

BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF

LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

1818-1881

BY

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LEWIS HENRY MORGAN, lawyer, statesman, and ethnologist, was born in Aurora, New York, November 21, 1818, of distinguished New England ancestry, numerous members of his family having held places of trust in the community and state. His father was Jeremiah Morgan and his mother Harriet Steele. He was graduated from Union College in 1840, and received the degree of LL.D. from that institution in 1875. In 1851 he was married to his cousin, Miss Mary A. Steele, of Albany. Shortly after his graduation he was admitted to the bar in Rochester, where he formed a partnership with George F. Danforth, afterward judge of the Court of Appeals. In 1855 he became associated as legal adviser with a railroad in course of construction between Marquette, Michigan, and the Lake Superior iron region, and for a few years found it necessary to spend much of his time in the West. Later he was able in a measure to devote his energies to political affairs, and was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1861, and to the Senate in 1868.

It was Morgan's achievements as an ethnologist, however, that brought to him permanent fame and finally gave him his position in the world of science, which was signalized by admission to the National Academy of Sciences in 1875. The circumstances which led to his interest in ethnology are worthy of record and serve to illustrate the character and tastes of the man. As a member of a secret society called "The Gordian Knot," shortly after admission to the bar in Rochester, in 1840, he became closely associated with Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian, who came from Tonawanda to Rochester to complete his education and who acquired prominence during the Civil War as a member of General Grant's staff, and later as Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Through his association with Parker, Morgan conceived the idea of organizing The Gordian Knot on the basis of the League of the Iroquois, and a study of this re-

markable institution followed. The society in its new form was known to the public as "The Grand Order of the Iroquois," but for its members had the title *We-yo-ba-yo-de-za-de Na-bodé-no-sau-nee*, "They who live in the home of the dwellers in the long house."* The scheme was launched with much enthusiasm and the organization became popular for a time throughout western New York, but it met with slight response on the part of the Indians.

It was the chief purpose of Morgan and his associates to devote the energies of the new society to the study and perpetuation of Indian lore, the education of the Indian tribes, and the reconciliation of these tribes with the conditions imposed by civilization. The most important result of the movement, however, was the insight acquired by Morgan into Iroquois institutions, thus laying the foundation of his epoch-making investigations among the American tribes as well as in the wider field of world anthropology. His intimacy with these people was much enhanced by an event which may be mentioned in this place. A certain land company had secured pre-emptive rights to purchase the lands of the Indian reservations in New York whenever the Indians should be willing to sell, and a treaty confirming this agreement was before the United States Senate for ratification. The disastrous effect on the future of the tribes of the establishment of this claim was realized by the society, and, with a view of defeating the measure, Morgan was sent to Washington, where he met with entire success in his mission. He thus became widely known and exceedingly popular among the tribes, and on October 1, 1847, was adopted into the Hawk clan of the Seneca nation as the Son of Jimmy Johnson, "*So-se-ba-wa*," receiving the name of *Taya-da-o-wub-kub*, or "*One Lying Across*"—that is, a bridge or bond of union between the Indians and the white men.† He now found himself admitted to the innermost circles of native society, and, once there, he embraced every opportunity to pursue his investigations. Between 1844 and 1846 various papers

* Porter, in *League of the Iroquois*, edition of 1904, Vol. II, p. 155, Appendix B.

