Navigating the Kinship Maze
The Kinship Maze
Navigating it with Professional Precision

by Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG

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Precision is essential for professionals in our field. Modern genealogy is interdisciplinary, and many who practice it professionally work with counterparts in sister disciplines. All agree on one point: they have to know and precisely use the languages of those other fields. Confusion over kinship terms may exist within the general public, and “general” dictionaries may offer multiple definitions based on contradictory ways in which the public uses kinship terms; but loosey-goosey language by a genealogist can sabotage not just a project but also a career path.

This paper discusses the issue from seven perspectives pursued within the genealogical field—that is, forensic, genetic, canonical, legal, anthropological, historical, and everyday usage.
Professional genealogist Kathleen W. Hinckley, CGRS, works daily within that language maze. As a specialist in legal and forensic genealogy, she assists not only attorneys in the settlement of estate cases but also the U.S. military in efforts to identify remains believed to have been prisoners of war or military personnel missing in action.

According to Hinckley, “Both law firms and the military require me to identify the relationship of each living relative to the target person—the exact relationship. Inheritance laws are precise and vary among states. Some allow half-kin to inherit and some do not. All ‘half’ relationships must be identified, including half-siblings, half-aunts, half-uncles, and half-cousins (offspring of the half-aunt or half-uncle). Otherwise, some people might inherit when they should not.”

Megan Smolenyak also assists the Army in locating PNOK (primary next of kin) and maternal relatives whose DNA can be used to identify the remains of soldiers. According to Smolenyak, when it comes to locating mitochondrial DNA candidates, what matters to the Army is that relatives tap into the soldier’s maternal line at some point and consequently sport the same mtDNA. Whether Smolenyak locates siblings or fifth cousins once removed, the key factor is that “the maternal connection is substantiated. So, yes,” she agrees, “precision is required” in the identification of relationships.

Figure 1 charts the results of a forensic investigation, using conventional symbols for a genetic pedigree. It is useful for demonstrating kinships that do and do not qualify. However, the chart that accompanies a professional genealogical report would be a more-conventional box-style drop chart. Figure 2 shows highlights of a chart that might support a typical probate case and illustrates the manner in which individuals might be identified within their boxes.

Hinckley also emphasizes the importance of producing charts that specifically identify each person’s relationship to the key individual. “In most of my projects,” she states, “I GEDCOM the information from my current genealogical software into Generations to create box drop-charts that visually outline the relationships. On the top line of each box, beside the individual’s name, I add the relationships—such as 2C1R [second cousin, once removed] or ½1C [half-first cousin].” Also important to Kathy’s clients is that parallel generations be precisely aligned on charts. Although Generations is no longer marketed, Kathy reports finding no other genealogical software that lets her produce the kind of drop charts she needs to prepare.

Forensic genealogists working in many countries outside the United States encounter the same legal requirements for precise identification of relationships. Most are governed by confidentiality rules similar to those that prevent Hinckley from offering a specific family as an example. However, it is not difficult to locate published legal cases that demonstrate how precise language such as “double-first cousins,” “twin cousins, twice removed” and “half cousins” govern eligibility for inheritance from a particular estate.

Figure 1 depicts a typical problem, using conventional pedigree symbols: a square for males, a circle for females—with an added slash for those who are deceased. The MIA was an only child. His mother (B) and his grandmother (A) are dead, so their mtDNA cannot be used to determine whether the remains that have been found are indeed those of the missing soldier. The grandmother was married twice. By her first husband, she had the soldier’s mother (B) and a daughter (C), who, in turn, died leaving one son (E). E carries his mother mtDNA but cannot pass it to his daughter (I), who would inherit her own mother’s mtDNA. Even though E had two half-sisters (F and G), their mtDNA came from a different mother, who was no kin to the MIA. Meanwhile, the MIAs mother (B) had a half-sister (D), born of A’s second marriage. D, also deceased, was only a half-aunt to the MIA, but she inherited her mother’s mtDNA and passed it to her daughter (H), the soldier’s half-first cousin. Therefore, the male E and the female H could be used for a mtDNA test to help identify remains that were believed to be the family’s missing soldier.

