles, moins contradictoires qu’il ne semble, de faire comme les autres, aussi bien que les autres, mieux que les autres, et pas comme les autres : c’est-à-dire de raffiner constamment sur des thèmes dont seuls les contours généraux étaient fixés par la tradition et l’usage. En somme, dans le domaine de l’organisation sociale et de la pensée religieuse, les communautés australiennes ont procédé comme les sociétés paysannes de l’Europe en matière de costume à la fin du XVIIIe et au début du XIXe siècle. Que chaque communauté dût avoir son costume et que, pour les hommes et pour les femmes respectivement, celui-ci fût en gros composé des mêmes éléments, n’était pas mis en question : on s’appliquait seulement à se distinguer du village voisin, et à le surpasser par la richesse ou l’ingéniosité du détail ... La double action du conformisme général (qui est le fait d’un univers clos) et du particularisme de clocher tend, ici comme ailleurs, et chez les sauvages australiens comme dans nos sociétés paysannes, à traiter la culture selon la formule musicale du ‘thème et variations’ » (Lévi-Strauss 1962a :119).

“Now we move on in the list to the Yir Yoront. This, Needham concedes, is a difficult case; so we shall quote his statement in full:

“Yir-Yoront: A difficult case, but not certainly unilaterally prescriptive. MBD and FZD are categorically distinguished, and marriage with the latter is forbidden. Patrilineal moieties; one strictly exogamous, the other endogamous with respect to certain of its clans. The pattern and extension of the terminology is unlike that of any certainly matrilineal prescriptive system, and its identification of alternate generations suggests a bilineal section-system. I will concede that to represent this as a unilateral prescriptive system is, as far as the explicit evidence goes, defensible; but such a conclusion is by no means clear or indubitable and I shall not list it as such’ (p. 56).

“We thought for a moment that we were through with kinship terminology, but now we find it is the terminology again that gives cause for doubt when other conditions seemed more or less propitious. Needham is thrown off here by the alternate-generation mergings in the Yir Yoront kinship terminology, which to him ‘suggests a bilineal section system,’ and which in turn suggests *échange restreint*, which has been thought to be incompatible with a matrilineal prescription” (Lounsbury 1962:1306).

“The University of Chicago has recently brought the problem of identifying and enumerating the Indian population under study, with results that are quite at variance with the official reports” (McNickle [1962] 1964:3).

“The participants [in a meeting of a group of social scientists in Chicago in the latter 1940s] observed: ‘Most Indian groups in the United States, after more than one hundred years of Euro-American contact and in spite of strong external pressures, both direct and fortuitous, have not yet become assimilated in the sense of loss of community identity and the full acceptance of American habits of thought and conduct.’

“And they concluded: ‘Despite external pressures, and internal change, most of the present identifiable Indian groups residing on Indian reservations (areas known to them as homelands) will continue indefinitely as distinct social units, preserving their basic values, personality, and Indian way of life, while making continual adjustments, | often superficial in nature, to the economic and political demands of the larger society’” (McNickle [1962] 1964:4-5); quoting from Provinse et al. 1954).

Glazer and Moynihan 1963: Google does not list “identity” among “Häufige Begriffe und Wortgruppen”; it does list “ethnic groups.”

“Some of this conceptual haze is burned away, however, if it is realized that the peoples of the new states are simultaneously animated by two powerful, thoroughly interdependent, yet distinct and often actually opposed motives—the desire to be recognized as responsible agents whose wishes, acts, hopes, and opinions ‘matter’ and the desire to build an efficient, dynamic modern state. The one aim is to be noticed: it is a search for an identity, and a demand that the identity be publicly acknowledged as having import, a social assertion of the self as ‘being somebody in the world.’ The other aim is practical: it is a demand for progress, for a rising standard of living, more effective political order, greater social justice, and beyond that of ‘playing a part in the larger arena of world politics,’ of ‘exercising influence among the nations.’ The two motives are, again, most intimately related, because citizenship in a truly modern state has more and more become the most broadly negotiable claim to personal significance, and because what Mazzini called the demand to exist and have a name is to such a great extent fired by a humiliating sense of exclusion from the important centers of power in world society. But they are not the same thing. They stem from different sources and respond to different pressures. It is, in fact, the tension between them that is one of the central driving forces in the national evolution of the new states ; as it is, at the same time, one of the greatest obstacles to such evolution.

“This tension takes a peculiarly severe and chronic form in the new states, both because of the great extent to which their peoples' sense of self remains bound up in the gross actualities of blood, race, language, locality, religion, or tradition, and because of the steadily accelerating importance in this century of the sovereign state as a positive instrument for the realization of collective aims. Multiethnic, usually multilingual, and sometimes multiracial, the populations of the new states tend to regard the immediate, concrete, and to them

inherently meaningful sorting implicit in such 'natural' diversity as the substantial content of their individuality. To subordinate these specific and familiar identifications in favor of a generalized commitment to an overarching and somewhat alien civil order is to risk a loss of definition as an autonomous person, either through absorption into a culturally undifferentiated mass or, what is even worse, through a domination by some other rival ethnic, racial, or linguistic community that is able to imbue that order with the temper of its own personality" (Geertz 1963:108-109).

