



DAYS OF ANGER
MILLENNIUM EDITION
DAYS OF TEARS

THE STORY OF TWO KENTUCKY FEUDS

BY JUANITA BLAIR AND FRED BROWN

Days of Anger, Days of Tears

The Story of Two Kentucky Feuds

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by Fred Brown, Jr and Juanita Blair

Illustrations by David Beaver



MILLENNIUM
EDITION

DEDICATIONS

To a tremendous teaching couple:
Calia Hicks, for encouraging me to write;
Ben Hicks, for making history pure fun.

Fred Brown, Jr.

Best wishes!
Fred

To the memory of my parents,
David C. Blair and *Gladys McKenzie Blair*,
both deceased.

Juanita Blair

Thanks
Juanita

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Juanita Blair

My interest in the Rowan County War arose from stories that I heard as I was growing up. One lady visited with my family and would tell of seeing the wagons taking the bodies to Elliott County to be buried, about the sadness of the families and how bad the situation was in our County of Rowan at the time.

In 1965 I got interested in genealogy and county history. Of course the Feud was foremost in my daily searching. Reading different articles of this phase soon got me putting the family connections together, never dreaming that this would lead to the book "Days of Anger, Days of Tears". My co-author got interested and we decided to see what we could do. We needed each other to complete this project, me for the family connections and Fred for the story. Fred is really a good writer and without him the book might not have been done. Thank you, Fred, for good working relations and a great job of writing.

I would like to thank all the people that so graciously loaned us pictures and gave us other clues, my parents, who encouraged me and my seventh grade teacher, Mrs. Mamie Blair, who instilled a great interest in Rowan and Kentucky history.

Fred and I are both thankful that we are able to do both this and the previous book. I believe we have done a most unbiased rendition of the dark and bloody period of Rowan's history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Fred Brown, Jr.

Days of Anger, Days of Tears would not have seen the light of day were it not for the hard work and sacrifice of my co-author, Juanita Blair. Her steering hand has been especially welcome in the untangling of complex family relationships that existed in the county at the time of the Feud. Her work in basic Rowan County history lends a strong foundation of fact to what I consider to be the best researched of all the tellings of the events that came to be known as the Rowan County War- one of only two quoted in Kleber's *The Kentucky Encyclopedia*. I am proud to have my name on this volume alongside hers.

Years pass. *Days of Anger, Days of Tears* has long been out of print. Many descendants, among them some whom I feel, for acts of kindness rendered, debts of obligation to, have repeatedly expressed the wish for a copy. I hope that they are not too disappointed by this updated effort.

To all those who were so kind as to share their family photos and stories, I give my heartfelt thanks. This volume would be slim indeed without their help, and surely the taste of the words would be different.

Special acknowledgment goes to Bruce Logan, Jr., for his help in determining the relationships among our shared and convoluted Logan family; to Logan Patterson, Daniel Boone Logan's grandson, as much a gentleman as ever strode the face of this earth, and his wife and helpmate Mildred; Michelle McNabb, John C. Tolliver, Maxine Evans, Dee Tolliver Pinchback... who chose to share Tolliver family information with me, and help me see something of the story that had not been told; to the Powers sisters, Norma, Lottie and Catherine, for opening their memories and family archives, to Ethel Jones, for insights into

her Hargis family, Reuel Buchanan, for unselfishly sharing the history accumulated in years of research and interviews and Jane Young Holbrook, daughter of Allie Young, for graciously sharing her family photos. The staffs of Rowan County Public Library, Morehead State University Library, and University of Kentucky's Margaret L. King Library have all been helpful beyond the call of duty. The last thank you goes to my Lady of the Red Pen, Helen Surmont, who acted as editor during the final stages of the metamorphosis of this caterpillar-like manuscript into something closer to a butterfly.