† Lloyd, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 163.

embodying the results of his researches among the Senecas were read before the councils of the newly organized society, and, amplified and rearranged, were published, under the title of "Letters on the Iroquois," in *The American Review*. In 1846 he read before the New York Historical Society an essay on "The Constitutional Government of the Six Nations of Indians," embodying much of the matter contained in the Letters; and in 1848 reprinted eleven of the Letters in *The Olden Time*, an antiquarian magazine published in Pittsburg. In 1849 the New York State University made an appropriation for the enlargement of its Indian collection, and entrusted the execution of the resolution to Morgan, who submitted a report of much interest, which is indispensable to an understanding of the various Iroquoian artifacts of that period. Finally the materials thus accumulated, along with some new matter relating to the customs and beliefs of the Indians, appeared as "The League of the Iroquois," which Powell refers to as "the first scientific account of an Indian tribe ever given to the world," and which is justly estimated by Lloyd as entitling Morgan to the name of "Father of American Anthropology." The dedication reads: "To Hasano-dú-da, Ely S. Parker, a Seneca Indian, this work, the materials of which are the fruits of our joint researches, is inscribed in acknowledgment of the obligations and in testimony of the friendship of the author."

In 1856, while still engaged in the practice of law, Morgan read a paper before the Albany meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, on "The Laws of Descent of the Iroquois," which excited so much interest that he decided to turn again actively to ethnological pursuits.

While at Marquette on business connected with his railroad interests (1858), he became acquainted with an encampment of the Ojibwa Indians, belonging to the Algonquian family, and hence distinct in language from the Iroquois, and soon learned that the kinship system of these people corresponded closely with that of the tribes of the League. This was unexpected, as he had reached the conclusion that the Iroquois system was probably unique. He was thus led to the study of other tribes, and for a number of years pursued his investigations in various

sections of the country, extending his journeys to Kansas, Nebraska, the upper Missouri, Lake Winnipeg, and the Hudson Bay Territory. In the end he had brought together the systems of relationship of upward of seventy Indian tribes, speaking as many independent dialects. The final conclusion reached was, that the kinship system of the Iroquois was practically that of the aborigines of the continent.* Seeking to enlarge his field of observation still further, schedules intended for recording the kinship of the tribes were widely distributed, and his researches thus extended to the primitive world in general. The materials collected through the medium of an extensive correspondence were classified and finally published by the Smithsonian Institution as volume XVII of its Contributions to Knowledge, entitled "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (1871). It is a quarto volume of about six hundred pages, and constitutes a model of inductive research, embodying a record of the kinship systems of eighty tribes of North America, together with those of a great number of the principal nations and tribes of the Old World and the islands of the Pacific.

"This publication," says Powell, "marks a most important epoch in anthropologic research. Prior to its appearance the social and governmental institutions of mankind antecedent to the evolution of civilization were to a large extent unknown. Travelers and various persons more or less familiar with tribal life had put on record many curious facts, and the compilation of these facts by scholars had resulted in the accumulation of incoherent and inconsistent materials, about which more or less crude and fanciful speculations were made; but the essential characteristics of tribal society, as based upon kinship in barbarism and upon communal marriage in savagery, were unknown."†

Morgan's researches at this period were, however, not restricted to the study of the human subject. While in the West

* Conjectural Solution of the Origin of the Classificatory System of Relationship. *Proc. Am. Acad. of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. VII, February, 1868.

† *Popular Science Monthly*, Vol. VIII, p. 117.

on business connected with railroad enterprises, he became interested in the habits of the beaver, and in 1868 published a volume entitled "The American Beaver and His Works." The extensive series of observations embodied in this work were begun while he was engaged in trout fishing in the wilds of Michigan. The following paragraph is from his preface:

"Our course, in passing up and down, was obstructed by beaver-dams at short intervals, from two to three feet high, over which we were compelled to draw our boat. Their numbers and magnitude could not fail to surprise as well as interest any observer. Although constructed in the solitude of the wilderness, where the forces of nature were still actively at work, it was evident that they had existed and been maintained for centuries by the permanent impression produced upon the rugged features of the country. The results of the persevering labors of the beaver were suggestive of human industry. The streams were bordered continuously with beaver meadows, formed by overflows by means of these dams, which had destroyed the timber upon the adjacent lands. Fallen trees, excavated canals, lodges, and burrows filled up the measure of their works. These together seemed to me to afford a much greater promise of pleasure than could be gained with the fish-pole, and very soon, accordingly, the beaver was substituted for the trout. I took up the subject, as I did fishing, for summer recreation. In the year 1861 I had occasion to visit the Red River settlement in the Hudson's Bay Territory, and in 1862 to ascend the Missouri River to the Rocky Mountains,—which enabled me to compare the works of the beaver in these localities with those on Lake Superior. At the outset I had no expectation of following up the subject year after year, but was led on by the interest it awakened, until the materials collected seemed to be worth arranging for publication. Whether this last surmise is well or ill founded, I am at least certain that no other animal will be allowed to entrap the unambitious author so completely as he confesses himself to have been by the beaver."