"The world of personal identity collectively ratified and publically expressed is thus an ordered world. The patterns of primordial identification and cleavage within the existing new states are not fluid, shapeless, and infinitely various, but are definitely demarcated and vary in systematic ways" (Geertz 1963:118).

"The search for a common cultural tradition to serve as the content of the country's identity as a nation now that it had become, somehow, a state, led only to the revivification of ancient, and better forgotten, Tamil-Sinhalese treacheries, atrocities, insults, and wars. The eclipse of the Western-educated urban elite, within which class loyalties and old-school ties tended to override primordial differences, removed one of the few important points of amicable contact between the two communities" (Geertz 1963:123).

"Much of the language difference depended upon whaling terms which are now obsolete. It is not unnatural, then, to find phonetic differences becoming stronger and stronger as the group fights to maintain its identity" (Labov 1963:298).

"As the number of Portuguese in prominent positions grows, it is no longer urgent to minimize the effects of being Portuguese, but rather to assert one's identity as an islander" (Labov 1963:305).

"On the one hand, the Indian group resents any bar to full participation in the island life, and the Indians have plainly adopted many of the same values as the Chilmarkers. But on the other hand, they would like to insist as well on their Indian identity. Unfortunately, they no longer have linguistic resources for this purpose, and whether they like it or not, they will follow the Chilmark lead" (Labov 1963:305-306).

"The following abstract scheme may serve to summarize the argument which has been advanced so far to explain the spread and propagation of this particular linguistic change. |

1. A language feature used by a group A is marked by contrast with another standard dialect.
2. Group A is adopted as a reference group by group B, and the feature is adopted and exaggerated as a sign of social identity in response to pressure from outside forces.
3. Hypercorrection under increased pressure, in combination with the force of structural symmetry, leads to a generalization of the feature in other linguistic units of group B.
4. A new norm is established as the process of generalization levels off.
5. The new norm is adopted by neighboring and succeeding groups for whom group B serves as a reference group" (Labov 1963:306-307).

"In May 1918 the division found itself deployed near the 77th, which painted its vehicles with its own distinctive emblem ... The Rainbow Division adopted this custom, which it thus imitated from its neighbor, but with the intention also of distinguishing itself from it ... This went on until at the end of the war the American Expeditionary Force was organized into 'a

series of well-defined and often mutually jealous groups, each of which had its individual complex of ideas and observances' [quotation from Linton 1924:298]. These the author enumerates as: (1) segmentation into groups conscious of their identity; (2) ..." (Lévi-Strauss 1963:7).

Note: The French word "individualité" in Lévi-Strauss 1962:14 has been translated with "identity."

"The relationship between *tribal* and *ethnic identity* and language needs to be established" (Barth [1964] 1972:457).

"A number of considerations would thus lead one to expect the pressure along the boundary to be primarily from Pathan to Baluch country ... Frequently, wars and plundering forays inevitably tear numbers of people loose from their territorial and social contexts ... From such processes of fragmentation and mobility, a vast pool of personnel results – persons and groups seeking social identity and membership in viable communities" (Barth [1964] 1972:460).

"Through the whole exposition runs a controlling theme: the transition to modernity involves, on the level of the individual, a search for a new identity, and it is upon the successful resolution of this identity crisis that political, economic, and cultural advance ultimately depend: 'If the pace of national development is to be accelerated, [the] vicious circle of psychological inhibitions must be broken so that new sets of sentiments and attitudes can replace those blocking decisive and purposeful action at the level of individual choice and impeding the creation of effective organizations at the collective level.' To build new nations you need new men" (Geertz 1964:206; quoting from Pye 1962).

"This is seen most clearly with respect to the two main concepts upon which Pye relies: 'culture' (here, 'political culture') and 'identity.' These two concepts, one now well established, the other just beginning to be so, have, in their more uncritical uses, a curious similarity, if not precisely in content, then in the sort of concepts they are. Both are, or have a tendency to be, extremely eclectic, spreading out like huge tents to shelter a tremendous variety of not wholly commensurate phenomena under a single cover. Both are, or have a tendency to be, self-sufficient, to be employed as explanatory frameworks independently of other concepts to which they might be explicitly and systematically linked, and thus to reduce anthropology on the one side and psychology on the other to one-concept sciences. And both are, or have a tendency to be, radically subjective in content, so that the hard outlines of both social and personality structure dissolve into a flow of formless sentiment and elusive ideation, leaving sociological and psychological dynamics-of class and power, or sex and repression-hopelessly indeterminate. Pye has not gone to extremes in any of these tendencies, Boasian on the one side, neo-Freudian on the other. But he has also not escaped their seductive force to make of 'culture' and 'identity' the powerful intellectual tools that, their proto-scientific globalism purged, they can be, as the fact that in his hands the two concepts merge to the point that they seem virtually interchangeable perhaps demonstrates" (Geertz 1964:207, quoting from Pye 1962).