A Further Note from the Authors

After several years of attempting to find a publisher (an educational experience), we have finally decided to put this in print in the same fashion as we did the original volume, soft cover and xeroxed. While this may not give us the same level of personal satisfaction as seeing our names on the spine of a hard cover tome, it does give us the ability to update with each new edition. Our plan is to incorporate whatever fresh and valid information that comes into our hands into the text, footnotes, genealogical or photo section of this book. Please be aware that the update dates shown at the bottom of the cover page will indicate changes as and when they are made. We look forward to hearing from you and can be reached at the following locations:

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*Life is an accumulation of little deeds and small decisions,
committed by those who feel no sense of history,
edited unwittingly by its recorders,
edited yet again by those who call themselves historians
and read, in the end, by students who often endow
the recordings with a sense of the inevitable.
This is what happened; this is what had to happen-
the first but a partial truth; the last an outright, even if unwitting, lie.*

Foreword

In our lifetimes we have found the truth to be a rare animal- perhaps extinct. Whether or not any representatives of the species survive may never be known with certainty- there seems to be considerable disagreement among observers as to its identifying characteristics. The passage of one hundred years has made no discernable difference in the nature of truth. What happened in Rowan County, Kentucky from 1884 to 1887? Why did it occur? From a dozen participants you have a dozen different stories; from a hundred you have a hundred. It is well to recall that the vast majority of history goes untold and unremembered; the survivors inevitably have- and take- the last word. A century later we are left to reassemble our truth from contradictory fragments. This is our latest attempt at that reassembly.

It is our fervent hope that anyone with evidence that would significantly contradict or amplify the tale that follows would bring the same to our attention. Our interest in Feud history does not end with the publication of this volume, as it did not end with the publication of its predecessor. There are yet questions to be answered and answers to be questioned. The search for photos of individuals involved and buildings of the era continues, with the knowledge that they *are* out there, scattered with descendants across the length and breath of the United States- and beyond.

The victors do not always write the history books- sometimes both victor and vanquished conspire instead to have all forgotten. Morehead's bloody period was not publicly spoken of- the Centennial paper, published nearly seventy years after the Feud's conclusion and *the* reference on Rowan's history, dealt with the Feud proper in a brief paragraph:

"The *Rowan County News* has the story of all the gruesome and seemingly almost inhuman killings and deeds of the Rowan County War as historians compiled, and in many instances, magnified, the three years of the struggle in which citizens were afraid to walk on the streets or be out at night. Hundreds upon hundreds of present Rowan Countians are descendants of the Tollivers, Logans, Youngs and others who participated in the feud. Reprinting the story of the Rowan County War could mean only embarrassment for scores of our fine progressive citizens of today and it is not the purpose of this edition to start any more feuds- to lay blame on any faction- or to rehash a period of our history that is best forgotten. The Publishers thank the some 30 people who brought in copies of the book of the Rowan County War and the famous song about the feud."

Those tales put upon paper range wildly in veracity, but contain two common threads- they are written by outsiders, and the Tolliver faction, especially Craig Tolliver, was demonized. The effort here has been to render as unbiased a tale as the material available would allow. There are no devils here, but men, men as gracious to their friends as they were merciless to their enemies. Men in whom, "Whether right or wrong, whether representatives or violators of the law, we are forced to recognize the dauntless courage that has made the

mountaineers of Kentucky the peers of any people in the world."¹ These are our people; this is our heritage. We invite you to share it with us.

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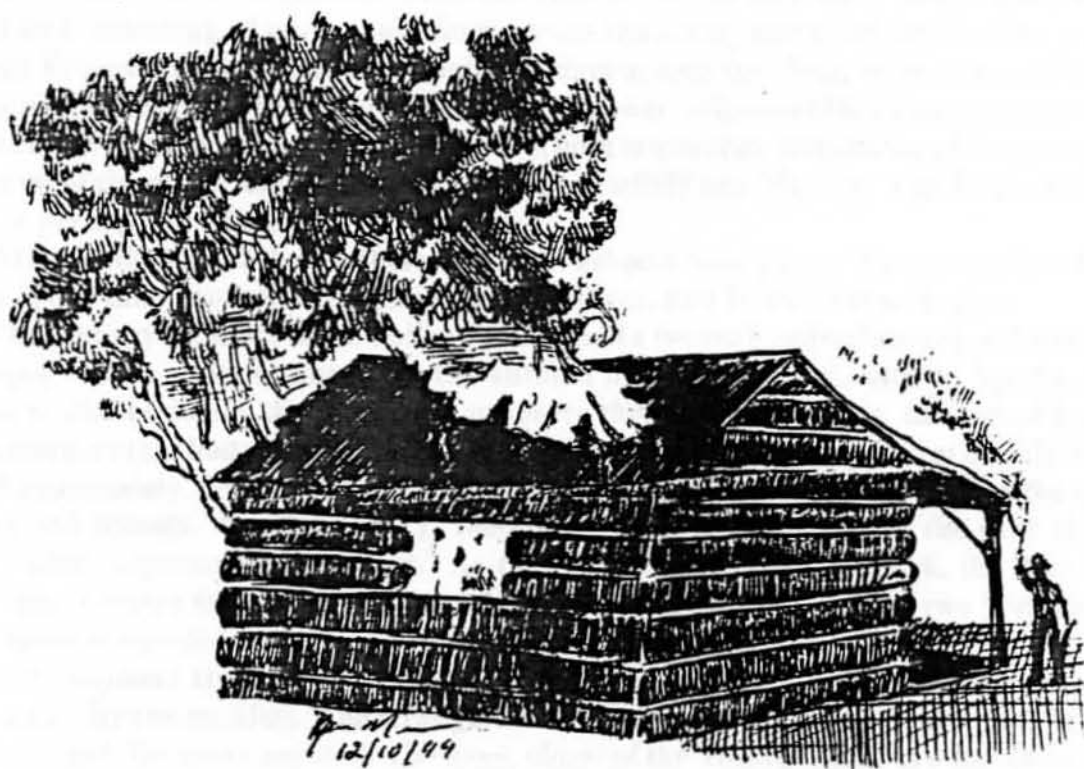
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I