The time had now come for Morgan to extend his investigations to other branches of research relating to the aborigines. The social organization, especially the kinship system, appeared

to him to have exercised a pronounced influence on the customs and arts of the peoples, and notably on their domestic architecture. The study of this subject led to the preparation of a series of articles entitled "The Seven Cities of Cibola," which appear in *The North American Review* for 1869. In these articles strong arguments are advanced to show that the great ancient pueblo structures of New Mexico and Arizona, as well as those of Mexico, were not the palaces of princes and potentates, but merely communal dwellings of exceptionally advanced tribes, and that their construction was due to the prevalence of a system of relationships identical with that observed among the tribes of the North. A long step was thus taken toward the removal of the misinterpretations and exaggerations of the Spanish historians and toward a proper understanding of the remarkable culture of the ancient Mexicans.

The subject of migrations of the tribes next engaged his attention, and in 1869 two articles appeared in the above-mentioned journal, in which the idea was promulgated that the great valley of the Columbia River had been, on account of its vast natural food resources, a cradle of the tribes, and that from this valley the overflow of population passed out to the south and east, to occupy the plains and valleys.

Turning his attention again to the semi-civilized nations of Mexico, Morgan published a most noteworthy article entitled "Montezuma's Dinner," in which he placed his own conception of this event in strong contrast with that of H. H. Bancroft, who had followed the highly imaginative accounts of the Spanish conquerors. It was shown that, stripped of manifest exaggeration, the dinner was the comparatively simple repast of a great elective war chief, and not that of an absolute monarch or potentate. This paper was followed a little later by one on "The Houses of the Mound Builders," in which the author essays to reconstruct the habitations of these people in accordance with his conception of the necessary architectural accompaniment of the system of relationships found among existing tribes.

The time had now come for Morgan, whose mind passed readily from details to generalizations, to bring together the results of his investigations of tribal society in a single treatise.

This was accomplished in his epoch-making volume entitled "Ancient Society," published in 1877 and reissued in the following year. The work was dedicated to the Rev. J. H. MacIlvaine, late professor of belles-lettres in Princeton College, who had been a close friend and adviser of Morgan for many years, and who pronounced an able eulogy on the occasion of his funeral, cited at length in the League of the Iroquois, edition of 1904, page 167.

The treatise on Ancient Society was divided into four parts, as follows: Part I, Growth of intelligence through inventions and discoveries; Part II, Growth of the idea of government; Part III, Growth of the idea of the family; and Part IV, Growth of the idea of property. In Part I a comprehensive view of the evolution of culture is given, and the phenomena are classified and subdivided in a manner exceedingly helpful to the historian of the race. In introducing the subject Morgan employs the following words:

"As we re-ascend along the several lines of progress toward the primitive ages of mankind, and eliminate one after the other, in the order in which they appeared, inventions and discoveries on the one hand, and institutions on the other, we are enabled to perceive that the former stand to each other in progressive and the latter in unfolding relations. While the former class have had a connection, more or less direct, the latter have been developed from a few primary germs of thought. Modern institutions plant their roots in the period of barbarism, into which their germs were transmitted from the previous period of savagery. They have had a lineal descent through the ages, with the streams of the blood, as well as a logical development. Two independent lines of investigation thus invite our attention. The one leads through inventions and discoveries, and the other through primary institutions. With the knowledge gained therefrom, we may hope to indicate the principal stages of human development."

