MORGAN, L. H.-
CIRCULAR IN REFERENCE
TO THE DEGREES OF RELA-
TIONSHIP AMONG DIFFERENT
NATIONS.

PERPUSTAKAAN MUSEUM
PUSAT
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PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL

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REPUBLIK INDONESIA

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CIRCULAR

IN REFERENCE TO

THE DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP AMONG DIFFERENT NATIONS.

In behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, I beg to commend to attention the accompanying letter and schedule of Mr. LEWIS H. MORGAN, of Rochester, N. Y. This gentleman has been engaged, for several years, in studying the ethnological peculiarities of the Indians of the North American Continent; and has discovered among them a system of relationship, which he wishes to compare with the systems of consanguinity existing among the natives of other countries.

From the annexed letter, it will be seen that General CASS has given this interesting enquiry the official sanction of the Department of State.

The answers to the circulars may be addressed to the Smithsonian Institution, care of the Department of State; and full credit will be given to all who furnish information bearing on this subject, when the results of these investigations are published.

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JOSEPH HENRY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C., Jan. 20, 1860.

To the Diplomatic agents and Consuls
of the United States in foreign countries:

The accompanying circular and blank form have been prepared by L. H. MORGAN, Esq., of Rochester, New York, for the purpose

BAT. GENOOTSCHAP VAN KENM.

of extending his ethnological investigations relative to the Indians of this continent to the other parts of the globe.

As the results of his investigations are to be published in the Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge, I have been requested by the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in this city, to commend the matter to your favor. I will consequently thank you to do whatever you conveniently can towards furnishing the information desired.

I am, gentlemen,
Your obedient servant,
LEWIS CASS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, 5th January, 1860.

ROCHESTER, MONROE Co., N. Y.,
October 1*st*, 1859.

DEAR SIR: I take the liberty to send you, herewith enclosed, a printed schedule, with the request that you will take the trouble to fill it up according to its design, with the names of the various degrees of consanguinity and relationship which are in use among the people or tribe with or near whom you reside. In order that you may feel sufficient interest in the matter to induce you to comply with this request from a stranger, I would ask your attention to the object to which these inquiries are directed, to some of the results already reached, and to others still more interesting and important toward which they are manifestly tending.

Several years ago the peculiar system of relationship of the Iroquois, one of the principal American Indian families, attracted my attention. I found that, while it was very special and complex, it rested upon definite ideas, which stood to each other in such intelligent and fixed relations as to create a system. It is entirely unlike our own, both in its method of classification and in the ends it proposes to itself; as also unlike those of the remaining Indo-European nations, all of whom have substantially one and the same system. The fundamental idea of the Iroquois system, upon which it is built up with great logical rigor is, that it never suffers the bond of consanguinity to loose itself in the ever

diverging collateral lines. The degrees of relationship are never allowed to pass beyond that of first cousin, after which the collateral lines revert into, or are merged in the lineal, in such a manner that the son of a man's cousin becomes his nephew, and the son of this nephew becomes his grandson. This principle works upwards as well as downwards, in such a manner, that the brother of a man's father becomes his father, and the brother of his grandfather becomes also his grand-father, in this, to us, novel system of consanguinity.

At first, I supposed that this peculiar system was confined to the Iroquois, and was a scheme of their own invention; but subsequent investigation disclosed the striking fact, that the system in all its complexity and precision is common to all the multitudinous Indian nations of North America, and most likely of both continents. At least, I have found, from schedules filled up and in my hands, with the exception of the Pawnee and Omaha, in which cases the schedules are but partially filled out, the system complete in the following Indian nations: the Iroquois and Wyandotte, who belong to the Hodenosaunian family; the Ojibwa, Otawa, Potowottomie, Peoria, Shawnee, Delaware, and Mohekuneuk, who belong to the Algonquin family; the Choctaw, which belongs to the Appalachian family; the Winnebagoe, Mississippi Dakota, Missouri Dakota, Iowa, Otoe, Kaw, and Omaha, who belong to the Dakotan family; and the Pawnee, which perhaps with the Arickaree, constitutes an independent family; making in all, sixteen different Indian nations, among all of whom the system is now in daily use.

Besides these, by means of the Indians above named who could speak for their kindred nations, and by information obtained from the French trappers and traders of the Upper Missouri, who have spent their lives in the mountains, and speak many Indian languages, I have been able to verify the present existence of the same system of relationship in the following additional nations: the Quappas, Osage, Sawk and Fox, Assinaboines, Mandan, and Sheyenne, who are Dakotans; the Kaskaskias, Piankashaws, Weaws, Miamis, Kikapoos, Menomines, and Blackfeet, who are Algonquins; the Arickarees, who are Pawnians; the Upsarokas or Crows, and the Gros-Ventres, whom I am not, at present, able

to place; and lastly the Shoshonees or Snake Indians, west of the Rocky Mountains, who are of the same family as the Comanches of Texas. In further addition to these, there are the Creeks, Chickaswas, and Seminoles, who may be presumed to have the system, as they are Appalachians. That it prevails among the Creeks I have satisfactory evidence from other sources.

The system is thus traced into thirty-six different Indian nations, comprising the principal historical races, who have, at times, occupied the whole area from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic, and from a point far up in the British Possessions, on the North, to the Gulf of Mexico and New Mexico, on the South.

