It’ll kill ye or cure ye, one
The history and function of alternative one

Michael Montgomery
University of South Carolina

“Midland” was apparently introduced in 1890 by Sylvester Primer in Dialect Notes (McMillan 1973). In the 20th century the term became widely used by American linguistic geographers to refer to the interior of Pennsylvania and the South Atlantic States and has become a term generally recognized by linguists though not without controversy over its status and legitimacy. However, “Midland” has never achieved use by other academicians or application to a recognizable region by the general public. From the mid-18th century, before there was such an idea of “Midland,” commentators employed “back country” and “back parts” for a similar geographical/cultural region. This paper will examine the development of “Midland” and compare and contrast this with other terminology for the interior region in both academic and public discourse. In the process it contributes to our understanding of the consciousness of American regions over the past two-and-one-half centuries and the extent to which this reflected political and historical developments on the one hand and linguistic research on the other.

Some years ago after explaining an assignment to a class, I told students, “If you don’t turn in your paper at class time, you can put it in my mailbox or in the envelope on my door one by the end of the week.” These instructions seemed perfectly unambiguous and transparent to me, a Tennessean, as they apparently were to most students in South Carolina. But at least one found himself befuddled and paused on his way out of the classroom. “I don’t understand which door you mean,” he said, “Where is your door one?” My door one? It was my turn to be stymied, and for a moment the only thing that came to mind was the television game show Let’s Make a Deal, where host Montie Hall routinely asked contestants “Do you want to take what’s behind door number one?”

In subsequent years I regularly surveyed University of South Carolina classes for their use and recognition of such grammatical features as double modals (might could, might can, etc.) and y’all, in order to compare students of Southern and Northern nativity and see whether a dialect shift might be taking place as either group accommodated to the other (Montgomery and Epting 1990, Montgomery 1996). When I had
them paraphrase a sentence like 1, the results could hardly have been more consistent, or more divergent.

(1) I need to talk to John or Malcolm, one.²

Students from the South (usually South Carolinians) only occasionally hesitated, usually paraphrasing the sentence by adding or the other or inserting either before one. Whatever difficulty they had promptly disappeared once I read the sentence aloud with an appropriate intonation. On the other hand, students from the North either drew a complete blank or showed their incomprehension by responding with a question, such as “Is there a Malcolm two?” or “Is there more than one Malcolm?” Several even asked “Is Malcolm one related to Obi One Canobi?”

In recent years researchers have made many strides in reconstructing vernacular grammatical features of American English and in exploring their development to determine their trans-Atlantic historical connections. For instance, Montgomery and Nagle (1994) establish that emigrants from Ulster,³ mainly of Scottish ancestry, brought double modals, and Montgomery (1997) documents the influence of settlers from Ulster and north Britain in marking verbal concord with certain third-person plural subjects (people goes vs. they go). Both features are well known in the American Midland and South and both have undergone substantial changes – redevelopment in the first case (Mishoe & Montgomery 1994), attrition in the second (Montgomery 1999) – following their arrival in North America (Montgomery 1999). There remain other features, less frequently occurring or less widely known and documented, whose historical status has yet to be assessed. Many of these involve items whose formal identity across varieties of English masks their functional dissimilarity in specific varieties, a situation that tends to disguise them from speakers and researchers alike and reduces their social salience. Alternative one is such a feature.

Work on camouflaged forms (e.g. semi-auxiliary come by Spears 1982) has helped linguists understand how dialect and language contact have produced modern-day African American English, but this type of research has been rather slow to extend to other varieties of American English. Three features that have been examined are “positive anymore” (sentence 2), “punctual whenever” (sentence 3, which refers to a single event in the past; see Montgomery and Kirk 2001), and need + past participle (sentence 4; see Murray, Frazer, & Simon 1996). One yet to be examined is “purposive till” (sentence 5, in which the conjunction is equivalent to “so that” and is not a reduction of until):

(2) Politics moves so fast and in such mysterious ways anymore, it’s hard to keep up with it. (east Tennessee)⁴