"Yet, at the same time, the parallel globalization of the identity concept weakens even the psychological analysis. By using 'identity' almost precisely as he uses 'culture'-as a summative term for Burmese 'feelings,' 'attitudes,' and 'views' concerning the socio-political world and their place in it-rather than as a well-defined concept set firmly in a

developed psychological theory, the sort of penetration into social and political matters that, rightly handled, psychoanalysis can give is lost. One gets a depth psychology without depth. In place of a rigorous analysis of specific personality structures and processes, we have vague comments about ‘the search for identity,’ the dangers of ‘identity diffusion,’ and the ‘strains’ produced by ‘rapid changes in identity.’ In the hands of Erikson – especially the Erikson of *Childhood and Society* – as well as those of certain other ‘ego-psychologists,’ the concept of identity remains embedded in a somewhat revised but still articulated psychoanalytic theory, so that it is a supplement to, and in part a correction of, classical Freudianism, not a replacement of it. Here, it drains the power of that theory into the same sort of generalized subjectivism that Pye’s concept of culture produces. In fact, the part (III) governed by the former concept seems, as a pattern of analysis, indistinguishable from that (IV) governed by the latter, so that the tension, which Erikson has on occasion exploited so effectively, between the flow of an extra-personal historical tradition and the intra-psychic predicaments of an individual personality located at a particular point in that flow is almost completely dissipated. The same things, or at least the same sort of things, are simply said twice, presented once as aspects of ‘political culture,’ once as aspects of ‘the personal and collective search for | identity,’ and both men and institutions disappear into a flat and edgeless image of the Burmese mind” (Geertz 1964:208-209, quoting from Pye 1962).

“Little attention is paid to religious development in and of itself, to regularities of transformation which occur in the ritual and belief systems of societies undergoing comprehensive social revolutions. At best, we get studies of the role that established religious commitments and identifications play in political or economic processes. But our view of Asian and African religions as such is oddly static. We expect them to prosper or decline; we do not expect them to change” (Geertz [1964] 1973:170).

“The most ruthless exploiters of any nation’s fight for a safe identity have been Adolf Hitler and his associates, who for a decade were the undisputed political and military masters of a great, industrious, and studious people” (Erikson 1965:317 – first sentence of chapter).

“For nations, as well as individuals, are not only defined by their highest point of civilized achievement, but also by the weakest one in their collective identity: they are, in fact, defined by the distance, and the quality of the distance, between these points” (Erikson 1965:317).

“The world is apt once more to underestimate the force with which the question of national unity may become a matter of the *preservation of identity*, and thus a matter of (human) life and death, far surpassing the question of political systems” (Erikson 1965:338).

“Strong eras and strong countries assimilate the contributions of strong Jews because their sense of identity is enhanced by progressive redefinitions. In times of collective anxiety, however, the very suggestion of relativity is resented, and this especially by those classes which are about to lose status and self-esteem ... | ...I think then, that insight into the deadly nature of the identity problem can throw some light on the fact that hundreds of thousands of Germans participated and millions acquiesced in the German ‘solution to the Jewish problem’” (Erikson 1965:347-348).

“Whoever hopes and works for a change in Europe which will provide the Germans with a destiny of peace must first understand the historical dilemma of her youth and of the youth of other large areas in the world, where abortive national identities must find new alignments in an over-all industrial and fraternal identity” (Erikson 1965:348).

“Unfortunately, Linton went on to discuss statuses not as collections of rights and duties but as categories or kinds of persons ... I shall consistently treat statuses as combinations of right and duty only. I shall emphasize their conceptual autonomy from social ‘positions’ in a categorical sense by referring to the latter as *social identities*. I would, for example speak of ascribed and achieved identities where Linton (1936, p. 115) speaks of ‘ascribed’ and ‘achieved’ statuses. In accordance with Linton’s original definition, then, the formal properties of statuses involved (1) what legal theorists call rights, duties, privileges, powers, liabilities, and immunities (Hoebel, 1954, pp. 48-49) and (2) the ordered ways in which these are distributed in what I shall call *identity relationships* (p. 2) ... A social identity is an aspect of self that makes a difference in how one’s rights and duties distribute to specific others (p. 3) ... Every individual has a number of different social identities. What his rights and duties are varies according to the identities he may appropriately assume in a given interaction. If John Doe is both my employer and my subordinate in the National Guard, then the duties I owe him depend on whether I assume the identity of employee or of company commander in dealing with him” (p. 4) (Goodenough 1965:2-4).