The schedules, when compared, exhibit variations from uniformity, and occasional discrepancies, but the radical features of the system are constant in them all.

The most important of these are the following:

I.—All the brothers and sisters of a man's grand-father, and of his grand-mother, and all his ancestors above grand-father and grand-mother, together with all their brothers and sisters, are equally his grand-fathers and grand-mothers. Some of the nations discriminate among them as second and third grand-fathers, &c., but practically, they are all grand-fathers and grand-mothers. There are no great uncles, or great aunts, as with us.

II.—All the brothers of a father are equally fathers to his children, and he is a father to the children of all his brothers. In like manner, all the sisters of a mother are equally mothers to her children, and she is a mother to the children of all her sisters. These are not uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces, as with us.

III.—On the contrary, all the brothers of a mother are uncles to her children, and all the sisters of a father are aunts to his children, as with us; so that of the father's brothers and sisters, and of the mother's brothers and sisters, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters are the true and the only uncles and aunts recognized under this system.

IV.—There is one term for elder brother, another for younger brother; one term for elder sister, and another for younger sister; and no term either for brother or sister, except in the plural number. These separate terms are not applied to the oldest or the

youngest specifically, but to each and all, who are older or younger than the person speaking.

V.—All the children of several brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and all the children of several sisters are brothers and sisters to each other, and they use, in each case, the respective terms for elder and younger brother, and for elder and younger sister, the same as in the case of own brothers and sisters. Whilst all the children of brothers on the one hand, and of sisters on the other, are cousins to each other, as with us. To this last rule their are exceptions. When you cross from one sex to the other, the degree of relationship is farther removed.

VI.—All the sons of a man's brothers as before stated, are his sons; so all the grand-sons of a man's brothers are his grand-sons. The sons of a man's sisters are his nephews, but the grand-sons of a man's sisters are his grand-sons. In the next collateral line the son of a man's female cousin is his nephew, and the son of this nephew is grand-son.

VII.—All the grandsons of brothers are brothers to each other, and the same of all the grandsons of sisters, while all the grand-sons of brothers on the one hand, and of sisters on the other, are cousins; and the same relationship continues to the remotest generation in each case, so long as these persons stand in the same degree of nearness to the original brothers and sisters. But when one is farther removed than the other, by a single degree, the rule which changes the collateral line into the lineal at once applies: thus the son of one cousin becomes a nephew to the other cousin, and the son of this nephew a grandson. In like manner the son of one brother becomes a son to the other brother, and the son of this son, a grandson.

VIII.—Consequently, the descendants of brothers and sisters, or of an original pair, could not, in theory, ever pass beyond the degree of cousin, that being the most remote degree of relationship recognized, and the greatest divergence allowed from the lineal line. Hence the bond of consanguinity which can never, in fact, be broken by lapse of time, was not, as a fundamental idea of the Indian system, suffered to be broken in principle.

IX.—All the wives of these several brothers, without discrimination, and all the wives of these several male cousins, are inter-

changeably sisters-in-law to the brothers and cousins of their respective husbands; and all the husbands of these several sisters, without distinction, and of these several female cousins, are in like manner brothers-in-law to the sisters and cousins of their respective wives. All the wives of these several sons and nephews are daughters-in-law alike to the fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts of their respective husbands; and all the husbands of these several daughters and nieces, are sons-in-law alike to the fathers and mothers, uncles and aunts of their respective wives.

X.—In all the preceding cases the principle of correlative relationship is strictly applied: thus, the person whom I call son calls me father; the one I call grand-son calls me grand-father; and the same with uncle and nephew, aunt and niece, brother and brother, cousin and cousin, father-in-law and son-in-law, step-father and step-son, and thus onward through every recognized relationship.

This system, which, from its complexity and unlikeness to our own, is embarrassing to us, is yet perfectly natural and readily applied by the Indian, to whom any other than this is entirely unknown.

As an illustration of the method and nomenclature of the system, and of the manner of filling out the schedule, the following specimen may be taken in the Seneca dialect of the Iroquois language:

Note.—Care should be taken, in putting the questions on the schedule, against the error of receiving a simple translation of the question from the native. The special term by which he is called is the answer desired. The true form of each question is, "What do I call the person described by the question:" thus, "What do I call my father's brother's son?" &c. Answer, *My brother.*

Another rule should be observed. When one relationship is determined, the next in order will be based upon it usually: thus, my father's brother's son is "*my brother;*" therefore, my father's brother's son's son will be "*my son,*" if I am a man, and "*my nephew,*" if I am a woman; because he is the son of "*my brother,*" and because the son of my brother is *my son,* if I am a man, and *my nephew,* if I am a woman.

Translation of same into English.

Name of Native Word in English letters.

Description of Relationship.