(3) Whenever they left there, they went back to Elkmont. (Smoky Mountains, east Tennessee)

(4) They started before sunup and worked to after sundown, if you had a job that needed finished. (Smoky Mountains, east Tennessee)
(5) Well, they cut their horns off till they could put them all up together, till they wouldn't hurt one another, you see. (Smoky Mountains, east Tennessee)

Alternative one involves placement of the indefinite pronoun after two structurally equivalent elements conjoined by or, as in 6–14 below. It thus differs from the postposing of one meaning “a single” as in 15, which unlike alternative one appear both after a single nominal and in negative clauses. Alternative one is never reduced or encliticized to the preceding element (as it is in young’un “child”, from young + one). It may be preceded by a slight pause (even if not, many speakers perceive a pause). It has primary word stress but not sentence stress and is characterized by falling pitch from the same level or from one pitch higher than the preceding word. That is, a speaker either maintains or raises the pitch on one before it falls at the end of the word.

(6) He was in Tennessee or Kentucky, one. (Smoky Mountains, east Tennessee)
(7) The first settlers come in here in the eighteen thirties or the forties, one. (Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina)
(8) Boneset is bitterer than quinine and it'll kill ye or cure ye, one. (Smoky Mountains, western North Carolina)
(9) You'll have to get flour or go without bread, one. (southern Illinois)
(11) I'll go down there and get him dead or alive, one. (Smoky Mountains, east Tennessee)
(12) In the fall of the year they'd have what they called revival meeting one, two, three, or four weeks sometimes. They had meeting morning and evening or morning and night, one, all the time. (east Tennessee)
(13) They say it's going to come ashore at Myrtle Beach or in North Carolina, one. (central South Carolina)
(14) He couldn't write very good, or he couldn't write at all, one. (Bissell, Stretch on the River, 1950: 80; Mississippi Valley)
(15) He didn't make a concession one.

As these examples indicate, alternative one may follow not only nouns and noun phrases. To date I have amassed 61 tokens, about half of these through the auspices of the Dictionary of American Regional English, either from volume 3 (s.v. one B) of the dictionary (Cassidy, Hall et al. 1996: 878) or from the dictionary project's archives at the University of Wisconsin in Madison.5 The others come mainly from material gathered by the author for a dictionary of Smoky Mountain English (Montgomery & Hall 2004). Twenty-nine of the 61 tokens have coordinate nouns, as in 6–7. Nearly as many tokens (21) have coordinate verbs or verb phrases, as in 8–9. Three of the remaining eleven have coordinate adjectives (10–11), two have adverbs (12), five have
prepositional phrases (13), and one has clauses (14). Usually alternative one appears clause-finally, but not always, as in sentence 16 (also 11 above).

(16) I thought that you gave Michael or David one that quilt that Karen had made. (central Tennessee)

In all these sentences one is an indefinite pronoun, not a numeral, as was supposed by the student who queried my directions for turning in the class assignment. Sentence 17 demonstrates this pronominal status clearly, as does the non-acceptability of 18, with a numeral, as opposed to the acceptability of 19 with both, an indefinite form in some respects parallel to one:

(17) To get an outside line, you need to dial eight or nine, one. (central Tennessee)

(18) I need to see John and Malcolm, two.

(19) I need to see John and Malcolm both.

This is perhaps sufficient attention to the structure of alternative one. The remainder of this paper considers further issues, including its geographical distribution and its external and internal history.

There is little evidence that alternative one is socially marked or stylistically restricted, except insofar as being largely confined to speech. Sentences with any construction (one, either one, or one or the other) post-posed after two alternatives are infrequent to begin with. Only 12 of the 61 examples are from writing, mostly from fictional dialogue. The 49 spoken examples have been patiently amassed over a number of years.

The citations of alternative one gathered to date are consistent with a South Midland distribution. None come from farther north than the classic South Midland border (more or less the same as the “Upper South” boundary in Carver 1987) running through southern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, nor have any native speakers queried who grew up north of this line acknowledged using it. Admittedly the citations from southern Indiana and southern Illinois found in DARE are more than a half-century old, but the author has received reports that alternative one is current in southern Ohio and as far west as Missouri and Oklahoma.6 There are few examples observed in the Deep South so far, but my elicitations with South Carolina students suggest that it will be found there.