**Genetic Perspective**

Anita Lustenberger, who is both a Certified Genealogist and a Certified Genetic Counselor, also describes precise language as critical to both fields. As a genetic counselor, Lustenberger points out that a person’s risk for inheriting a trait, “is proportional to the closeness of the relationship of the parents. Geneticists need to know precisely what percentage of their genes a couple shares, in order to determine their risk of producing a child with a genetic disease.”
Figure 2
Typical Box-Chart for
Heirs to the Estate of an Intestate Decedent (ID)

Martin Milburn Minshew Estate
CASE NO. 1234567
PREPARED BY: [etc.]
DATE: [etc.]

Martin Milburn Minshew, Intestate Decedent
bd. 1 Apr 1942, Phoenix, Maricopa, Arizona
dd. 2 Jun 1967, Chicago, Cook, Illinois
m. Never Married/ No Children

Margaret Carrie Odom, 1st Cousin
bd. 5 May 1944, Phoenix, Maricopa, Arizona
m. James Breland, 1 Jan 1965, Phoenix
CURRENT ADDRESS: [etc.]

Marshal Minshew, ½ 2C1R
bd. 19 Jan 1921, near Houston, Harris, Texas
m. Sarah Boyd
CURRENT ADDRESS: [etc.]

Mary Minshew, ½ GGAunt
bd. 28 Feb 1870, Sparta, Hancock, Georgia
dd. abt 1904, Burley, Cass, Idaho
m. abt 1888, Cornelius Cargill

Individuals who are deceased or left no known heirs
Living heirs for whom current whereabouts are known
A reputedly living heir for whom a current address is not known

Note:
The actual chart submitted by the professional would be large enough to contain all data in proper position. Because of space constraints here, this figure depicts only a thumbnail sketch, with selected boxes enlarged to show the type of data included. Some attorneys also request that individual boxes on a chart be sequentially and prominently numbered, for easy reference. The above “family” is entirely fictional.
Figure 3
Degrees of Kinship: Genetic
(Based on fractional proportion of genes shared by two people)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Fraction of Genes Shared</th>
<th>Genetic Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1/8</td>
<td>.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1/16</td>
<td>.0625</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Fraction of Genes Shared</th>
<th>Genetic Coefficient</th>
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<td>1/32</td>
<td>.0312</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1/256</td>
<td>.0039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Complex Relationships:

Identical twins, being genetically the same, are said to be related in the 0 degree. When identical twins marry in succession the same man or woman, children of both unions are genetically full siblings (1st degree, coefficient .5). When identical twins take different spouses, their children are genetically half-siblings (2d degree, coefficient .25).

Double-first cousins (3d-degree relatives in two lines) would be the genetic equivalent of 2d-degree relatives, sharing 1/4 of their genes, with a genetic coefficient of .25.

The genetic equivalent for more complicated multiple relationships may be calculated by adding the genetic coefficient of each relationship.

Example 1: 1st cousin (3d degree) .125
1st cousin, once removed (4th degree) .0625
Total genetic coefficient for the double relationship .1875

Example 2: Half-uncle (3d degree) .125
2nd cousin, once removed (6th degree) .156
Total genetic coefficient for the double relationship .281
Researchers who study gene transmission patterns define relationships with extreme care, using coefficients for each degree of kinship that were first calculated in a classic 1921 study by Sewall Wright. Professional genealogists who seek employment in genetic research projects would benefit from studying the genetic usage of kinship terminology within published papers, many of which are available online. The implications of assorted half-cousin relationships, for example, are stressed in genetic papers published at the websites of Johns Hopkins University's Online Mendelian Inheritance in Man, the Journal of Medical Genetics, and the American Journal of Human Genetics, among others.

Addressing cousinships in particular, Elizabeth A. Thompson, author of the textbook Pedigree Analysis in Human Genetics, reminds researchers that "corresponding to each cousin-type relationship there is a half-cousin one, when only one member of an ancestral couple is a common ancestor to both individuals."

Thompson makes her point with a discussion of "half-first cousins" (first cousins with only one grandparent in common), "octuple half-second cousins" (second cousins with one common ancestor in each of their eight great-grandparent positions) and one-and-one-half cousins (individuals with three separate half-first cousin relationships). Thompson goes on to caution, "In some texts first cousins once removed are referred to as one-and-one-half cousins, but this convention can cause confusion between the degree and the multiplicity of a relationship."