These stages, each of which represents a distinct culture and particular mode of life, beginning with the earliest, are: (1) Savagery, subdivided into the older, the middle, and the later; (2) barbarism, with three sub-periods—the older, the middle, and the later; and (3) civilization.

The arts of subsistence in their relation to the progressive steps of culture are discussed in this chapter. The steps as developed are: (1) "Natural subsistence upon fruits and roots in a restricted habitat," which is described as a strictly primitive condition preceding the utilization of fire. (2) "Fish subsistence," which implies the use of fire, by which means man became independent of climate and locality. (3) "Farinaceous subsistence, through cultivation." This begins with the cultivation of cereals, and in the western hemisphere marks the early stages of barbarism occupied by the great body of the tribes. (4) "Meat and milk subsistence." The domestication of animals, which was not achieved by the western world because of the absence of suitable species, but gave impetus to the development of old world peoples of the middle status. The possession of corn, however, by the Americans gave such a strong impetus to racial development that many of the tribes acquainted with this, the greatest of cereals, advanced into the middle stages of barbarism. (5) "Unlimited subsistence through field agriculture." This period, not reached by any of the American tribes, witnessed the domestication of animals and their employment in agricultural pursuits.

In Part II Morgan discusses the different forms of social and political organization in the order of their development, the first and lowest social grouping being based on sex relations. In this system certain established groups or classes of men have rights of mating with particular groups of women. Out of this form, which still survives among numerous peoples, gradually grew that of the organization of society on the basis of kinship, which form successively took on higher combinations in the gens, the phratry, and the confederacy, the latter among the Iroquois partaking of the nature of a purely political organization. Finally, he shows by illustrations from many sources how these groupings as constituted in the old world passed upward into modern civilized forms of political government. In this connection he undertakes to explain the change from descent in the female line, prevalent among primitive peoples, to descent in the male line, and the influence of property considerations in bringing this about.

In Part III the author treats of the history of the family, pointing out five successive stages in its development, and the manner in which the earlier forms passed upward into the Monogamian form now prevalent throughout most of the civilized world. The five forms are designated as follows:

1. The Consanguine;
2. The Punaluan;
3. The Syndyasmian;
4. The Patriarchal;
5. The Monogamian.

It is observed that Morgan does not assume that the earlier forms passed uniformly and as a whole into the higher forms, but that this order prevailed generally, each form taking on phases varying with the people and the period.

The *Consanguine* family was founded on the intermarriage of brothers and sisters, own and collateral, in a group, and is not now represented, save sporadically, among even the most primitive tribes; but numerous traces of this form are found in the succeeding system, the Punaluan, which is still to be found among many peoples, notably the tribes of India and the American aborigines.

The *Punaluan* form of the family follows the Consanguine, of which it was a modification. Its chief characteristics were the intermarriage of several sisters, own and collateral, with each others' husbands in a group, and of the intermarriage of several brothers, own and collateral, with each others' wives in a group. In each case a group of men were conjointly married to a group of women. This family has existed in Europe, Asia, and America within the historic period, and in Polynesia within the past century. It prevailed in savagery and the lower stages of barbarism, and among the Britons persisted until that people had reached the middle status of barbarism.

The *Syndyasmian* family was founded on marriage between single pairs but without exclusive relations, the marriage continuing only during the pleasure of the pairs. The pairing was a matter of convenience and arranged by the parents, more especially the mothers, with or without the consent of the contracting parties. Several pairs usually dwelt together, forming

one household in which the principle of communism in living was practiced. In this system we have the nucleus of the Monogamian family.