The Years Before

Despite early declarations of neutrality, Kentucky's strategic location during the War Between the States was too important to allow her to remain uncommitted. The North ultimately won the battle for her mind; the South conquered her heart. Our own eastern portion of the state did not suffer from huge engagements like those that took place in the central and western areas. Much of the War here consisted of guerrilla action, as much against civilian as military targets. It was not uncommon for an avowed sympathizer of either side to find himself hauled from his cozy bed to feel the cold embrace of a hangman's rope- by a "jury" more concerned with swiftness than justice. The title of soldier often served as a convenient excuse for brigands to rob and pillage. With such a large number of men gone to distant battle, guerrillas found little organized resistance. Old arguments were often settled in blood as partisan neighbor preyed upon partisan neighbor.

Lee's surrender and the collapse of the Confederate government did not still the small arms fire in our emerald hills. Newspapers carried accounts of guerrilla Captain John T. Williams' continued activity in Morgan County a full six months after Joe Johnston's capitulation.² Small bands of other, less honorable, men seized their opportunities as well. For twenty-five years after the War Between the States, Eastern Kentucky underwent a time of reprisal and rebuilding. Many mountain counties, shaken by the great conflict like popcorn over a hot fire, exploded in violence. Family grudges of long standing; bitterness carried over from the national conflict; the struggle for political power- whatever the cause, the combatants found themselves better armed than ever before, both in quantity and quality of weaponry. The best known of the many feuds of the time was the Hatfield and McCoy. The Tolliver-Martin Feud was perhaps the bloodiest.

Many children lost their fathers in these cruel post-War years. Three are of particular concern to our tale: brothers Craig and Floyd Tolliver, and Daniel Boone Logan.

On January 24, 1860, Hugh Tolliver purchased a twelve hundred acre farm from James B. Stamper with a series of notes.³ In the autumn of 1866 Hugh traveled to Sparta, North Carolina to collect money due him from property there. It was a long, hazardous journey through country that had seen the worst of the War. Hugh's family rejoiced at his safe return.

Unfortunately, news of Tolliver's journey and its nature had carried beyond the sphere of family and friends. On October 21, 1866, horse's hoofs resounded in the yard at dusk. Strange voices approached the house. As the occupants awaited a knock, the door burst inward. The Tolliver family found themselves facing the business ends of two Winchesters. Masked faces demanded the money Mr. Tolliver had brought home with him.

For a moment Hugh considered the desperate possibilities. His gun was out of reach; his sons away for the evening. The strangers were ready and obviously determined. What to do? *What to do?* He never decided. Caroline, oldest of the Tolliver girls, saw her chance and took it. Snatching the vest containing the money, she sped up the stairway. One of the would be robbers got off a quick shot at her, which missed.⁴ Reaching the second floor, she tossed the vest into a maze of rosebushes outside, and escaped down the other stairway to the nearby home of her brother William.⁵

The other stranger turned his fury upon Hugh. As Eleanor Tolliver threw protecting

arms around her husband, a rifle belched fire. The bullet that tore into Hugh's heart first passed through her interceding hand.

Help was short in arriving, but the desperados had fled. Their stolen horses were later found abandoned near Little Caney Creek. The misty hills and hollows swallowed up their trail. History records no confession, and the unnamed assassins probably carried their secrets to their graves.⁶ Laid to rest in the old Salem Cemetery near Buskirk, Hugh was bitterly mourned by his family. The six sons- including Craig and Floyd- that grew to manhood would not forget their father. Nor that his death remained unavenged.