The genetic calculation of degrees of relationship is emphasized by Thomas H. Shawker, M.D., who chairs the National Genealogical Society's Family Health and Heredity Committee and authored the society's recent guide to the intersection of genetics and genealogy.

"First-degree relatives," Shawker explains, "include one's children, siblings, and parents. You share one-half of your genes with them. Second-degree relatives include grandparents, grandchildren, aunts, uncles, nieces, and nephews; they share one-fourth of their genes. A half-sister or half-brother would be a second-degree relative, not first degree. Normally first cousins would be third-degree relatives (along with great-grandparents, great-grandchildren, great-uncles, great-aunts, half-uncles, and half-aunts) and share one-eighth of their genes. A half-first cousin would be a fourth-degree relative, sharing one-sixteenth of their genes." (See Figure 3.)

**Canonical Perspective**

As regular users of church archives, genealogists also need to distinguish between the genetic degrees described above by Shawker and the canonical (church) and civil degrees that were used for centuries before Gregor Mendel introduced genetics to the world. Figure 4 graphs degrees of kinship found in marital dispensations genealogists seek from Catholic archives for spouses who are known to have a consanguinal (blood) or affinal (marital) kinship.

As figures 3 and 4 (see facing and following pages) both illustrate, degrees of kinship under canon and civil law are often several steps closer than genetic degrees. Historically, the number of degrees equaled the number of generations removed from a common ancestor. By that reckoning, first cousins are second-degree kin because each is two steps removed from the common ancestor, second cousins are third-degree kin, and so forth. Researchers who use marital dispensations from church archives will also find couples said to be "related in the second-to-third degree" (a kinship genealogists typically describe as first cousin, once removed) or "third to fourth degree" (second cousin, once removed). In Latin-language registers used in some regions, one also finds stated relationships such as "in gradu secundo contacto tertio," meaning "in second degree touching the third" (again, first cousin, once removed)."12

**Legal Perspective**

The overlapping bounds of church and state in past centuries caused religious terminology to bleed into civil and common law—and vice-versa. As Brian Schwimmer of the University of Manitoba School of Anthropology points out, "Western kinship degree calculations have varied historically and geographically between the Roman or civil system and the Germanic or canon system, which is currently the standard both in Catholic church regulations and English common law."13

Out of the legal heritage of Medieval Western civilization comes three other kinship terms that genealogists frequently encounter: agnatic, uterine, and german. Traditional genealogies have emphasized the agnatic lines—i.e., those "derived from or through males"—and property often followed agnatic descent. Uterine, meaning "born of the same mother," has typically been applied to sibling relationships and, more commonly at law, to brothers or sisters who have different fathers. The term german (which refers not to an ethnicity but comes from the Latin word germen, meaning "twig" or "sprout"), is legally used to mean "whole" or "full." Brothers-german, for example, have both a father and mother in common. Cousins-german are the children of "whole" siblings (i.e., first cousins, but not half-first cousins)."14
Anthropological Perspective

Genealogists working with anthropologists—or with lineages that have Eastern and Middle-Eastern roots—encounter a kinship concept rarely found in Western families: cross cousins and parallel cousins. When cousins are connected by parents of different genders (father’s sister’s children or mother’s brother’s children), they are called cross cousins. Those whose connecting parents are of the same gender (one’s father’s brother’s children or mother’s sister’s children) are parallel cousins. Whether those cousins, themselves, are males or females is irrelevant in both cases, anthropologically, although the gender of the cousins could have implications in any specific culture.

Some societies also distinguish between cousins who are patrilateral (related through one’s father) and matrilateral (related through one’s mother)—with marital preferences favoring one or the other. As an example, Bedouins in both Israel and Arab countries traditionally calculate kinship patrilineally (from males to their offspring), and their preferred spouses are patrilateral parallel cousins (a father’s brother’s child).  

The cultural belief in many such societies that patrilateral parallel cousins are more closely akin than matrilateral parallel cousins or cross cousins on either side does go countergrain to genetic evidence. Nonetheless, the belief persists and it creates important distinctions for genealogists who work in these cultures, as well as for those who study Biblical literature.  