History

In contrast to many other grammatical features whose past has been determined with some certainty, the historical course of alternative one presents largely a black hole. There is no evidence for it in the OED (except citations from the U.S. in its supplement), in the English Dialect Dictionary, in the Scottish National Dictionary, in reference works like Jespersen (1909–1949) and Visser (1970), or in British or Irish documentary sources.
Nor, so far as can be determined, is there evidence for it or anything resembling it in the British Isles today. Extensive queries by the author in Scotland, Ireland, and England over the past decade have found no recognition of it, and a large number of local glossaries and other works from Britain or Ireland that have been consulted have turned up nothing. In view of the fact that in the U.S. grammatical features having a predominantly Midland distribution today can often be traced to Ulster (Montgomery 2004), the most likely place to look for alternative one is the north of Ireland. However, it does not occur in the contemporary Northern Ireland Transcribed Corpus of Speech (Kirk 1991), a corpus of more than one hundred sociolinguistic interviews (nor are the structures from which it might plausibly be derived evidenced therein) or in the Concise Ulster Dictionary (Macafee 1996). A recent series of elicitations administered in Belfast, Northern Ireland, failed to turn up any meaningful recognition of the construction; not one of forty respondents indicated using it, and only two thought that they had heard something resembling it.

The historical evidence is exclusively American and dates to only the mid-nineteenth century. The earliest citation in DARE, which labels alternative one as “South, South Midland,” is from 1845:

(20) I paid my half dollar to come in here; and I’m gwine to have a ride or a fight, one. (central Georgia)

Other than this one case, alternative one is conspicuously absent from nineteenth-century regional American literature examined by DARE. The dictionary cites a cluster of reports of the form from Dialect Notes word lists at the turn of the twentieth century, which might seem to suggest that it was spreading rapidly at that time. It is much more likely, however, that these citations indicate the advent of systematic observation by American dialectologists as they were called on by the newly launched American Dialect Society to submit word-lists for use in an American dialect dictionary. Within a decade or so, observers reported alternative one from rural sections of southwest Virginia, east Alabama, northwest Arkansas, and southern Illinois, suggesting that it was already widespread. Given the lack of historical evidence for it in the British Isles and the fact that it is unknown by speakers there today, alternative one must be considered an Americanism that developed in the early nineteenth century, possibly earlier, in the Midland and spread South.

Elicitations

The discussion of alternative one so far gives us no clues to its internal history. If it is an innovation, what is its linguistic source and how did it develop? We might suppose it to be a reduced form of another construction such as either one or one or the other. Observed tokens provide a rough indication of comparative frequency of these patterns and may suggest a derivational relationship between them. To assist in exploring the possibilities, an elicitation of acceptability judgments was designed and given to thirty-nine people in South Carolina: 22 life-long Southerners; 11 natives of the North
Table 1. Acceptability of alternative one by different groups (figures refer to ratings of 1 or 2 on each sentence)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Long-term Northerners</th>
<th>Transplanted Northerners</th>
<th>Southerners</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>16/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was in Tennessee or Kentucky, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>13/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'll bring back the doctor or his instruments, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>8/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The first settlers came in here in the 1830s or the 40s, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>3/6</td>
<td>13/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I will see you or send word, one.</td>
<td>1/11</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td>15/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'll go down there and get him dead or alive, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>12/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That hearing aid is either too high or too low, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>2/6</td>
<td>14/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to either John or Malcolm, one.</td>
<td>1/11</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td>13/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm, both.</td>
<td>11/11</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>19/21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm, either one.</td>
<td>11/11</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>18/21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm, one or the other.</td>
<td>11/11</td>
<td>6/6</td>
<td>18/21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm or Frank, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>9/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I need to talk to John or Malcolm, one of them.</td>
<td>10/11</td>
<td>4/6</td>
<td>10/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn't see Charlotte or George, one.</td>
<td>0/11</td>
<td>1/6</td>
<td>5/22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I didn't see Charlotte or George, either one.</td>
<td>10/10</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>19/20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and West (hereafter “long-term Northerners”) who had recently moved to the South; and 6 people raised outside the South (hereafter “transplanted Northerners”) but who had lived there for at least a decade). When possible, elicitation sentences were taken from recorded examples. Respondents were asked to rate sentences on a four-point scale indicating their use and familiarity with 24 sentences, 1 (= use or would use); 2 (= have heard but probably would not use); 3 (= might be used somewhere in the U.S., although I don't think I've heard it); 4 (= does not sound like a real sentence that anyone would use). The elicitation sentences are presented in Table 1. For the purpose of presentation here, judgments 3 and 4, which indicate lack of acquaintance, are combined. In all cases sentences were read aloud individually by the investigator to each respondent who completed the elicitation task.