Several years later- March 17, 1869- James Fleming Logan, Union volunteer and Democrat, grandson of Revolutionary War veteran James Logan, was shot and wounded by George Underwood and his son Alfred, notorious leader of the Tygart's Home Guards, a pro-Union guerrilla unit during the War. James died a long painful death, passing from this world on November 18th. His oldest son, Daniel Boone Logan, was eleven. Some years later Boone would court and marry Lizzie Evans, whose own father, Captain Ben Evans, a Confederate soldier, was killed in Morgan County in March of 1865.⁷

Like Craig Tolliver's, Boone Logan's life and character were profoundly affected by the loss of his father. Like Logan, Tolliver grew to be a man of iron will and granite determination. Twenty long years would pass. When they finally crossed wills, they could no more compromise than could North and South.

As our players slowly matured into their rolls, the stage upon which their confrontation was to be enacted was being built. The village of Morehead was laid out in 1856, the year Rowan County was formed, but not incorporated until 1869. Rowan's formation came about as a political ploy to prevent Fleming County's county seat of Flemingsburg from being moved to Poplar Plains. The resulting county effectively removed sufficient agitators from the fray. Centrally located, Morehead presided over a county rich in steep wooded hillsides- and little else.⁸ Lumber, important economically from the county's inception, would grow more so as transportation to outside markets improved.

As the years passed, the village slowly became a town. Charles Jennings and Dixon Shouse undertook a history of the county in the 1930's⁹. In the notes that remain of that effort, they state that early Morehead was a village of some two hundred souls, numbering among its occupants five lawyers and one doctor. Buildings included the courthouse and other public buildings, two churches (Methodist East and Reformed or Christian¹⁰), two stores, one steam flour and saw mill, one shingle machine, and one copper¹¹ and blacksmith shop. Crossroads, also known as Farmers Crossroads, Confederate Crossroads, and (currently) Farmers, had a sawmill, tavern, blacksmith shop and three stores, as well as about one and one half times Morehead's population. There were a number of unsuccessful attempts to have the county seat moved from Morehead to Farmers.

According to Jim Andy Nickell,¹² Morehead's first resident was Old Lady (Abby) Oxley; its second Isaac Johnson, who moved from Farmers to become county sheriff. Col. John Hargis was the town's first postmaster, operating a post office, general store, and later, the first saloon, at the site of the present day Cozy Building (corner of Main and University Blvd., across the street from the old Courthouse Square). William Black, originally from what later became Elliott County, was the first county judge. Huston Logan (a cousin of Daniel Boone Logan) was the first county court clerk. Other early settlers included Robert Nickell, Lewis

D. Lee, Ben Evans, Polly Ann Cassity, and Elkanah Burns. Richard Hawkins gave the land for the public square-one acre; the first courthouse, a frame building, was built by William Nickell and Roll Evans in 1856. Early businessmen included Watt Hawkins, who ran the smithy and grist mill; Jake Williams, who ran an upright, water powered sawmill; Doctor Day; Attorney Taylor Young; and Jim Johnson, clerk and bartender at Hargis' establishment. Matthew Redwine studied law under Taylor Young.

The courthouse was used as a gathering place while the churches were constructed. The first school house was built at Brady, near the Caudill Cemetery. A second school was later constructed on the north side of the public square. Taylor Young constructed a law office on the public square, but was forced to tear it down because it was on public property.

The War Between the States caught Rowan in its infancy. The only engagement of scale took place at Triplett's Creek Bridge, near present day Bluestone, on June 16, 1863. Everett's Confederate cavalry were overtaken and engaged by the 10th Kentucky Cavalry under Col. John F. DeCoursey. Badly outnumbered, the Confederates retreated towards West Liberty, setting the bridge afire behind them. Guerrillas made a number of raids into Morehead, the fourth occurring on November 10, 1863. They returned on March 21, 1864, to burn down the courthouse.