American genealogists are more likely to work with matrilateral and patrilateral kinship biases, because of the intense interest in Native American research. Here, the problem is compounded by the fact that relationships in many tribes were calculated differently, even when early European-Americans described them using kinship terms familiar to us.

Amid a discussion of Native American cultural differences, the historian and professional genealogist Rachal Mills Lennon, CGRS, explains: “Because of matrilineal descent, Southeastern tribal culture held that a person’s most important male relative—the one termed father—was the mother’s brother, not the biological father. . . . When referring to sisters and brothers, they might mean uterine siblings (siblings born of their mother) or the children of their mother’s sisters.”

Genealogists who work with anthropologists should also note a caution offered by Carolyn Ybarra, an anthropologist and professional genealogist: “Anthropologists, when comparing across cultures, don’t use the terms used by the group being studied, but rather our own generic terms developed for the purpose of being clear about specific types of relationships.” On the other hand, Ybarra adds, anthropologists do employ “local terminology used by people within a cultural group, to represent an outsider’s view of the specific relationships within a culture.”

Historical Perspective

The kinship maze through which genealogists weave their way across place and time is also rife with other problems caused
Glossary of Kinship Terms

Affinal relationships: Kinships acquired by marriage (affinity). Historically, affinal kinships were also a bar to marriage. For the counterpart of this term, see consanguinal relationships.

Agнатic: Related on or descended from the father's side or male line. For the gender counterpart, see ursine.

Aunt: A vernacular term denoting distant kinship, suggesting a perceived lower status.

Avuncular: Pertaining to or similar to an uncle.

Back-door kin: A vernacular term denoting distant kinship, suggesting a perceived lower status.

Beau-frère: French term for brother-in-law or stepbrother.

Beau-sœur: French term for sister-in-law or stepsister.

Bilat eral descent: See Cognatic descent.

Brother: A male child born of the same mother and father. (A male child born of the mother or father by a different union would be a half-brother.) Historically, the term brother included the brother of one's spouse. In Native American matrilineal systems, a brother might be a biological brother or the son of a mother's sister.

Cognate: One related by blood; one who shares a common ancestor.

Cognatic descent: (anthropological) Descent counted along both the mother's and the father's line; also called bilateral descent.

Collateral kin: Relatives not in a direct line.

Consanguinal relationships: Relationships bound by "blood"—i.e., biological ones. For its counterpart, see affinal relationships.

Cousins: Historically used for any relationship, also used in some societies for close friends of the family. Specific forms of the term include the following:

Cater cousin (aka quarter cousin). Originally, a way of saying "a cousin the fourth degree," but also used for other remote degrees of kinship.

Cousin german: A full, first cousin; i.e., the child of one's full aunt or full uncle.

Cross cousin: The child of a mother's brother or a father's sister.

Cousin brutes: Historically, a family at large.

Dirty cousin: Historically, a contemptuous form of address for distant kin.

First cousin: The child of one's full aunt or full uncle.

Half-first cousin: The child of one's half-aunt or half-uncle.

Kentish cousin: An early English term for "distant relative."

Kissing cousin: A more or less distant relative, familiar enough to be greeted with a kiss.

Parallel cousin: The child of one's mother's sister or one's father's brother.

Second cousin: A child of the first cousin of one's parent. Sometimes used imprecisely by laymen in reference to "first cousin once removed." (By this latter mode of calculation, one's actual second cousin is usually called a "third cousin.")

Historically, cousin was also used in ways that denoted intimacy or familiarity rather than kinship—as by sovereigns or noblemen to address peers.

Variations of the term also carried negative connotation such as

A "cousin Betty": A derogatory term for a woman of questionable morals or a half-wit.

Cousin Jan, Cousin Jacky: Nicknames for a person from Cornwall.

To make a cousin of: To beguile, deceive, or impose upon.

Degree of kinship: (canonical, civil) The number of generational "steps" between individuals; applied principally to couples seeking permission to marry. (genetic) Used to calculate the relationships between any two individuals who share one or more ancestors. Canonical and civil degrees of kinship can differ radically from genetic degrees of kinship.