The *Patriarchal* family was founded on the marriage of one man with several wives and in general by the seclusion of the wives. The essential characteristic of this form was the organization of a number of persons, bond and free, into a family under paternal power for the purpose of holding lands and for the care of flocks and herds. In Morgan's words, this family "marks that peculiar epoch in human progress when the individuality of the person began to rise above the gens, in which it had previously been merged, craving an independent life and a wider field of individual action. Its general influence tended powerfully to the establishment of the Monogamian family, which was essential to the realization of the objects sought.

* * * In the Consanguine and Punaluan families, paternal authority was impossible as well as unknown; under the Syndyasmian it began to appear as a feeble influence; but its growth steadily advanced as the family became more and more individualized, and became fully established under Monogamy, which assured the paternity of children."*

Although until recently it has been generally believed that the *Monogamian* family, the union of single pairs, was the fundamental and general form of the family, Morgan clearly shows that it did not come into existence until the advance-guard of human progress had achieved civilization and not until much later than this among the classical nations. With the Greeks the wives did not become the equals of the husbands in dignity, personal rights, and social position even during the period of their highest development. The Monogamian family, as finally constituted, has "assured the paternity of children, substituted individual ownership of real as well as personal property for joint ownership, and the exclusive inheritance by children in place of agnatic inheritance. Modern society reposes upon the Monogamian family. The whole previous experience or progress of mankind culminated and crystallized in this pre-eminent institution. It was a slow growth, planting its

* *Ancient Society*, 1877, p. 466.

roots far back in the period of savagery—a final result toward which the experience of the ages steadily tended. Although essentially modern, it is the product of a vast and varied experience.”*

“We have a record of the Monogamian family running back nearly three thousand years, during which, it may be claimed, there has been a gradual but continuous improvement in its character. It is destined to progress still further, until the equality of the sexes is acknowledged and the equities of the marriage relation are completely recognized.”†

Morgan’s conception of the development of the family—the central idea in the social structure—is supported by a vast body of observations drawn from a multitude of sources, and although he must share with Tylor and others the honor of first entering this great unexplored field of research, he must be allowed the credit of going directly to original sources for his information and, after the accumulation of a great body of data, erecting therefrom a system which, although necessarily subject to many modifications as the result of more extended observations, must command respectful consideration on the part of all succeeding students of the evolution of social institutions.

Part IV deals with the evolution of property and its place in the history of culture. In beginning, the author outlines the whole scheme of culture development, presenting a comprehensive view of each branch of human activity and its relations with each other branch and with the whole, proceeding then to an analysis of the part taken by the idea of property in shaping the final result.

In early savage times the idea of property had hardly been conceived and personal possessions were exceedingly limited; on the death of the owner they are usually deposited with his body in the grave. Later, when the successive social groupings had culminated in the gens, such portions of property as were not buried with the dead were distributed to the members of the gens. Here we have the first known trace of regulated inheritance. Although the property left was probably as

* *Ancient Society*, 1877, p. 505.

† *Ibid.*, p. 390.

a rule appropriated by the nearest of kin, the principle was general that the property should remain in the gens of the decedent and be distributed among its members. Children inherited from their mother, to whose gens they always belonged, but took nothing from their father, since his identification was uncertain, and besides he belonged always to a gens other than that of the mother. His property on death reverted to his own gens.

In the early stages of barbarism this form of inheritance continued. "The variety and amount of property were greater than in savagery, but still not sufficient to develop a strong sentiment in relation to inheritance. In the mode of distribution may be recognized the germ of the second great rule of inheritance, which gave the property to the agnatic kindred, to the exclusion of the remaining gentiles. Agnation and agnatic kindred, as now defined, assume descent in the male line; but the persons included would be very different from those with descent in the female line. The principle is the same in both cases, and the terms seem as applicable in the one as in the other. With descent in the female line, the agnates are those persons who can trace their descent through females exclusively from the same common ancestor with the intestate; in the other case, who can trace their descent through males exclusively. It is the blood connection of persons within the gens by direct descent, in a given line, from the same common ancestor which lies at the foundation of agnatic relationship."*