The conclusion of the War left open wounds. Confrontation now moved to the political arena, and accusations from contestants were rampant. The heated circuit judge's race of 1874 between Thomas F. Hargis,¹³ Democrat, and George M. Thomas, Republican, polarized Rowan County. Hargis, a Confederate captain during the late conflict, was accused of being too young and being licensed too short a period as an attorney to qualify for the office that he sought. Seeking evidence to disprove these allegations, he found the record of his admission to the bar had been cut from the county record books, and his age in his father's family Bible mutilated. He blamed his opponents; they responded that he was guilty of removing the very material that would have proved his ineligibility¹⁴. Before Hargis' defeat purple prose raged across the pages of the *Maysville Republican*, *Flemingsburg Democrat* and *Carlisle Mercury*, among other papers. Men were labeled "liar, slanderer.... venal and corrupt....guilty of taking bribes in a score of cases.." Some attempted to gain seats on grand juries to unjustly influence the indictment process. Verbal intimidation was commonplace, as was the unstated threat of physical violence. Careers were staked; lives were ruined.¹⁵ Many of the chief players in this political drama would star once again in the Feud that erupted ten years later.



Judge
Thomas Frazier Hargis,
Confederate veteran, whose bitterly
contested election planted the seeds
that grew into the Rowan County
War. Hargis was the son of Col. John
Hargis, who ran the first post office
in Morehead.

Judge Thomas F. Hargis, whose bitterly contested election planted the seeds that grew
into the Rowan County War.



The *Young Law Office*, now the property of Morehead State University, stands across
from the old Rowan County Courthouse on University Boulevard. In the background is
the old Morehead High School. Note the fenced land, outdoor necessary room, and stile.

II

The Underwood War, Part One A Divided Nation's Bitter Legacy

Coates' *Famous Kentucky Feuds* chronicles the next act in our drama, the feud before the Feud. John Richards Tabor's fortunes had been on the decline for some years. Once a seemingly prosperous Hillsboro merchant in neighboring Fleming County, a mania for games of chance finally led to his financial downfall. Moving to Morehead to recover from his losses, he kept store for a time and eventually became county clerk. It was in this capacity that he loaned the minute book and common law docket to Thomas F. Hargis, who kept them overnight in his hotel room. Four days later Tabor reported to the circuit clerk that the books had been mutilated. At Hargis' instance, Tabor was indicted for this mutilation, and ultimately lost his employment. His social standing continued to decline. Three years after the election he was forced to flee Morehead after taking a shot at James Carey.

Tabor next turned to more questionable methods of making a living, with equal lack of success. He and partner John Martin¹⁶ were found aboard the Ohio River steamer *Bonanza* in possession of horses stolen in Rowan County, to which the pair were returned after their arrest.¹⁷ After giving bail, they traveled to Carter County, where they sought the aid of George W. Underwood in making a fresh start.

Underwood, Tabor's uncle by marriage, was no stranger to turmoil. During the Civil War his rabid Unionism had attracted the attention of John Hunt Morgan's command. In the fall of 1862 the Underwoods were burned out, and their movable property confiscated. Desire for continued health forced them to temporarily accept the hospitality of Portsmouth, Ohio. While there George stated his intention of raising a company to regain what he had lost- and the interest thereon.¹⁸

Always a political power in western Carter County,¹⁹ Underwood and his sons soon became the guiding force of the Tygart's Home Guard. Alfred "Alf" Underwood was the leader. He was an aggressive and enterprising horse dealer, accumulating mounts in Lewis County for sale to Union suppliers across the river. Some would have it that not all of his steeds came into his possession through purchase.²⁰ Neighbors of different political temper grew to fear and hate the family. Morgan's command reputedly lost several men to Underwood rifles. As Alf Underwood's power continued to grow, he lead his band of guerrillas on a bold raid into Maysville, looting and threatening to fire the homes of Southern sympathizers.

The War officially came to an end, but the Underwoods continued their profitable and dubious horse procurement practices for years. Chased into West Virginia in January 1867, George and Alfred were caught and jailed.

In September 1869 the Underwood band stole horses from Fleming County Col. Larry Howe. Howe proved a man of stronger mettle than most, raising a group of twenty to thirty men to pursue the band into Carter County. After a ride that lasted from Sunday morning to Monday evening, the group unsaddled and laid down to sleep- and were fired upon from all sides. Despite the notable efforts of Jack Wilson and James Armstrong, the party as a whole found themselves demoralized. A retreat ensued, with the unseen foe peppering the party with gunshots for four miles. The net result was the loss of yet more horses. The *Flemingsburg Democrat* cried "... we suggest to the authorities in Frankfort the propriety of ordering the

Militia to Carter county and let them exterminate the whole band of horse thieves." A second attempt the following week resulted in the horses' recovery.²¹ Doing business in such a fashion had its price, and Alfred eventually found it prudent to relocate to Kansas.²² His brothers David, Sennet and Harrison moved west also, settling in Kansas or neighboring Iowa.