Double relationships: A term used when people share two links of descent from a common ancestor, as when cousins marry. For example: Double-first cousins are the offspring of unions in which siblings from one family marry or mate with siblings from another family. The terminology is extended to multiple relationships of other types by using a different ordinal—i.e., triple, octuple, etc.

Endogamy: Marriage within one's own cultural, political, or social group.

Exogamy: Marriage outside one's own cultural, political, or social group.

Father: The male parent. Historically used for the father of one's spouse. Among Native American matrilineal systems, father might mean a mother's brother.

Fictive kin: A term for individuals, unrelated by either birth or marriage, who have an emotional connection similar to a family relationship.
by etymological evolution. Within any given society, words evolve and meanings change. In a seventeenth-century will, the Englishman John Hill may have signed a bequest to a man he calls “my nephew, James Alden.” While the natural assumption might be that James was the child of Hill’s sister who had wed a man named Alden, the reality might be that James was a grandson. Nephew and niece, historically, were terms also used for grandchildren.

Similarly, Hill’s reference to “my brother Samuel Parks” would not necessarily mean that Hill had a half-brother of a different surname. In Anglican and Catholic societies, wherein brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law represented an affinal relationship that barred marriage, a spouse’s brother or sister was routinely referred to as “my brother” or “my sister.”

Even relationships defined by the term “in-law” have changed across time—with the term formerly including stepkin. As explained in a now-classic essay by the late genealogist Walter Lee Sheppard, CG, FASG, “The phrase ‘in law’... refers to any relationship that results from a legal action, as for instance a marriage, adoption, etc.”

**Everyday Practice**

Amid a recent discussion of cousinship terminology on the APG listserv, Carolyn Earle Billingsley, Ph.D. (Hist.), of the Samford University Institute of Genealogy and Historical Research, concluded: “It is imperative that we adopt and define the terms that allow us the most precision in our construction and analysis of kinship.”

Taking that precision one step further, Michael Neill of the Genealogical Institute of Mid-America dryly responded that his kinfolk were related to each other in so many ways that they “defy any attempt to create specific definitions.” Neill’s solution is to explicitly name each link in a kinship chain that connects Person A to Person B. “Instead of saying Grandpa and Edna were first cousins,” he explains, “I would say Grandpa’s dad, Charlie, and Edna’s mother, Sarah, were brother and sister, children of Sam and Annie.”

For Neill and others whose writings may not have space limitations, those lengthy descriptions provide excellent precision. For those such as Hinckley whose professional assignments require them to identify relationships precisely amid all the other data that must fit into a small box on a drop chart, brevity is key.

As genealogists, our professional practices are quite diverse, although we are all bound by that need for precision. Because genealogy is an interdisciplinary field, we work with related fields that have also wrestled with the same need for precise kinship terminology. Our common needs have already produced a cross-discipline vocabulary that all can use for clear and consistent meaning.

Some of those terms are generic, some are quite precise. Some overlap other terms, either totally or partially—as with the historical terms *agnatic* and *uterine* to refer to maternal and paternal lines that anthropologists call *patrilineal* and *matrilineal*—but that overlap offers options rather than contradictions. The very richness of this common vocabulary is its strength. Once we learn it, we are all able to communicate with precision among ourselves and with clarity from one field to another.

**Notes**

1. Useful background on forensic genealogy for military identification, including a chart graphing “Eligible Donors of mtDNA Samples,” can be found at [Joint POW/MIA Accounting Command (JPAC)](http://www.jpac.pacom.mil/mtDNA.htm).
3. For genetic software that assists with charting and calculating genetic percentages or kinship coefficients, genealogists may want to explore PREST and PedKin.
Glossary of Kinship Terms, cont’d

German: A term used to indicate full relationships, as in brothers-german (for those who have both parents in common) or cousins-german (for first cousins whose connecting parents are full siblings).

Grand-aunt/uncle: The sibling of one’s grandparent; otherwise called great-aunt/uncle.

Grandparent: The parent of one’s own parent.

Great-aunt/uncle: The sibling of one’s grandparent; otherwise called great-aunt/uncle.

Great-grandparent: The parent of one’s grandparent.