Description of Relationship	Name of Native Word in English letters.	Translation of same into English.
My Father's Brother	*Hä'-nih*	My Father.
" " Brother's Son	*Hä'-je*, (if older) / *Há-gä*, (if younger)	" Elder Brother. / " Younger Brother.
" " " Son's Wife	*Ah-ge-ah'-ne-ä*	" Sister-in-Law.
" " " Daughter	*Ah'-je*, (if older) / *Ka'-gä*, (if younger)	" Elder Sister. / " Younger Sister.
" " " Daughter's Husband	*Ha-yä-o*	" Brother-in-Law.
" " " Son's Son, (said by a Male)	*Ha-ah'-wuk*	" Son.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ha-soh'-neh*	" Nephew.
" " " Son's Daughter, (said by a Male)	*Ka-ah-wuk*	" Daughter.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ka-soh'-neh*	" Niece.
" " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Male)	*Ha-yä'-wan-dä*	" Nephew.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ha-ah'-wuk*	" Son.
" " " Daughter's daughter, (said by a Male)	*Ka-yä'-wan-dä*	" Niece.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ka-ah'-wuk*	" Daughter.
" " " Great-Grand Son	*Ha-yä'-da*	" Grand Son.
" " " " Daughter	*Ka-yä-da*	" " Daughter.
My Father's Sister	*Ah-gä-hue*	My Aunt.
" " Sister's Son	*Ah-gäre'-seh*	" Cousin.
" " " Son's Wife	*Ah-ge-ah'-ne-ä*	" Sister-in-Law.
" " " Daughter	*Ah-gäre'-seh*	" Cousin.
" " " Daughter's Husband	*Ha-yä'-o*	" Brother-in-Law.
" " " Son's Son, (said by a Male)	*Ha-ah'-wuk*	" Son.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ha-soh'-neh*	" Nephew.
" " " Son's Daughter, (said by a Male)	*Ka-ah'-wuk*	" Daughter.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ka-soh'-neh*	" Niece.
" " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Male)	*Ha-yä-wan-dä*	" Nephew.
" " " " (" Female)	*Ha-ah'-wuk*	" Son.
" " " Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Male)	*Ka-yä'-wan-dä*	" Niece.
" " " " " (" Female)	*Ka-ah'-wuk*	" Daughter.
" " " Great-Grand Son	*Ha-yä'-da*	" Grand Son.
" " " " Daughter	*Ka-yä'-da*	" " Daughter.

It is not necessary in this place to discuss the variations from uniformity which a careful comparison of the several schedules has revealed; but the one most important may be adverted to, in this connection, as it may appear in the systems of other nations, and finally receive an explanation. It is this: the son of a man's father's sister is his cousin among the Iroquois, the Dakotas, and the Otawas, &c., who represent three stock languages; while among the Iowas, Otoes, Kaws and Shawnees, who represent two of the same stock languages, he is a nephew; and among the Choctaws, who represent a fourth stock language, he is a father; so that in one case the same persons are cousins to each other, in another, uncle and nephew, and in another, son and father.

The universal prevalence, among the North American Indians, of a system of consanguinity and relationship so exceedingly complex, was sufficiently remarkable to suggest some questions as to what might be its ethnological value. Its permanency was sufficiently illustrated by its universal prevalence through a period of time, in which every word of some of the languages had undergone such changes as to be wholly unintelligible to the people of other languages, in which the system itself had undergone no material modification. Consequently it seemed to indicate the unity of origin of all these Indian nations, which though probable before, was not so well established as to leave undesirable the further evidence to be derived from this source. The ancientness upon this continent of the Red race, assuming its original unity, was rendered manifest by the number of ages which would be required for an original language to fall into several languages so entirely changed in their vocabularies as to lose all internal evidence, from this source, of their original connection; and for these, in turn, to fall into the multitudinous dialects in which they are now spoken. This permanency and this universality of the system, therefore, could scarcely be understood in any other way, than by the assumption that this system itself was as old as the Indian race on this continent. If, then, the Red race was of Asiatic origin, it became very probable that they brought it with them from Asia, and left it behind them in the stock from which they separated.

These deductions naturally led to the extension of the field o inquiry to the old world, and particularly to those Scythic peoples, with whom it was supposed, on other ethnological grounds, the Red race would affiliate, if ever successfully traced to an Asiatic original. Hence, these schedules have been distributed in some portions of Asia, and in some of the islands of the Pacific, in order to discover whether this system is confined to the American Indians, or is indeed common with them, and the Mongolian, Tungusian, Turkish, and Finnish families, whose languages constitute what is now known as the Scythian group of tongues.

But two schedules have, as yet, been obtained, and these but partially filled, although fortunately the prominent and indicative features of the system of each are presented. They contain the principal degrees of consanguinity and relationship of the Tamil and Telugu peoples of southern India, numbering about twenty-four millions, who, with the Canarese, the Malayalam, the Tulu, and a few subordinate Dravidian races, have been recognized as an Ante-Brahminical people, having their nearest affinities with the Scythian families above mentioned.

A comparison of the Tamil and Telugu schedules shows that the systems of these races are identical; leading to the same inference of their genetic connection, which has been drawn from the similarity of the Iroquois and the Dakotas as to them. A further comparison of the Tamil and Telugu system, with that of the American Indians, discloses the extraordinary fact, that so far as we have the present means of comparison, they are nearly identical. To what extent the Asiatic and the American Indians have the system in common, will appear by the following statement of the principal features of the Tamil and Telugu system, which are the following:

I.—All the brothers of a father are usually called *fathers*, (Tăkăppān,*) but in strictness, those who are older than the father are called *great fathers*, (Pĕriyă Tăkăppān,) and those who are younger, *little fathers*, (Sĕriyă Tăkăppān;) so that in any event all the father's brothers are *fathers*, and not *uncles*.

* These words are in the Tamil language, and all of them are used in the singular number.