Brother Jesse remained in Kentucky, at large despite numerous indictments against him for grand larceny, robbery and horse stealing. (A more serious charge of stabbing James Carey at Licking Cross Roads was dropped after Carey recovered.) In late September of 1865, Jesse was drinking at Wyoming in Bath County.²³ An argument with a fellow tippler resulted in gun play. Jesse's intended target ducked, and Lt. George Trumbo fell dead, shot thru the heart. Jesse promptly fled, hotly pursued by Trumbo's friends, strong subscribers to the "eye for an eye" theory. He haunted the hills of his native Carter County for some time, visited his father's home in old Virginia, and finally, when even faked death and a phony funeral trimmed with grieving relatives failed to deter the scalp hunters, moved west to be near his brothers in Iowa.²⁴

Three sons remained in Kentucky with their father. George Lewis, who lived at home with his two sisters; Elverton²⁵, who married and settled nearby, and William, who worked a farm in Rowan County. These three brothers turned to peaceful and lawful pursuits. Although Jesse popped up occasionally, the shadows in his past forced him to keep a low profile. The neighborhood was on its way towards forgetting the War when Tabor and Martin showed up.

John Martin was the perfect rogue companion²⁶ for John Richards Tabor; considering either of their past histories, any unbiased observer would have found it hard to believe that the straight and narrow had gained a sudden appeal for them. But George W. Underwood had a big heart for kinfolk, and soon had the two Johns and their families settled on a rented farm not far from Fort Underwood, raising a crop of corn to pay for their legal defense, pledging to be model citizens.

The Holbrook and Stamper families of the region, George's old wartime foes, were shortly muttering their displeasure with the integrity of George's new proteges. Less than two months after Tabor and Martin settled in Carter County the Stampers lost a prized young horse. They quickly pinned the blame on Alex Pendland, a close associate of the two Johns. Pendland, Martin and Tabor were informed by anonymous note that their presence was both unwanted and unwelcome. Martin's note included threats to his wife, and made reference to her moral character- or rather, lack thereof.

Never ones to abandon their friends in time of trouble, the Underwoods offered Martin and Tabor shelter in their homes. Martin's wife was sick, and they were taken in by George Lewis Underwood. The Tabors moved to Fort Underwood, George W.'s home. Both Underwood families shortly found themselves under the same bane that Martin and Tabor had fled. But words were cheap and threats were common; the Underwoods, who had heard their share, chose to ignore the warnings.²⁷

At this point Alex Pendland decided to beard the lion in his den. He paid a visit to G.W. Stamper, Sr., head of the clan and Pendland's kinsman. Lighting in on Stamper's wife, he was giving her a hard way to go when Stamper came out with a gun. Pendland snatched it out of his hands. A few days later a Stamper henchman plugged Pendland in the leg to bring him to his senses. The prescription didn't fit the ill, and Stamper spies hiding in the brush near the

Pendland home soon heard the healing Pendland declare his intention to give the Stampers hell. Pendland had been sitting on the front porch, holding his twin sons. He sat the children down and started to rise, only to be greeted with a rifle bullet thru the chest.²⁸ It was a wound from which he was not to recover.

Pendland passed away on June 24, 1877. The Underwood family received warning that their continued good health would be jeopardized by calling on the widow to express their respects. Old George arrogantly brushed aside the admonitions with the comment that "no men or set of men would keep him from calling on a dead neighbor", and set out on his visit.

George soon had reason to regret his rashness. Enemies lay in waiting for him in a densely wooded patch of land on the road to Pendland's. Their marksmanship more than made up in quantity what it lacked in quality. George took eight rifle slugs, lost an eye and was crippled for the duration of his life. Only his horse's terror when it too was stung by a bullet saved him. As it wheeled around and headed for home at a dead gallop, George clung desperately to his mount's mane. Somehow the remaining bullets managed to miss him.²⁹

We now pick up the story from the *Vanceburg Courier*, which differs from Coates in some respects. According to the *Courier*, a pitched battle occurred on Laurel Fork of Kinniconick in mid-June of 1877. Reports of the number of participants varied from twenty-five to seventy on each side. George Stamper led one faction; George W. Underwood the other. Underwood, Pendland, a man named Martin, and an unknown fourth party on the Underwood side were wounded. The cause of the combat lay in Stamper's stolen horses.³⁰