In the middle status of barbarism progress in many branches of activity and the great increase in property gave the question of inheritance increasing importance. In the words of Morgan, "The territorial domain still belonged to the tribe in common; but a portion was now set apart for the support of the government, another for religious uses, and another and more important portion, that from which the people derived their subsistence, was divided among the several gentes, or communities of persons, who resided in the same pueblo" (*supra*, p. 200). "That any persons owned lands or houses in their own right, with power to sell and convey in fee-simple to whomsoever they

* Ancient Society, p. 531.

pleased, is not only unestablished but improbable. Their mode of owning their lands in common, by gentes, or by communities of persons, their joint-tenement houses, and their mode of occupation by related families precluded the individual ownership of houses or of lands. * * * The possessory right, which we must suppose existed in individuals or in families, was inalienable, except within the gens, and on the demise of the person would pass by inheritance to his or her gentile heirs.**

In higher barbarism, when property had still further increased and individual holdings became of importance, as in herds, flocks, houses, and lands in severalty, it was natural and inevitable that the husband's powers and pretensions should greatly increase; and, since at this stage the development of the family was such that the relation of father and children was readily established, a new order of inheritance would supervene, and on the decay of the clan system would readily pass to inheritance within the immediate family, and in its highest specialization to exclusive inheritance by whomsoever the decedent might name.

The following paragraph is exceptionally interesting as containing a prophecy of the final disposal of one of the dominant problems of civilization, the regulation of property holdings:

"Since the advent of civilization, the outgrowth of property has been so immense, its forms so diversified, its uses so expanding and its management so intelligent in the interests of its owners, that it has become, on the part of the people, an unmanageable power. The human mind stands bewildered in the presence of its own creation. The time will come, nevertheless, when human intelligence will rise to the mastery over property, and define the relations of the state to the property it protects, as well as the obligations and the limits of the rights of its owners. The interests of society are paramount to individual interests, and the two must be brought into just and harmonious relations. A mere property career is not the final destiny of mankind, if progress is to be the law of the future as it has been of the past. The time which has passed away since civilization began is but a fragment of the past duration of man's existence, and but a fragment of the ages yet to come. The dissolution of

* Ancient Society, p. 535.

society bids fair to become the termination of a career of which property is the end and aim, because such a career contains the elements of self-destruction. Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence, and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the ancient gentes.”*

The last work of Morgan is his “Houses and House-life of the American Aborigines.” It is dedicated to William W. Ely, M.D., LL.D., the cherished friend and literary adviser of the author for a period of more than twenty-five years, and was intended originally as the fifth and final chapter of “Ancient Society.” It was omitted from that volume on account of its bulk, and finally made its appearance as volume IV of Contributions to North American Ethnology. The first chapter is a condensation of the four chapters of “Ancient Society,” and reviews the history of the development of society as manifested in the gens, phratry, tribe, and confederacy—a knowledge of these organizations being indispensable to an understanding of the houses and house-life of the aborigines. The houses and house-life served in turn to illustrate and verify Morgan’s conception of the organization of primitive society of the early and middle stages of barbarism.

Chapters II, III, and IV are devoted to the laws of hospitality, communism in living, and usages and customs with respect to land and food. It is shown that the universal practice of hospitality, as well as of communism in large households, determined in great measure the character of the houses and house-life. The remainder of the work is devoted to a detailed description and discussion of the houses of the tribes, especial attention being given the multiple-roomed structures which constitute the dominant feature in the building art of the tribes all over America.