II.—All the sisters of a mother are usually called *mothers* (Tāy;) but in strictness, when older or younger, great and little mothers, as in the former case. So that in like manner, all the sisters of a mother are *mothers*, and not *aunts*.

III.—On the contrary, all the brothers of a mother are uncles (Māmān) to her children, and all the sisters of a father are aunts (Attai) to his children; so that the mother's brothers and father's sisters are the true and the only uncles and aunts recognized under the Dravidian system.

IV.—There is one term for elder brother, (Annān,) another for younger brother, (Tāmpī;) one term for elder sister, (Akkāl,) and another for younger sister, (Tāngkāchchū,) and no term either for brother or sister. These separate terms are not applied to the oldest and youngest specifically; but to each and all who are older or younger than the person speaking.

V.—All the children of several brothers are brothers and sisters to each other, and all the children of several sisters are brothers and sisters to each other; and they use in each case the respective terms for elder and younger brother and for elder and younger sister, the same as in the case of own brothers and sisters, and as given in the foregoing illustration from the Iroquois system.

VI.—All the children of brothers on the one hand, and of the brother's sisters on the other, are cousins (Māittūnān) to each other, as in the American system.

VII.—All the sons of a man's sisters are his nephews, (Mārūmākān,) and all the daughters of a man's sisters are his nieces, (Mārūmākāl.) So also, all the sons and daughters of a woman's brothers are her nephews and nieces. But whether all the sons and daughters of a man's brothers are called his sons and daughters; and whether all the sons and daughters of a woman's sisters are her sons and daughters, these schedules do not show. It is to be inferred that they are, from the use by these persons of the correlative terms.

If, in addition to these particulars, the grand-fathers and grand-mother's brothers and sisters are all alike grand-fathers and grand-mothers; if the grand-sons of a man's brothers and sisters are his grand-sons; and if the son of a man's female cousin is his nephew, and the son of this nephew is a grand-son, then all

the radical features of the American Indian are present in the Telugu and Tamilian system of relationship

Can these coincidences be accidental? While this is not the proper place to discuss, either the extent or the conclusiveness of the evidence here afforded of the Asiatic origin of the American Indian race, yet it is not too much to say, that the remarkable similarity of their systems of consanguinity in so many special features, furnishes no slight indication that further research will draw forth such additional evidence as may lead to a final solution of this problem.

Should this fact become thus established, we cannot fail to perceive the important bearing which a comparison of the several systems of consanguinity and relationship of the human race will have upon the remaining question of their common origin. Language, which has been the great instrument in this inquiry, changes its vocabulary not only, but also modifies its grammatical structure in the progress of ages, thus losing the certainty of its indications, with each new foot-hold gained in the past. But the ideas deposited in a system of consanguinity, and standing to each other in such fixed relations as to create a system, are mostly independent of all changes in language, and of the lapse of time, and depend for their vitality in the human mind, upon their prime necessity and approved usefulness. The system of the Indo-European nations has stood without essential change for upwards of thirty centuries in the lexicons of the Latin, Greek, and Sanscrit languages. That of the Tamil and Telugu races has an antiquity equally great, having survived the Brahminical conquest, the substitution of a new religion, and the imposition upon them of the law of Caste; while that of the American Indians bears internal evidence of the same great age and permanency.

Sufficient has been said to show, at least, that the further prosecution of this inquiry, in which your coöperation is respectfully solicited, promises results of some importance. Can you be persuaded to furnish to the undersigned the system of relationship, written out upon the enclosed schedule, of the native race among or near whom you reside? It is certainly a request unsupported by any of the ordinary motives of interest, but it is not therefore proffered without a hopeful expectation of a favorable response.

This letter and schedule will be forwarded by the Smithsonian Institution of Washington to the principal diplomatic and consular officers of the United States in foreign countries, to the United States army officers at the several military posts, and also to the principal missionaries of the English and American Boards, it being the intention of the Institution to give to them a wide distribution over Asia, Africa, the Islands of the Pacific, Mexico, and South America, as well as within our own territories. Such schedules as are returned will be printed over the names of the persons by whom they are prepared, and proper acknowledgments rendered. While these schedules are making their distant visitations, the work will be continued among the American Indians, with a view to settle the question whether the system is universal among them.

It remains to make some explanations of this schedule, which, although it has a formidable appearance, is not intrinsically difficult. The word "My" is the starting point; the point occupied by "myself," the questioner; and the relationship sought is that which the person at the opposite end bears to me: thus, "my father's brother's son's wife" is "my sister-in-law." A difficulty somewhat embarrassing at first, arises from the fact that the relationship is very different in some cases where the questioner is a male, from what it is where the questioner is a female: thus, "My father's brother's son's son" is my *son*, if I am a man, but he is my *nephew*, if I am a woman. To meet this peculiarity the question is put twice, once "said by a male," and once "said by a female." It will assist materially in working the schedule to keep in mind the last relationship written down, as we naturally follow the chain of kindred step by step, the last degree indicating the one to succeed.