“Insofar as ethnic identification is conscious or its emblems intelligible, we can explore the principles which underlie how persons go about choosing, and influencing others to choose, an ethnic identity. We can also investigate decisions which have the consequence, although not necessarily the motive, of altering one’s ethnic identity. In Southeast Asia, for example, there are some communities – of ‘tribal’ Thai, Karen, Lawa, Palaung, or T’in – whose ecological situation appears to permit choice among such major bases and symbols of ethnicity as religion and type of farming, as well as among such emblems as dialect, diet, and dress. At the very least, knowing that Lue elsewhere in Thailand have altered their ethnic identity will make it necessary for me to try to explain why the villagers of Ban Ping have not altered theirs” (Moerman 1965:1222-1223).

“I seize the word *identity*. It is a key word. You hear it over and over again. On this word will focus, around this word will coagulate, a dozen issues, shifting, shading into each other” (Warren 1965:17).

“Every society contains a repertoire of identities that is part of the ‘objective knowledge’ of its members. It is ‘known’ as a matter ‘of course’ that there are men and women, that they have such-and-such psychological traits and that they will have such-and-such psychological reactions in typical circumstances. As the individual is socialized, these identities are ‘internalized’ ... The objective reality, as defined by society, is subjectively appropriated. In other words, socialization brings about symmetry between objective and subjective reality, objective and subjective identity. The degree of this symmetry provides the criterion of the successfulness of socialization. The psychological reality of the successfully socialized individual thus verifies subjectively what his society has objectively defined as real. He is then no longer required to turn outside himself for ‘knowledge’ concerning the nature proper of men and women. He can obtain that result by simple introspection. He ‘knows who he is’” (Berger 1966:107).

“identity itself (the total self, if one prefers) may be reified, both one’s own and that of others. There is then a total identification of the individual with his socially assigned typifications. He is apprehended as *nothing but* that type” (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1967:91).

“If one is mindful of this dialectic one can avoid the misleading notion of ‘collective identities’ without having recourse to the uniqueness, *sub specie aeternitatis*, of individual existence. Specific historical social structures engender identity *types*, which are recognizable in individual cases. In this sense one may assert that an American has a different identity than a Frenchman, a New Yorker than a Midwesterner, an executive than a hobo, and so forth. As we have seen, orientation and conduct in everyday life depend upon such typifications. This means that identity types can be observed in everyday life and that assertions like the ones above can be verified – or refuted – by ordinary men endowed with commonsense ... Clearly the status of such typifications is not comparable to that of the constructs of the social sciences, nor does the verification and refutation follow the canons of scientific method ... The point of interest in the present context is that identity types are ‘observable’ and ‘verifiable’ in pretheoretical, and thus prescientific experiences.

“Identity is a phenomenon that emerges from the dialectic between individual and society. Identity *types*, on the other hand, are social products *tout court*, relatively stable elements of objective social reality ... As such, they are the topic of some form of theorizing in any society, even if they are stable and the formation of individual identities is relatively unproblematic. Theories about identity are always embedded in a more general interpretation of reality; they are ‘built into’ the symbolic universe and its theoretical legitimations, and vary with the character of the latter. Identity remains unintelligible unless it is located in a world. Any | theorizing about identity – and about specific identity types – must therefore occur within the framework of the theoretical interpretations within which it and they are located.

“It should be stressed again that we are here referring to theories about identity as a social phenomenon; that is, without prejudice as to their acceptability to modern science. Indeed, we will refer to such theories as ‘psychologies’ and will include any theory about identity that claims to explain the empirical phenomenon in a comprehensive fashion, whether or not such an explanation is ‘valid’ for the contemporary scientific discipline of that name.

“If theories about identity are always embedded in the more comprehensive theories about reality, this must be understood in terms of the logic underlying the latter ...” (Berger and Luckmann [1966] 1967:174-175).

“Not only are Balinese ideas in this area unusually well developed, but they are, from a Western perspective, odd enough to bring to light some | general relationships between different orders of cultural conceptualization that are hidden from us when we look only at our own all-too-familiar framework for the identification, classification, and handling of human and quasi-human individuals. In particular, they point up some unobvious connections between the way in which a people perceive themselves and others, the way in which they experience time, and the affective tone of their collective life-connections that have an import not just for the understanding of Balinese society but human society generally” (Geertz [1966] 1973:360-361).

“Yet one more meticulous case in point for such well-established propositions as that ancestor worship supports the jural | authority of elders, that initiation rites are means for the establishment of sexual identity and adult status, that ritual groupings reflect political oppositions, or that myths provide charters for social institutions and rationalizations of social privilege, may well finally convince a great many people, both inside the profession and out, that anthropologists are, like theologians, firmly dedicated to proving the indubitable” (Geertz 1966a:1-2).