As seen in Table 1, which tabulates responses to the first fifteen sentences on the elicitation, most life-long Southerners recognize and accept alternative one following a variety of coordinated structures, but Northerners do not. Transplanted Northerners were somewhat closer to life-long Southerners in their responses, though none of them gave a rating of 1 to any sentence. The columns on the right combine ratings of 1 and 2 in response to the first fifteen sentences on the elicitation and compare the three groups.
Four hypotheses

Four structurally motivated hypotheses can be identified for the genesis of alternative *one*. Three of these involve possible reduction from a phrase: *either one, one or the other*, or *one of them*. (Whether or not each of these necessarily has semantic equivalence with alternative *one* is explored by sentences in the elicitation.) Major difficulties face the proposal that alternative *one* is a reduced form of any of these phrases. Each of them is much rarer in occurrence than the presumed derived form, and intermediate forms between the full phrase and *one*, the presumed reduction, are lacking except for *one of them*. In addition, long-term Northerners almost without exception accepted all three full phrases in the elicitation (sentences 21–23 below, but not the purported reduction to *one*). To accept any of these derivations, we must account for why the reduction took place only in the Southern half of the U.S. and produced a structure completely opaque to speakers elsewhere.

(21) I need to see John or Malcolm, either one.
(22) I need to see John or Malcolm, one or the other.
(23) I need to see John or Malcolm, one of them.

A fourth possibility is that alternative *one* developed by analogy with another construction (such as *both*, as in 19 above). The hypothesis that alternative *one* evolved from each of these will now be examined.

1. *Either one*

   One possible source for alternative *one* is the phrase *either one* following two elements conjoined by *or*. *Either one* is known to occur in this position in American English, as exemplified in 24–25:

   (24) Cattle could go up or come down, either one, and you had already covered the rough ground. (western North Carolina)
   (25) Every time me or Amy either one spoke a word he would tell us to shut up because we were bothering his thinking about the new house. (Haun, *The Hawk's Done Gone*, 1945:40, east Tennessee)

In addition to the difficulties identified above for all reduction hypotheses, two others face this one. Post-posed *either one* was acceptable (with a rating of 1 or 2) to nearly all Northerners and Southerners in a negative sentence (as in 26), as well as to respondents in Northern Ireland, but *one* in a negative sentence (as in 27) was acceptable to very few (5/22 life-long Southerners, 1/11 long-term Northerners, 1/6 transplanted Northerners). Why would the proposed reduction take place only in positive sentences?

(26) I didn't see Charlotte or George, either one.
(27) I didn't see Charlotte of George, one.
A second puzzle is why *either* (apparently the more transparent form) would have been lost rather than *one*. Post-posed alternative *either* does occur, as in (28), but also much more rarely even than alternative *one*.

(28) I can recall that you set up with the deceased all night, if they took them home or at the funeral home either. (east Tennessee)

Given the near-unanimous acceptance of 26 but the rejection of 27, we must conclude that the post-posed phrase *either one* is unlikely to have been the source of alternative *one*. In negative sentences *either* appears to be necessary to show the polarity.