A week later the same paper reported that Kenan Pendland (Alex's brother) and George W. Underwood were both wounded while enroute to obtain a doctor for Alex; that the argument with the Stampers had begun while Alex was attending to the funeral arrangements of his father, George Pendland. Bad blood had festered until Alex was eventually shot. After George Underwood's shooting, two of the Stampers fled to Ohio, but soon returned. A June twenty-fifth dispatch reported George L. Underwood wounded; Alex Pendland wounded again, and dead from the same. The Stampers were returned south of the Ohio; the Underwood family had telegraphed west for help from their brothers.³¹

George Lewis Underwood had taken no part in the troubles other than offering Martin and his sick wife shelter. For this generosity he was gut shot at his own door. He was to linger, bedridden, for two years. Brother Elverton could stand it no longer. After two family members had been shot he joined the fray with John Martin.³² Their efforts were soon recorded in the *Courier*- two men named Glover, both of whom had made no secret of their leading part in Pendland's assassination, "ate dirt".³³ One, according to Coates, was a son-in-law of Stamper. The *Courier* of July 11 reported that Martin had added another notch to his pistol, one William Timney. Six men were reported dead; nine wounded. The "famous" Underwood brothers had returned home.

The descendants of Thomas Allen Glover relate a different story. Glover, a resident of Sugar Camp Branch in western Carter County, had steered a determinely neutral course. Conditions had reached such a state that residents of the area were told whether or not they could plant corn. A man could not hoe corn with a rifle in his hands, and the implication was plain: if you were told not to plant corn, and you did, you would be shot in your own cornfield. Glover had been given permission to plant- an indication that his life was secure. Events took another turn, however.

A young neighbor girl whose family had been killed sought overnight refuge in the Glover home. Kentucky hospitality overcame the Glover family's misgivings, and shelter was granted. The opposition mistook this act of kindness as entering the camp of the enemy, and Glover was promptly shot in his hillside cornfield. He was buried on a point opposite the place of his murder, facing the rising sun.³⁴

At this point the non-combatants in the area had had enough. Petitions began to arrive on Governor McCreary's desk, pleas for him to take immediate action to staunch the bloodshed. McCreary promptly dispatched the Covington Light Guards, who passed Vanceburg on the *Potomac* on Sunday morning, July eighth. Disembarking at Riverton, the troops were picked up and transported to Grayson via a special train on the Eastern Kentucky Railway. The Elizabethtown, Lexington and Big Sandy Railroad (later to become part of the C&O)³⁵ had not yet reached Grayson, and the Guards, commanded by Capt. Frank Wood, finished their journey to the site of the conflict afoot.³⁶

Because of their history of shady horse dealings, the Underwoods had the worst reputation in the local press. Perhaps this caused the Light Guards to target them first? The *Courier* reported that the troops promptly marched on Fort Underwood, there capturing the entire family with the exception of Bill, who escaped thru the underbrush. Two other Underwood partisans also remained on the loose. The Stamper and Holbrook factions surrendered, and Captain Wood telegraphed the governor that all was progressing nicely.³⁷

This pleasant fairy tale ending was corrected in the *Courier's* July 25 issue, where it was stated that only old George Underwood, son John, and a Negro were arrested. All three were in jail in Grayson, where George swore out writs for about 80 of the opposition. Despite the raising of another company in Grayson under Captain J.N. Stewart, a company armed and equipped from the state arsenal at Frankfort,³⁸ violence continued in the county. The *Portsmouth Times* reported the wounding of "young Hamm" on the evening of July 14 by one of the Underwood party.³⁹ Barns and schools went up in flames, and honest men feared to work their fields lest rifles blaze at them from the brush.

Underwood's writs were served, but no evidence of guilt was produced, and the men were turned loose. S.V. Holbrook and Joseph Harrison, who stood trial for shooting the two wounded Underwoods with intent to kill, were acquitted. Released without bail, old George Underwood journeyed home on a horse borrowed from the Sheriff.⁴⁰ He was later tried and acquitted; all other family members implicated in the violence were also discharged.⁴¹ William Underwood's presence at the Fort was denied. Neighbors testified that he was not a participant in the family's nefarious deeds.⁴² The horses whose original disappearance led to the bloodshed were recovered from John Martin on the Kentucky River.⁴³