All languages describe relationships by using the possessive form of the noun, as "father's sister's son," but most of them have a special word for the same relationship, as "cousin." It is necessary, in the present case, to have the special word or term, and also that it should be spelled with English letters, even though the language has alphabetic characters, and that the word be also translated into equivalent English. Unless both of these condi-

ions are met, it will be difficult to make any use of the schedule.* The principal vowel marks are indicated; but if others are used either for vowels or consonants, the key to the same should be given. As one of the pronouns *my, our,* or *his,* is incorporated, in most languages, with the term of relationship, it is desirable to have these pronouns given in every case, and accordingly a place has been made for them on the schedule. The accented syllables should also be marked.

Several questions are appended concerning tribal organization, the answers to which will have an important bearing upon the full interpretation of the system of relationship, with which they are intimately connected. A brief explanation of two or three prominent characteristics of a Tribe will conclude this letter.

Nearly all, if not all, of the Indian Nations upon this continent were anciently subdivided into *Tribes* or *Families.* These Tribes, with a few exceptions, were named after animals. Many of them are now thus subdivided. It is so with the Iroquois, Delawares, Iowas, Creeks, Mohaves, Wyandottes, Winnebagoes, Otoes, Kaws, Shawnees, Choctaws, Otawas, Ojibewas, Potowottomies, &c.

The following tribes are known to exist, or to have existed, in the several Indian Nations—the number ranging from three to eighteen in each: The Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, Crane, Duck, Loon, Turkey, Musk-Rat, Sable, Pike, Cat-Fish, Sturgeon, Carp, Buffalo, Elk, Rein-Deer, Eagle, Hare, Rabbit and Snake; also, the Reed-Grass, Sand, Water, Rock and Tobacco-Plant.

Among the Iroquois, and the rule is the same to the present day in most of the nations enumerated, no man is allowed to marry a woman of his own tribe, all the members of which are consanguinei. This was unquestionably the ancient law. It follows that husband and wife were always of different tribes. The children are of the tribe of the *mother,* in a majority of the nations; but the rule, if anciently universal, is not so at the present day. Where descent in the female line prevailed, it was followed by several important results, of which the most remarkable was

*The error in some cases has occurred of translating the questions on the schedule, instead of giving the special term.

the perpetual disinheritance of the male line. Since all titles as well as property descended in the female line, and were hereditary, in strictness, in the tribe itself, a son could never succeed to his father's title of Sachem, nor inherit even his medal or his tomahawk. If the Sachem, for example, was of the Wolf tribe, the title must remain in that tribe, and his son, who was necessarily of the tribe of his mother, would be out of the line of succession; but the brothers of the deceased Sachem would be of the Wolf tribe, being of the same mother, and so would the sons of his sisters: hence we find that the succession fell either upon a brother of the deceased ruler or upon a nephew. Between a brother of the deceased, and the son of a sister, there was no law establishing a preference; neither as between several brothers on one side, or several sisters on the other, was there any law of primogeniture. They were all equally eligible, and the law of election came in to decide between them.

The tribal organization, and the system of relationship lie at the foundation of Indian society. They represent and express ideas as old as the race itself, which are freighted with testimony of the highest ethnological value. Upon precisely such ideas as these, which have been deposited in the family life of a race, we may yet be able to ascend through the generations far back upon the covered footsteps of the human race, and re-associate nations and races, whose original connection has passed from human knowledge. Along the pathway of these generations, which is marked with epochs of migration from age to age, every divergence of a family from the parent stock would carry with it the same ideas, spreading them upon the track of each new migration, perchance into the most distant parts of the earth. It is not impossible that we may, at no distant day, be able to re-ascend the several lines of the out-flow of the generations, and reach and identify that parent stock, from which, we believe, we are all alike descended.

Yours, respectfully,

LEWIS H. MORGAN.

The questions before referred to are the following:

1. Into how many Tribes is the Nation divided? Give the name of each Tribe in the native language, and a translation into English.
2. Was a man forbidden to marry a woman of his own Tribe?
3. Were the children of the Tribe of the Mother, or of the Tribe of the Father?
4. Was the office of Sachem or principal chief hereditary in the Tribe?
5. Was it elective as among the near relatives of the deceased Sachem of the same Tribe?
6. Did the Son succeed the Father; or a Brother, or a Sister's Son?
7. Were the duties of a Sachem confined exclusively to the affairs of peace?
8. Was the office of War Chief elective, in reward of merit, and non-hereditary?
9. Were the descendants of two Sisters of the same sex, standing in equal degrees from their common ancestors, Brothers and Sisters to each other, in theory, through all generations? Were the descendants of two brothers the same? Were the descendants of a Brother, and of a Sister, in the same manner, Cousins?
10. Were the names of individuals changed at different periods, by national custom? That is: had they one class of names for childhood, another for manhood, and still another for advanced age, which were successively changed?
11. Upon the death of the Father, to whom did his property descend?
12. Upon the death of the Mother, to whom did her property descend?
13. If the people are divided into Castes, are these Castes subdivided?
14. If so, are these subdivisions analagous, in any particular, to the Tribes of the American Indians?
15. Can a man of one of these subdivisions marry a woman of the same subdivision?
16. Are the members of each subdivision regarded as consanguinei?

Degrees of Relationship in the Language of the Nation.

MADE BY (Name.) (Residence.) (Date.) 1860.

VOWEL SOUNDS.—ä, as in art; ă, as in at; ĕ, as in met; ĭ, as in it; ŏ, as in got; ŭ, as oo in food.

☞ *Please mark the accented syllables.*

INSERT NATIVE PRONOUNS—MY,.....OUR,.....HIS.....