“Each group was no doubt actuated by the only apparently contradictory incentives of being like others, as good as others, better than others and different from others, that is, of constantly elaborating themes only the general outlines of which were fixed by tradition and custom. In short, in the field of social organization and religious thought, the Australian communities behaved like the peasant societies of Europe in their manner of dressing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That each community had its own dress and that this was composed of roughly the same elements for men and women respectively was never called into question. It was in wealth or ingenuity of detail alone that people tried to distinguish themselves from, and to outdo, the neighboring village ... Here, as elsewhere, among the Australian aborigines as in our own peasant societies the combination of general conformity (which is a feature of a closed world) with the particularism of the parish results in culture being treated like themes and variations in music” (Lévi-Strauss 1966:90).

“Concerning Indian Life in General, the third part, the major changes have concerned population figures, reservation life, and attitudes toward Indians. Indians are not in danger of dying out – on the contrary. Populations are increasing, but maintaining Indian identity sometimes poses problems” (Wissler 1966:ix; with revisions by L. W. Kluckhohn).

“More and more he will live as do his white neighbors, but it will be a long time before he is absorbed into the white population and loses his community background and his tribal traditions” (Wissler 1966:xvi; with revisions by L. W. Kluckhohn).

“There is another aspect of ‘being Indian’ which is now under consideration. Many groups wish to preserve their | Indian identity, while others do not. The question of ‘Indian: to be or not to be’ is one of great controversy not only for government policy, and among veterans, but among the groups themselves” (Wissler 1966:324-325; with revisions by L. W. Kluckhohn).

“the family remains the multipurpose organization par excellence in societies that are increasingly segmented into institutions with single purposes. As such it may have compensatory functions, in restoring to persons a wider sense of identity beyond that defined by unitary demands of a job, be it cutting cane on a Puerto Rico plantation or tightening nuts on bolts in an assembly line” (Wolf [1966] 2001:172).

“Put in terms of reference theory, the choice of behavioral etiquettes and the direction of their circulation reflect the degree of dominance of one or another reference group within the society” (Wolf [1966] 2001:182).

« Durkheim analyse cette religion simple qu’est le totémisme en utilisant les notions de clan et de *totem*. Le clan est un groupe | religieuse de parenté qui n’est pas constitué par des liens de consanguinité. C’est un groupement humain, peut-être le plus simple de tous, qui exprime son identité en se rattachant à une plante ou à un animal“ (Aron 1967:350-351).

“I am arguing for the thesis that identity is relative. When one says ‘x is identical with y,’ this, I hold, is an incomplete expression; it is short for ‘x is the same A as y’ where ‘A’ represents some count noun understood from the context of utterance – or else, it is just a vague expression of a half-formed thought” (Geach 1967:3).

« On pourrait, il est vrai, nous rendre ici coupable d’une pétition de principe, puisque nous semblons postuler l’identité fondamentale de l’organisation dualiste et de coutumes en

apparence très différentes, ce qui devrait faire, au contraire, l'objet de notre démonstration » (Lévi-Strauss 1967 :83).

“The story appears several times in early writings of the colonial period about the Fipa – an indication of its central importance as an embodiment of the Fipa sense of their own identity” (Willis 1967).

“The Navajo Indian Tribe of Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah signed a final peace treaty with the United States in 1868 ...

“The tribe is now the Nation's largest in number and resides on the largest reservation.

“The tribe's forest industries, oil and mineral wealth, agriculture, arts and crafts, and the recent welcome to the reservation of nationally known manufacturing firms, make the Navajos an outstanding example of a people who have moved with the new century while still holding fast to their Indian identity, ancient beliefs, and creeds” (Johnson 1968).

“Radcliffe-Brown derives classificatory kinship from the ‘principle’ of the equivalence of brothers with its underpinning in their solidarity. This principle, he asserts, can be seen at work in the family and the clan ... I have already indicated that ... I regard the formulation of this principle and its correlate, the principle of the unity of the lineage, as it came to be designated, as marking a major breakthrough in kinship theory” (Fortes [1969] 2006:45).

In Fortes [1969] 2006, multiple uses of “identity”: pp. 4, 14, 58, 75, 112, 116, 117, 128, 132, 136, 142, 153, 160, 173, 175, 183, 198?, 246, 251, 303, 304, 305.