Half relationships: Those that stem from a half-sibling kinship. For every lateral or collateral relationship a “half” equivalent exists. For example:

Half-aunt/uncle: The half-sibling of one’s parent.
Half-first cousin: The child of a half-aunt or half-uncle.
Half-first cousin, once removed: The child of a half-first cousin.
Half-second cousin: The grandchild of a half-sister or half-brother of one’s grandparents.
Half-sibling: A brother or sister who shares only one parent; a mother’s child born of a different father, or a father’s child born of a different mother.

In-law: A term currently used for a blood relative of one’s spouse—as in brother-in-law, sister-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law, aunt-in-law, etc. Socially, the spouse of one’s spouse’s sibling. Historically, the term included steprelationships as well.

Kinship coefficients: The mathematical percentage used by geneticists to quantify the relationship between relatives.

Maternal: Derived or inherited from one’s mother.

Matriarchal: A system in which a family or society is governed by females.

Matriateral: Collateral kinships derived through one’s mother.

Matriineal: Descent through the female line.

Matrilocal: (anthropology) Denotes a couple’s settlement, after marriage, amid the wife’s kin.

Mother: The female parent. Historically used also for the mother of one’s spouse.

Natural child: A child born of one’s body; a biological child in modern terminology. Historically, the term applied to children born outside of a legal union; in societies that had both church and civil marriage, the term might be used by the church for children born of a legal civil union that had not been blessed by the church with which the parents were affiliated.

Niece: The female child of one’s sister or brother. Historically, the term also included grandchildren, although this usage is rarely seen within the last two centuries.

Nephew: The male child of a sister or brother. Historically, used for grandchildren also, although this usage is rarely seen within the last two centuries.

Paternal: Derived or inherited from one’s father.

Patriarchal: A system in which a family or society is governed by males.

Patrilateral: Collateral kinships derived through one’s father.

Patrilineal: Descent through the male line.

Patrilocal: (anthropology) Denotes a couple’s settlement, after marriage, amid the husband’s kin.

Proband: (genetic) The key figure; the one from whom all other relationships are calculated.

Removed relationships: Cousinships that involve a half-step when generations are charted to a common ancestor. For example: The child of one’s first cousin would be a first cousin, once removed; the grandchild of one’s first cousin would be a first cousin, twice removed; the child of one’s second cousin would be one’s second cousin, once removed; etc.

Sibling: A brother or a sister.

Shirttail kin: A vernacular term for distant kin, often implying a lesser social status.

Sibship: A genetic short form for a sibling relationship.

Sister: A female child born of the same set of parents. (A female child born of the mother or father by a different union would be a half-sister.) Historically, the term sister was also used for the sister of one’s spouse. In Native American matrilineal systems, a sister might be a biological sister or the daughter of a mother’s sister.

Step relationships: A parental or sibling relationship acquired through marriage, with no “blood” connection; examples: stepbrother, stepfather, stepmother.

Twins: Two offspring born at the same birth. More specific terms include

Dizygotic twins: Those developed from two separate fertilized eggs, commonly called fraternal twins.

Monozygotic twins: Those developed from the same fertilized egg; commonly called identical twins.

Uncle: The brother of one’s mother or father. Socially used for the husband of a biological aunt. Also used in some societies for close friends of one’s parents (a fictive kinship that usually denotes respect).

Uterine: Born of the same mother but not the same father; a term extended to aunts, cousins, and other relationships acquired through a mother. For the gender counterpart of this term, see agnatic.

10. Ibid., 19.


14. The standard source for legal definitions of kinship terms is *Black’s Law Dictionary*; any of the editions published by West Publishing Co. and its predecessors since 1891 will suffice.


19. Carolyn Earle Billingsley, “Half Cousins,” e-mail to APG-L subscribers, Sunday, March 20, 2005, 8:02 P.M.; messages from this listserv are archived by its RootsWeb host <www.rootsweb.com> under key words “mailing lists” then “genealogical societies.”


A genealogical researcher, writer, editor, and lecturer, Elizabeth Shown Mills has served APG as a trustee and a regional vice-president and holds its Smallwood Award. She thanks Donn Devine, J.D., CG, CGL; Kathleen W. Hinckley, CGRS; Anita Lustenberger, CG; Thomas H. Shawker, M.D.; Megan Smolenyak; and Carolyn Ybarra, Ph.D., for their comments and suggestions upon early drafts of this paper.