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
1. My Father.....		
2. " Mother.....		
3. " Son.....		
4. " Daughter.....		
5. " Grand-Son.....		
6. " Grand-Daughter.....		
7. " Great-Grand-Son.....		
8. " " Daughter.....		
9. My Great-Great-Grand-Son.....		
10. " " " Daughter.....		

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7. " Great-Grand-Son.....
8. " " Daughter.....

9. My Great-Great-Grand-Son.....
10. " " Daughter.....
11. " Elder Brother, (said by a Male).....
12. " " " (" Female).....
13. " Elder Sister, (" Male).....
14. " " " (" Female).....
15. " Younger Brother, (said by a Male).....
16. " " " (" Female).....
17. " " Sister, (" Male).....
18. " " " (" Female).....
19. " Brothers.....
20. " Sisters.....
21. " Father's Brother.....
22. " " Elder Brother.....
23. " " Younger Brother.....
24. " Brother's Wife.....
25. " Father Sister.....

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
26. My Father's Sister's Husband		
27. " Mother's Brother		
28. " " Brother's Wife		
29. " " Sister		
30. " " Elder Sister		
31. " " Younger Sister		
32. " " Sister's Husband		
33. My (a Man's) Brother's Son		
34. " " " Son's Wife		
35. " " " Daughter		
36. " " " Daughter's Husband		
37. " " " Grand-Son		
38. " " " " Daughter		
39. " " " Great-Grand-Son		

37. " " " Grand-Son .....

38. " " " " Daughter .....

39. " " " Great-Grand-Son .....

40. " " " " " Da'ter. .....

41. My (a Man's) Sister's Son .....

42. " " " Son's Wife .....

43. " " " Daughter .....

44. " " " Daughter's Husband .....

45. " " " Grand-Son .....

46. " " " " Daughter .....

47. " " " Great-Grand-Son .....

48. " " " " " Da'ter. .....

49. My (a Woman's) Sister's Son .....

50. " " " Son's Wife .....

51. " " " Daughter .....

52. " " " Daughter's Husb'd .....

53. " " " Grand-Son .....

54. " " " " Daughter .....

55. " " " Great-Grand-Son .....

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
56. My (a Woman's) Sister's Great-Grand-D'ter		
57. " " Brother's Son		
58. " " " Son's Wife		
59. " " " Daughter		
60. " " " Da'ter's Husb'd		
61. " " " Grand-Son		
62. " " " " Daughter		
63. " " " Great-Grand-Son		
64. " " " " " D'r		
65. My Father's Brother's Son, (said by a Male)		
66. " " " " (" Female)		
67. " " " Son's Wife, (said by a Male)		
68. " " " Son's Wife, (said by		

66.	"	"	"	" (" Female)	
67.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Male)	
68.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Female)	
69.	"	"	"	Daughter, (said by a Male)	
70.	"	"	"	Daughter, (said by a Female)	
71.	"	"	"	Daughter's Husband, (said by a Male)	
72.	"	"	"	Daughter's Husband, (said by a Female)	
73.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Male)	
74.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Female)	
75.	"	"	"	Son's Daughter, (said by a Male)	
76.	"	"	"	Son's Daughter, (said by a Female)	
77.	"	"	"	Daughter's Son, (said by a Male)	
78.	"	"	"	Daughter's Son, (said by a Female)	
79.	"	"	"	Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Male)	
80.	"	"	"	Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Female)	
81.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Son, (said by a Male)	
82.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Son, (said by a Female)	
83.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Da'ter, (said by a Male)	

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
84. My Father's Brother's Great-Grand-Da'ter, (said by a Female)		
85. " " " Gr't-Gr't-Grand-Son.		
86. " " " Gr't-Gr't-Grand-D'r..		
87. My Father's Sister's Son, (said by a Male)..		
88. " " " " (said by a Female)		
89. " " " Son's Wife, (said by a Male.....		
90. " " " Son's Wife, (said by a Female).....		
91. " " " Da'ter, (said by a Male)		
92. " " " Da'ter, (s'd by a Female)		
93. " " " Daughter's Husband, (said by a Male)		
94. " " " Daughter's Husband, (said by a Female)...		
95. " " " Son's Son, (said by a		

94.	"	"	"	Daughter's Husband, (said by a Female)	

95.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Male)	
96.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Female)	
97.	"	"	"	Son's Daughter, (said by a Male)	
98.	"	"	"	Son's Daughter, (said by a Female	
99.	"	"	"	Daughter's Son, (said by a Male)	
100.	"	"	"	Daughter's Son, (said by a Female)	
101.	"	"	"	Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Male)	
102.	"	"	"	Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Female)	
103.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Son	
104.	"	"	"	" " Daughter	
105.	"	"	"	Great-Great-Gr'd-Son	
106.	"	"	"	" " Gr'd-D'r	
107.	My Mother's Sister's Son, (said by a Male)				
108.	"	"	"	" (s'd by a Fem'le)	
109.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Male)	
110.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Female)	

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
111. My Mother's Sister's Daughter, (said by a Male).....		
112. " " " Daughter, (said by a Female).....		
113. " " " Daughter's Husband, (said by a Male)...		
114. " " " Daughter's Husband, (said by a Female)		
115. " " " Son's Son, (said by a Male).....		
116. " " " Son's Son, (said by a Female).....		
117. " " " Son's Daughter, (said by a Male).....		
118. " " " Son's Daughter, (said by a Female).....		
119. " " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Male).....		
120. " " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Female).....		
121. " " " Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Male)...		
122. " " " Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Female)		