„Das Moment am Kunstwerk, durch das es über die Wirklichkeit hinausgeht, ist in der Tat vom Stil nicht abzulösen; doch es besteht nicht in der geleisteten Harmonie, der fragwürdigen Einheit von Form und Inhalt, Innen und Außen, Individuum und Gesellschaft, sondern in jenen Zügen, in denen die Diskrepanz erscheint, im notwendigen Scheitern der leidenschaftlichen Anstrengung zur Identität. Anstatt diesem Scheitern sich auszusetzen, in dem der Stil des großen Kunstwerks seit je sich negierte, hat das schwache immer an die Ähnlichkeit mit anderen sich gehalten, an das Surrogat der Identität. Kulturindustrie endlich setzt die Imitation absolut“ (Horkheimer and Adorno 1969:117).

“As is well known the religious life of these societies is dominated by beliefs affirming an identity of substance between the clan and the eponymous totem. The belief in this substantial identity explains the special prohibitions imposed upon blood, which is considered as the sacred symbol and the origin of the magico-biological community uniting members of the one clan” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:20).

“It is true that we might be guilty here of begging the question, since we seem to assume, instead of proving, as is our object, the basic identity of dual organization and customs which on the surface vary greatly” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:71).

“Accordingly, it can now be seen what in our opinion is the theoretical relationship between dual organization and the marriage of cross-cousins. Both are systems of reciprocity, and both result in a dichotomous terminology which is broadly similar in both cases. But while dual organization with exogamous moieties defines the actual spouse vaguely, it determines the number and identity of possible spouses most closely” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:102).

“The wavering of the Murinbata between the traditional system and the new order ends in practice with the identification of the mother’s brother’s daughter and the mother’s mother’s brother’s daughter’s daughter as the possible marriage partner” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:154).

“By applying the double law of the exogamy of both the patrilineal and the matrilineal moieties, we thus have: Px man marries a Qy woman, the children are Ry [etc.] | ... a formula which establishes the ultimate identity of the system of generalized exchange, split by the introduction of the matrilineal dichotomy, and the eight-subsection Murngin system as it has been described above. This identity is now perfectly clear” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:188-189).

NOTE: Here, the Murngin system is identified as an example of generalized exchange, i.e., “identity” denotes the relationship between the specific example and the general model.

“identity between the social structure of the Kachin and that of the Haka Chin” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:237).

“But when the question arises of the definition of the groups, and of the relationships uniting them, in order to ensure the permanence and the substantial identity of these groups throughout fluctuations in their individual compositions, their members are necessarily defined in terms of their membership, i.e., it is necessary to determine a mode of descent ...” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:323).

“the substantial identity of the thing claimed and the thing ceded ...” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:449).

“there is a substantial identity in the native mind between the clan and its cattle” (Lévi-Strauss 1969:469).

1970

“My training in child analysis took place in the famous *Kinderseminar* led by Anna Freud ... One of the most obscure and yet fascinating teachers was Paul Federn, and it is quite possible that in his seminar I first heard the term identity mentioned in one of its earlier usages” (Erikson 1970:739).

The preceding shows “how the concepts of ‘identity’ and ‘identity crisis’ emerged from my personal, clinical, and anthropological observations in the thirties and forties. I do not remember when I started to use these terms; they seemed naturally grounded in the experience of immigration and Americanization ...” (Erikson 1970:747).

“Identity problems were in the mental baggage of generations of new Americans ... there also seemed to be enough of an adolescent in every American to suggest that in this country’s history, fate had chosen to highlight identity questions together with a strangely adolescent style of adulthood – that is, one remaining expansively open for new roles and stances – in what at the time was called a ‘national character’” (Erikson 1970:748).

Note: Erikson links identity and national character!

“Two of the common ways of effecting this differentiation skew the terms with respect to the generation structure, since they identify persons of an individual's generation with those of the adjacent generation” (Goody 1970).

“Categorizations elicited from 100 Brazilian informants through the use of a standardized deck of facial drawings suggests that the cognitive domain of racial identity in Brazil is characterized by a high degree of referential ambiguity. The Brazilian calculus of racial identity departs from the model of other cognitive domains in which a finite shared code, complementary distribution, and intersubjectivity are assumed. Structurally adaptive consequences adhere to the maximization of noise and ambiguity as well as to the maximization of shared cognitive order” (Harris 1970:1).

“And internally, removing European rule has liberated the nationalisms within nationalisms that virtually all the new states contain and produced as provincialism or separatism, a direct and in some cases-Nigeria, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan-immediate threat to the new-wrought national identity in whose name the revolution was made” (Geertz [1971] 1973:237).

“The postrevolutionary period was envisioned to be one of organizing rapid, large-scale, broadly coordinated social, economic, and political advance. But it has turned out to be rather more a continuation, under changed, and in some ways even less propitious, circumstances, of the main theme of the revolutionary and immediate prerevolutionary periods : the definition, creation, and solidification of a viable collective identity” (Geertz [1971] 1973:238).