Morgan was a man of exceptional mental endowments, and the passion for research developed early in his career knew no diminution to the end of his life. His tireless energy and great

* Ancient Society, p. 552.

tenacity of purpose are attested by the manner in which he pursued clues that by seeming accident were thrown in his way. Observing while hardly more than a schoolboy the peculiar family relationships of the Iroquois, he soon mastered the system in every detail, believing it to be peculiar to this people and unique in the world. Seizing the first opportunity to make inquiries among other and distant tribes, he found the same system of kinship prevailing. With increasing zeal and widening vision he extended his researches from tribe to tribe and from region to region, never halting until he had extended his observations over the entire primitive world. A study of these observations led to the remarkable conclusion that the social systems of all mankind have been cast in the same general mold; but it was found that the particular form of society observed among the Iroquois was confined largely to a single horizon of culture, and he found it necessary to widen again the scope of the inquiry. In investigating the one stage he had caught glimpses of earlier phases of social organization; and having, after prolonged research, formulated these, he delved into the literature of all nations, confirming thereby his notion of the earlier forms and extending his observations to higher planes of society as exemplified in civilization. He was thus able to stand on the horizon of the present, as represented by the highest levels of social achievement, and look backward through long vistas of human progress in which five successive stages of society were traceable, the earliest, dimly discernible in the remote distance, rising gradually into the next higher, and passing upward until the Monogamian system of the present was reached.

Morgan thus formulated for the first time a logical order for the history of social organization as exemplified in the family, and as his labors progressed he reached the solution of many related problems of anthropology—the evolution of government, of arts and industries, of the idea of property, of moral standards, etc., and the relations in genesis and growth of these with one another and with the whole of culture. When the course of evolution in the various fields had been correlated with the successive stages of culture progress—the savage, the barbarian, and the civilized—with their subdivisions, a comprehensive

scheme of human history was for the first time available to the world.

Morgan's grandest contribution to the science of mankind is thus not the elucidation of any one branch of the subject of his researches, but the opening up of a vast new field of research of which the world had no previous knowledge, and the application of the remarkable insight into human affairs thus gained to the classification and logical arrangement of the whole subject matter of anthropology.

One great thought brought out by Morgan as a result of his extended researches is that the successive stages of savage and barbaric life—characterized by turmoil, degradation, struggle, and misery untold—were but the necessary throes by means of which the race was to rise to higher levels; that the stages were as a series of crucibles in which successive purifications were accomplished, and that the unseemly struggles still manifest even among the higher nations of the present day are but a continuation of the processes of evolution tending upward to final results, the full nature and significance of which can now only be surmised.

It will not be claimed that Morgan has said the last word regarding the diversified and intricate subjects that he ventured to discuss, but he has said the first word on many problems that will not be fully solved for generations to come. He found the vast domain of American ethnology practically unexplored, and ventured boldly into pathways hitherto wholly untrodden. That the first hasty survey should have failed to reveal to him in their true relations and full significance all the diversified phenomena with which he had to deal proves only that he was human and that the field of labor is almost limitless.

Whatsoever the final conclusions with regard to the great problems with which he battled, howsoever far away he may have been at times misled by the tendency to generalize too broadly on incomplete observations, he must always remain an heroic figure on the threshold of the dawning science of primitive human institutions.

Although not possessed of great wealth, Morgan desired to contribute to the intellectual and moral progress of his kind

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and bequeathed the better part of his fortune to the University of Rochester "for female education of high grade in the city of Rochester under the management of the trustees of the said University."

Morgan was instrumental in organizing the Section of Anthropology in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at the meeting held in Detroit in 1875, and was made first chairman of that section. In 1879 he became President of the Association and presided over its meetings in Boston the following year. His home in Rochester contained a fine library and was frequented by some of the leading scholars of the time; and he was one of the founders of the literary clubs of his period and locality.

In stature he was of medium height and well proportioned. He was energetic and active, alert in manner and cheerful in disposition; an agreeable companion, easily approached, and always helpful to those in need of advice and instruction.

Having lived a singularly varied yet stainless life, Morgan died at his home in Rochester on December 17, 1881, and was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery in that city.

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* Extracted from "The League of the Iroquois," edition of 1904.

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