122.	"	"	"	Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Female)	

123.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Son, (said by a Male)	
124.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Son, (said by a Female)	
125.	"	"	"	Great-Grand-Da'ter	
126.	"	"	"	Gr't-Gr't-Grand-Son	
127.	"	"	"	Gr't-Gr't-Grand-D'r	
128.	My Mother's Brother's Son, (said by a Male)				
129.	"	"	"	" (" Female)	
130.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Male)	
131.	"	"	"	Son's Wife, (said by a Female)	
132.	"	"	"	Daughter, (said by a Male)	
133.	"	"	"	Daughter, (said by a Female)	
134.	"	"	"	Daughter's Husband, (said by a Male)	
135.	"	"	"	Daughter's Husband, (said by a Female)	
136.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Male)	
137.	"	"	"	Son's Son, (said by a Female)	
138.	"	"	"	Son's Daughter, (said by a Male)	

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
139. My Mother's Brother's Son's Daughter, (said by a Female)		
140. " " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Male)		
141. " " " Daughter's Son, (said by a Female)		
142. " " " Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Male)		
143. " " " Daughter's Daughter, (said by a Female)		
144. " " " Great-Grand-Son		
145. " " " Great-Grand-Da'ter		
146. " " " Gr't-Gr't-Grand-Son		
147. " " " Gr't-Gr't-Grand-D'r		
148. My Grand-Father, (*Father's Side*)		
149. " " Father's Brother, "		
150. " " " Sister, "		
151. " Grand-Mother, "		

150.	" " " Sister, "		
151.	" Grand-Mother, "		
152.	" Grand-Mother's Brother, "		
153.	" " Sister, "		
154.	" Great-Grand-Father, "		
155.	" Gr't-Grand-Father's Brother "		
156.	" " Sister, "		
157.	" Great-Grand-Mother, "		
158.	" Gr't-Grand-Mother's Brother "		
159.	" " Sister, "		
160.	" Great-Great-Grand-Father, "		
161.	" " Mother, "		
	ARE THESE RELATIONSHIPS THE SAME ON MOTHER'S SIDE?		
162.	My Father's Father's Sister's Son, (said by a Male)		
163.	" " " " Daughter, (said by a Male)		
164.	" " " " Son's Son, (said by a Male)		
165.	" " " " Son's Da'ter, (said by a Male)		
166.	" " " " Da'ter's Son, (said by a Male)		

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
167. My Father's Father's Sister's Da'ter (said by a Male)..		
168. " " " " Gr't-Gr'd-Son, (said by a Male)..		
169. " " " " Gr't-Gr'd-D'r, (said by a Male)..		
170. " Mother's Mother's Sister's Son, (said by a Male).....		
171. " " " " Daughter, (said by a Male)..		
172. " " " " Son's Son, (said by a Male)..		
173. " " " " Son's Da'ter, (said by a Male)..		
174. " " " " Da'ter's Son, (said by a Male)..		
175. " " " " Da'ter's Da'ter (said by a Male)..		
176. " " " " Gr't-Gr'd-Son, (said by a Male)..		
177. " " " " Gr't-Gr'd-D'r, (said by a Male)..		
178. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's D'r, (said by a Male)..		
179. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's Grand Da'ter, (said by a Male).....		

178. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's D'r, (said by a Male)..

179. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's Grand Da'ter, (said by a Male).....
180. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's Gr't-Gr'd-Da'ter, (said by a Male)....
181. " Mother's Mother's Mother's Sister's Gr't-Gr't-Gr'd-D'r, (said by a Male)..
182. " Husband.....
183. " Wife.....
184. " Husband's Father.....
185. " " Mother.....
186. " " Grand-Father.....
187. " Wife's Father.....
188 " " Mother.....
189. " " Grand-Mother.....
190. " Son-in-Law (said by a Male).....
191. " " (" Female).....
192. " Daughter-in-Law, (said by a Male).....
193. " " (" Female)...
194. " Step-Father.....

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
195. My Step-Mother		
196. " Step-Son		
197. " Step-Daughter		
198. " Adopted Son		
199. " " Daughter		
200. " ~~Half~~ Step-Brother		
201. " ~~Half~~ Step-Sister		
202. " Two Fathers-in-law to each other		
203. " Two Mothers-in-Law to each other		
204. " Brother-in-Law, (Husband's Brother)		
205. " " (Sister's Husband,) (said by a Male)		
206. " " (Sister's Husband,) (said by a Female)		
207. " " (Wife's Sister's Husb'd)		

206.	"	"	(Sister's Husband,) (said by a Female)	

207.	"	"	(Wife's Sister's Husb'd)		
208.	"	"	(Wife's Brother)		
209.	"	"	(Husb'd's Sister's Husb)		
210.	"	Sister-in-Law,	(Wife's Sister)		
211.	"	"	(Husband's Sister)		
212.	"	"	(Brother's Wife,) (said by a Male)		
213.	"	"	(Brother's Wife,) (said by a Female)		
214.	"	"	(Husb'd's Broth's Wife)		
215.	"	"	(Wife's Brother's Wife)		
216.	Twins				
217.	Widow				
218.	Widower				