A related and more intriguing possibility involves *either one*, as in (29). It is accepted by 1/11 long-term Northerners, 4/6 transplanted Northerners, and 13/22 life-long Southerners, a distribution that is consistent with sentences having alternative *one* and suggesting that Southerners had a pre-existing pattern from which alternative *one* developed. Also, *either* in a discontinuous construction as in (29) tends to receive secondary rather than primary stress, possibly making it more amenable to deletion.

(29) I need to talk to either John or Malcolm, one. (#8 on the elicitation)

Unfortunately, however, this is such a rare pattern that the author could find no naturally occurring examples of it. It is certainly much less common than 30. Because the acceptability of 29 parallels that of 31 closely, the former would appear to be merely a variant, rather than a source, of the latter.

(30) I need to talk to either John or Malcolm.

(31) I need to talk to John or Malcolm, one.

2. *One or the other*

Another possibility is that alternative *one* is a reduction of post-posed *one or the other*. This phrase would appear to be the most explicit of the three possible sources, which makes this proposal intuitively appealing. But it is also the longest, and this hypothesis would involve more radical phonological reduction. There is no evidence for intermediate forms between *one or the other* and *one*, and such a process would involve ellipsis with few possible parallels in modern English, one exception being the loss of *is concerned* in coda position of clauses introduced by *as far as*, *as in* 32:

(32) As far as the organized resistance, that's pretty much taken care of.

Rickford et al. (1995) cite this sentence and similar ones in which *is concerned* or *go* tends to be lost in clauses with right-branching noun phrases and multiple elements coming between *as far as* and the verb or verb phrase. Faris (1962:238) characterizes the situation thus: "Sometimes a lengthy or involved sentence pattern following the *as far as* clause causes the user to forget the construction he has committed himself to, or to become confused concerning it. Sometimes sentence length, rhythm, or complexity leaves no entirely satisfactory place to insert the *concerned*." The prosody produced
by such complex structure is apparently more conducive to ellipsis of the final verbal element, and that element, it is also worthy to note, receives only secondary stress. By contrast, alternative one (in either one, one or the other, etc.) always receives primary stress. Trudgill (1995) has cited a somewhat analogous process in East Anglian English. There a phrasal conjunction such as if you do collapses to the single word do, as in sentence 33, and has come to function as a coordinate conjunction equivalent to or. This is only one of many such developments in East Anglia, according to Trudgill, all of which apparently involve unstressed elements. In American English there appear to be no parallels to the reduction of either one, one or the other, or one of them (all of which involve stressed elements).

(33) Don’t you take yours off, do you’ll get rheumatism. (if you do ⇒ do)

On the other hand, an argument favoring the derivation of alternative one from one or the other is the non-acceptability of the phrase in a negative sentence (34):

(34) I didn’t see Charlotte or George, one or the other which is consistent with the same judgment for sentence 26.

3. One of them

A third possibility is that alternative one is a reduced form of one of them when postposed. This may be the most plausible phonologically, if only because it involves the loss of less material than the previous hypotheses and a reduced form to one of ‘em or one or’m is quite conceivable. However, in the elicitation less than half of the life-long Southerners (10/22) accepted sentence 22 (“I need to see John or Malcolm, one of them”), and none of them preferred it to post-posed one or the other (sentence 20) or either one (sentence 21). Southerners apparently perceive one of them as a less likely source for alternative one than either of the other two post-posed constructions. More long-term Northerners than life-long Southerners find 22 an acceptable sentence, with 3/11 rating it 1 and 8/11 rating it 2, which is contrary to what this third hypothesis would predict and again raises the question of why alternative one did not develop in the North.

4. Analogical formation

A fourth possibility is that alternative one developed by analogy to one or more other post-posed indefinites. Northern and Southern respondents unanimously accept sentence 35 (in which both may be a reduction of both of them), but Southerners in general also have a tendency to post-pose all, a possible reduction all of them, as in 36–38:

(35) I need to see John and Malcolm, both.