“The first, formative stage of nationalism consisted essentially of confronting the dense assemblage of cultural, racial, local, and linguistic categories of self-identification and social loyalty that centuries of uninstructed history had produced with a simple, abstract, deliberately constructed, and almost painfully self-conscious concept of political ethnicity-a proper "nationality" in the modern manner. The granular images into which individuals' views of who they are and who they aren't are so intensely bound in traditional society, were challenged by the more general, vaguer, but no less charged conceptions of collective identity, based on a diffuse sense of common destiny, that tend to characterize industrialized states. The men who raised this challenge, the nationalist intellectuals, were thus launching a revolution as much cultural, even epistemological, as it was political. They were attempting to transform the symbolic framework through which people experienced social reality, and thus, to the extent that life is what we make of it all, that reality itself” (Geertz [1971] 1973:239).

“Now that there is a local state rather than a mere dream of one, the task of nationalist ideologizing radically changes. It no longer consists in stimulating popular alienation from a foreign-dominated political order, nor with orchestrating a mass celebration of that order's demise. It consists in defining, or trying to define, a collective subject to whom the actions of the state can be internally connected, in creating, or trying to create, an experiential “we” from whose will the activities of government seem spontaneously to flow. And as such, it tends to revolve around the question of the content, relative weight, and proper relationship of two rather towering abstractions: "The Indigenous Way of Life" and "The Spirit of the Age."

“To stress the first of these is to look to local mores, established institutions, and the unities of common experience-to "tradition," "culture," "national character," or even "race"-for the roots of a new identity . To stress the second is to look to the general outlines of the

history of our time, and in particular to what one takes to be the overall direction and significance of that history. There is no new state in which | both these themes (which, merely to have names for them, I shall call "essentialism" and "epochalism") are not present; few in which they are not thoroughly entangled with one another ; and only a small, incompletely decolonized minority in which the tension between them is not invading every aspect of national life from language choice to foreign policy” (Geertz [1971] 1973:240-241).

“Thus, in apparent paradox (though, in fact, it has been a nearly universal occurrence in the new states) the move toward national unity intensified group tensions within the society by raising settled cultural forms out of their particular contexts, expanding them into general allegiances, and politicizing them. As the nationalist movement developed, it separated into strands. In the Revolution these strands became parties, each promoting a different aspect of the eclectic tradition as the only true basis of Indonesian identity. Marxists looked mainly to the folk melange of peasant life for the essence of the national heritage; the technicians, clerks, and administrators of the *classe dirigeante* to the Indic aestheticism of the Javanese aristocracy; and the more substantial merchants and landholders to Islam. Village populism, cultural elitism, religious puritanism: some differences of ideological opinion can perhaps be adjusted, but not these” (Geertz [1971] 1973:245).

“Class interest relates primarily not to individual motive or identification, but to collective position in a developing system of social reproduction and political domination. The subtle interaction between individual motive, communal loyalty and class position, through which social and political life finds expression, brings us into the realm of ideological analysis which cannot be attempted for Swat on the basis of the material given. Yet it is only when such an analysis is carried out that we can begin to answer the important question: What is it that gives members of the Pakhtun ruling class their authority in the eyes of their subjects?” (Asad 1972:86).

“If the question is now raised: what then is the mechanism which operates to maintain the class structure in Swat?, the answer must be that it is completely inappropriate to specify a mechanism in accounting for the class structure as a historical reality. There are different combinations of factors operating at different periods, which can only be revealed by historical research precisely because the process is a historical one. All one can say for a class analysis is that such factors must be seen ultimately in relation to the means of reproduction and to the differential consciousness of self-identifying groups in formation and disintegration. Indeed the landlord's bonds with his tenants through the men's house can be seen as one way (not necessarily conscious) through which class domination finds expression in Swat. For whatever serves to strengthen the bond between the landless peasant and his landlord also helps to make more secure the latter's means for exploiting the former” (Asad 1972:91).

“The weaving of these many strands into a unified national culture is a highly selective process that creates new traditions and that preserves some old ones in the search for a cultural identity that will be both ‘modern’ and ‘traditional’” (Singer 1972:59).

“Yet these two village [St. Felix and Tret], different in ethnic identity and often at loggerheads in politics, live side by side and share very similar modes of adaptation to a common mountainous environment” (Cole and Wolf 1974:3).

“Having grown up first in Vienna and then among the Germans and Czechs of the embittered Sudeten frontier of Czechoslovakia, even a boy could not help but become sensitized to the conflicts of ethnicity and nationalist loyalties left unresolved by the collapse of the Habsburg Empire; long before he became an anthropologist, Wolf was led to ask of himself and others why ethnic and nationalist loyalties so often crosscut allegiances of class or formal citizenship ... While his later interests in graduate studies shifted to Southeast Asia and Latin America, Wolf did maintain a continuing concern both with the narrower problems of the divided Tyrol and with the larger problems posed by the existence of ethnic conflicts and accommodations. Thus, in 1947-48, he interviewed | Tyrolese in New York for Columbia University’s Research in Contemporary Cultures, directed by Ruth Benedict, and his first field work in Mexico in 1951 was prompted by an interest in the genesis of Mexican national identity” (Cole and Wolf 1974:4-5).