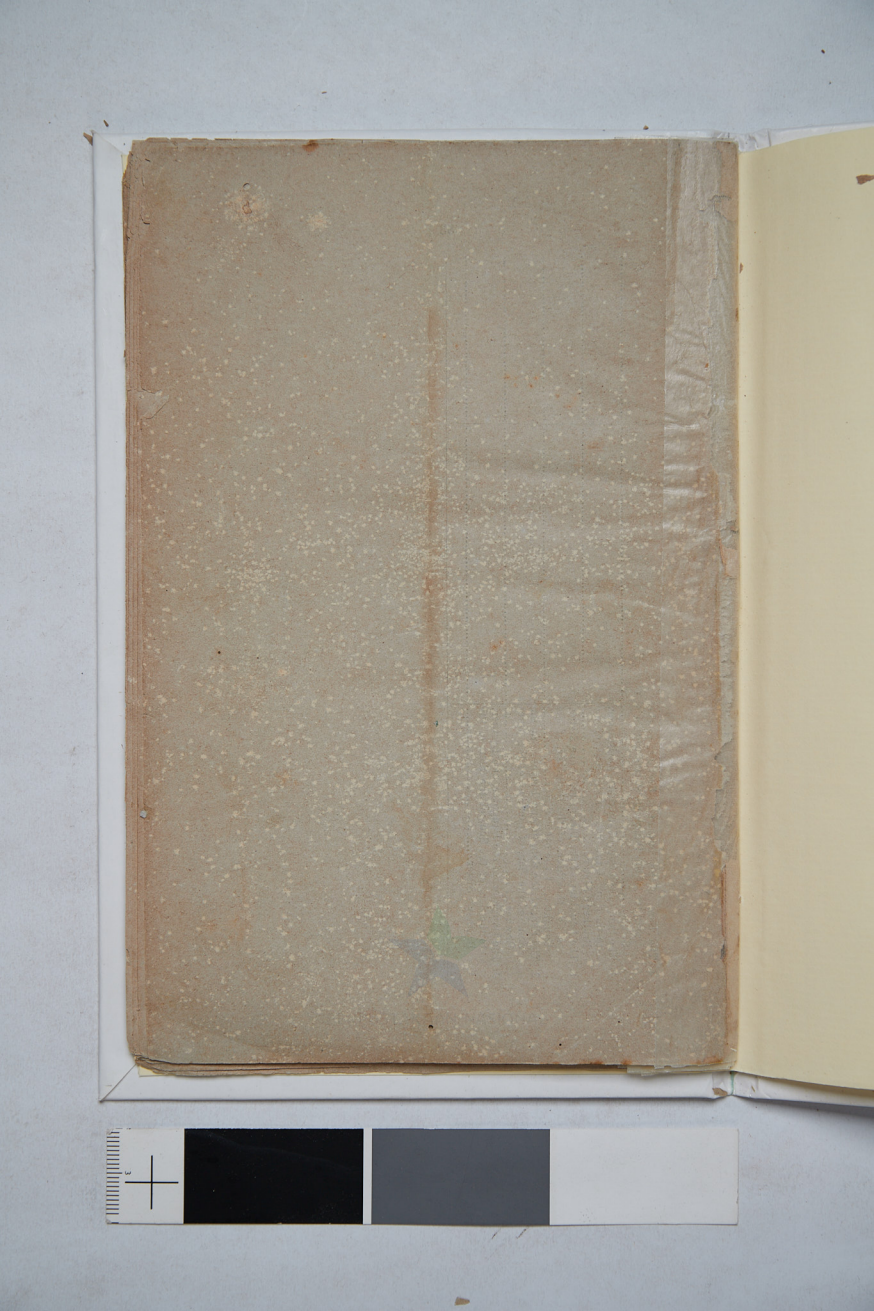
(*Relationship of the Descendants of Brothers and Sisters to each other.*)

1.	The Daughter, of the Daughter, of one Sister, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Sister		
2.	The Son, of the Son, of one Sister, to the Son, of the Son, of the other Sister		

DEGREES OF RELATIONSHIP—Continued.

Description of Relationship.	Name, or Native Word, in English Letters.	Translation of the same into English.
3. The Son, of the Son, of one Sister, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Sister		
4. The Daughter, of the Son, of one Sister, to the Son, of the Daughter, of the other Sister		
5. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Daughter, of one Sister, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Sister		
1. The Son, of the Son, of one Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the other Brother		
2. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of one Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Brother		
3. The Son, of the Son, of one Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Brother		
4. The Son, of the Son, of the Son, of one Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the Son, of the other Brother		
1. The Son, of a Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the Brother's Sister		
2. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of a Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Brother's Sister		
3. The Son, of the Son, of a Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Brother's Sister		

2. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of a Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Brother's Sister		
3. The Son, of the Son, of a Brother, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Brother's Sister		
4. The Son, of the Son, of the Son, of a Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the Son, of the Brother's Sister		
1. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of one Sister, to the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the Daughter, of the other Sister		
2. The Son, of the Son, of one Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the Son, of the other Brother		
3. The Daughter, of the Daughter, of a Brother, to the Son, of the Son, of the Son, of the Brother's Sister		



PERPUSTAKAAN NASIONAL

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