(36) I courted Alfred Reagan and Isham Bales both, but I liked Alf Reagan a sight the best. (east Tennessee)

(37) They’d shear the sheep and she’d spin the wool, the thread, and make our britches and our shirts all. (east Tennessee)
(38) Old man Lon and Will all, they all went with him. (east Tennessee).

However, this hardly means that similar phrases with indefinites can always be reduced. In no variety of American English are 39 and 40 possible, although sentences 41 and 42 with the fuller phrases are.

(39) I bought magazines, many.
(40) I took the cookies, some.
(41) I bought magazines, many of them.
(42) I took the cookies, some of them.

Discussion and conclusion

Respondent preferences between one or the other and either one are inconclusive. Most life-long Southerners gave rating 1 to both elicitation sentences with either choice. No Southern respondent preferred one of them over the other two. For three reasons, this writer prefers a combined explanation for deriving alternative one. The second hypothesis accounts for the non-acceptability of 43 and 44 as opposed to 45:

(43) I didn’t see Charlotte or George, one.
(44) I didn’t see Charlotte or George, one or the other.
(45) I didn’t see Charlotte or George, either one.

The fourth hypothesis is consistent with the fact that Southerners seem to post- postpone indefinite phrases more generally than Northerners.

Why didn’t alternative one develop in the North? This is most likely due to a language or dialect contact situation in the Midland and South that is not yet discernible, though it remains possible that an Ulster connection exists. Alternative one is found in both black and white speech in the South, but its prevalence in Appalachia argues against the possibility of a creole or African influence, at least directly.

It is at present unclear that alternative one is related to any other structures. However, examination of it has helped us appreciate the dynamism of American English colloquial grammar, containing as it does three general types of features: first, retentions from the British Isles such as “punctual whenever” and the pronoun ones endicited as ’uns in the second-person pronoun you’uns; second, redevelopments of features inherited from the British Isles such as y’all (a phonological form brought by Ulster emigrants but not having the semantics and pragmatics of the pronoun in modern American English; see Montgomery 1992); and third, new features such as fixin’ to and alternative one. Any of these three may flourish in a new variety, by becoming camouflaged with similar structures, by acquiring new pragmatic properties, or by another course. Alternative one is most likely a feature of the third type, though much about it remains to be explained.
A proper understanding of the development of alternative *one*, as this paper has begun to provide with structural analysis of observed examples and an elicitation of acceptability judgments, will help us assess how dialect grammar evolves—sometimes being very conservative, other times being quite innovative. One thing in any case is for sure: boneset tea is good medicine for the flu and colds. But it’s strong. It’ll kill you or cure you, one.

Notes

1. The author expresses his appreciation to John Kirk for giving an elicitation survey to students at Queen’s University Belfast and to the respondents who patiently completed the elicitation there and in the U.S.
2. There are pro’s and con’s of using a comma to represent patterns with alternative *one*. Most, but not all, respondents sensed a juncture of some kind when they read test sentences, and several commented that they were more comfortable with a comma in a written version. In administering the elicitation for this study, all sentences were real aloud.
3. In this paper “Ulster” refers to the nine-county historical province, not the present-day six-county province of Northern Ireland.
4. For sentences observed from natural speech, the locale is indicated after the citation.
5. The author is grateful to staff of DARE, in particular Joan Houston Hall and George Goebel, for providing access to this material.
6. The author thanks Beverly Hanigan and Don Lance for comments on the regional occurrence of alternative *one*.
7. It is noteworthy that the same pattern of clustered citations occurs for many other linguistic items, such as double modals, as can easily be seen from entries in DARE. Given that documentation of any kind before the end of the nineteenth century was negligible, there would appear to be no basis for concluding that such items were spreading at that time, much less that they were innovations.
8. The earliest citation of the progressive form *fixing to* in the *Dictionary of American Regional English* (s.v. *fix v.* 3) is 1933. However, documentary research by the author has found a citation dating from more than a century earlier:

   [T]here was a young man in our settlement at the time that said that he was fixing then to start to Sticlear County. (letter from Vardry McBea, Lincolnton, North Carolina, 11 December 1824, University of North Carolina Southern Historical Collection)