“Chapter II. The Forging of Tyrolese Identity” (Cole and Wolf 1974:25).

“ethnic identity” and “identification” are listed by Google among “Häufige Begriffe und Wortgruppen” (Glazer and Moynihan 1975).

“Subpart 2531 – Applications, Generally ...

“§ 2531.1 Qualifications of applicants.

“(a) General. An applicant for allotment under the fourth section of the act of February 8, 1887, as amended, is required to show that he is a recognized member of an Indian tribe or is entitled to be so recognized. Such qualifications may be shown by the laws and usages of the tribe. The mere fact, however, that an Indian is a descendant of one whose name was at one time borne upon the rolls and who was recognized as a member of the tribe does not of itself make such Indian a member of the tribe. The possession of Indian blood, not accompanied by tribal affiliation or relationship, does not entitle a person to an allotment on the public domain. Tribal membership, even though once existing and recognized, may be abandoned in respect to the benefits of the fourth section. (b) Certificate that applicant is Indian and eligible for allotment. Any person desiring to file application for an allotment of land on the public domain under this act must first obtain from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs a certificate showing that he or she is an Indian and eligible for such allotment, which certificate must be attached to the allotment application. Application for the certificate must be made on the proper form, and must contain information as to the applicant's identity, such as thumb print, age, sex, height, approximate weight, married or single, name of the Indian tribe in which membership is claimed, etc., sufficient to establish his or her identity with that of the applicant for allotment. Each certificate must bear a serial number, record thereof to be kept in the Indian Office. The required forms may be obtained as stated in § 2531.2 (b)” (U. S. Dept. of Interior 1975:104).

“The most ancient attitude, resting no doubt on a solid psychological basis (since it tends to reappear in each of us when we find ourselves in an unexpected situation), consists in the pure and simple repudiation of cultural forms (moral, religious, social, and aesthetic) which are the most removed from those with which we identify” (Lévi-Strauss 1976:328).

“Der autochthone Wandel hat anscheinend folgende Ursachen: 1. Die Tendenz zur kulturellen Differenzierung von Sozialgruppen und Individuen. Diese Tendenz basiert auf dem Identitäts- und dem Konkurrenzstreben“ (Wiegmann 1977:47-48).

„Das Verlangen der Oberschichten nach exklusiven Zeichen hat mehrere Ursachen, Prestigebedürfnis, Identitätsstreben der Schicht, das Bemühen, den Abstand zu anderen Schichten möglichst groß zu halten“ (Wiegelmann 1977:53).

„Die augenfälligsten Merkmale von Sozialgruppen gehören der Sachkultur an ... | ... Diese Merkmale – stetiges öffentliches Zurschaustellen, rasche Änderungen in der Zeit, Variantenvielfalt für Situationen – machen die Kleidung zum besten Instrument für ‚Gruppenabzeichen‘ (Hävernick 1959:62)“ (Wiegelmann 1977a:128-129).

“In structural terms this takes us back to contradictions that have long been recognized as inherent in the structure of familial relations, as Radcliffe- Brown in particular emphasized (87). A constant factor is the intrinsic, biologically given opposition or at least differentiation of male and female. It splits without destroying the moral unity of the sibling group, makes possible the reproductive union without loss of their separate social identities, of spouses and the consequential contraposition for offspring of their patrifilial and matrifilial bonds classically epitomized in the jural and affective opposition of father and mother's brother” (Fortes 1978:19).

1980

“Incorporation and Identity in the Making of the Modern World” by Eric Wolf 1984, reprinted in Wolf 2001.

1990

„Nur wenn die ‚Identität der Regierenden und Regierten‘ als ‚nationale Identität‘ begriffen wird, besteht eine Chance, den Staat vor jenen Figuren zu retten, die vom Stammtisch oder vom Sängerfest in Hintermberghausen ohne Zwischenhalt zur Weltfriedenskonferenz oder zum G-7-Club nach Kosmopolis jetten, um dort das Geld von Dritten für Vierte ‚bereitzustellen‘, die jene nicht einmal den Namen nach kennen“ (Hepp 1993:101; zitiert in Niethammer 2000:115).

“David Riesman spent the first half of his career writing one of the most important books of the twentieth century ... He was surprised, and of course pleased, that the book went on to find a wide general audience, but spent decades reckoning with the cost of its popularity: namely, the ‘profound misinterpretation’ of the book as a simplistic critique of epidemic American postwar conformity via its description of the contours of the ‘other-directed character,’ whose identity and behavior is shaped by its relationships” (Lewis-Kraus 2013).