In his autobiography, James Clayburn Jones, universally known as "Old Claib" Jones, details his experience in what he calls the "Holbrook and Underwood War". A number of sources lead the present author to believe that Jones might indeed have been involved in this feud, as he was in several others, but Jones' own refusal to name names in this chapter of his book, a problem he did not have in the balance of the volume, and his placing of George Lewis Underwood's death before the arrival of state troops, casts some doubt about the extent of his presence. The reader should also bear in mind that Jones portrayed himself as the toughest, smartest, most cunning, virile, bulletproof man who ever walked, leaving behind himself a string of corpses, children and smiling women through the hills of eastern Kentucky and

beyond. In any case, the truth according to Jones, commencing shortly after the shooting of George Lewis Underwood:

"Miss Vina Martin⁴⁴ came and took John Martin's wife home with her, but Martin stayed at Ft. Underwood. Dr. John Steel came to attend the wounded man at the fort, and the doctor came himself and hired me to go to the fort and wait on the wounded man, as I had had considerable experience in attending wounded men during the Civil War, and I went and that is how I came to be in that war. The Stamper party sent me word that if I didn't leave Ft. Underwood that they would burn my house and kill my children. I sent them back word that if they had no houses they could talk about burning mine. The Stampers and Holbrooks had a large crowd of men, but the Underwoods had but five men, three to guard the fort and two to kill crows. The Stamper party waylaid our fort and fired on it several times. We were short on ammunition and also on arms, but old George Underwood had a sister⁴⁵, a chip off the same block, so she came to us with plenty of guns and ammunition. She brought me from my home old Shampee, my old trusty bear gun that I had carried through the Civil War, and she stayed with us during the whole of the siege on Ft. Underwood. The Stampers were independent, they thought that they had us in a jug, but they were mistaken. We kept two men out all the time. When our men went out and came back our pass-word was "Another crow has fallen", and in a few days the news would get out that some man had been killed, and so it went on and on and one morning seven crows were killed before breakfast and I was told that the seven men were not found for some time after they were killed and their bodies badly decomposed when found. Then the Stamper parties called on the sheriff of Carter county to help them, but the sheriff refused to do so, and then they went to Grayson and got the police force to take us, but we were ready for them also. They sent us word that they would take the fort and kill every one of us. The attack was made on the fort before day, I was down stairs attending the wounded men when they opened fire on us. George Underwood asked me what that meant and I told him he would find out later on. I could see the bulk of men, Underwood told me to wait until I could see the sight of my gun and then give it to them. They continued to pour the lead into the fort and several bullets come through the doors and windows before we got the weak places barred. The women turned up bed-steads and tables against the doors and put feather beds and carpets against them and that stopped the balls from coming in. We had been expecting trouble and called in all our men to the fort. The fight continued until

about ten o'clock in the day, then they stopped firing and sent Alvis⁴⁶ Underwood's wife to us to ask us to surrender. We told them no, we wanted to fight a while longer any way. The police called in his men and left badly whipped. Seven of the police force was wounded and two killed outright, two more dying of their wounds. We still stayed at the fort. The doctor gave George Lewis Underwood up to die and he professed religion and wanted to be baptized, the women made a dam across the branch and we all took him out and baptized him in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Then the soldiers were called out and sent against us. They came and arrested all but John Martin and myself, we fled to Floyd county. I was rewarded seven hundred dollars and one day at Salt Lick some of the Coburns tried to arrest me, but I had the same gun on me I had at Ft. Underwood and I made them stand at a distance. I then went to Letcher county....."⁴⁷

Hearing of the troubles, Jesse Underwood returned to Carter County in a role strange to him, that of peacemaker. With brother William, he set out to arrange a truce between the factions. Jesse's plea for tranquility, instead of continued conflict, was particularly sincere in light of the fact that one of Squire Holbrook's sons had shot him during his "hiding out" period after the Trumbo killing. The brothers were eventually successful in getting the factions to lay down their arms.

Jesse, who may have had a family from a previous marriage in Iowa, courted a Miss McClure. They married on New Year's Day, 1878, in Rowan County. Having secured peace for his father and brothers and a new bride for himself, Jesse said his goodbyes and started for Iowa, the prospect of a new life fresh before him. Traveling with the newlyweds were his sister-in-law, a man named McClure (Jesse's father-in-law⁴⁸) and a Mr. Vest. The party's belongings were packed into two wagons as they headed out across Lewis County.⁴⁹

Who was this reformed outlaw? Coates' sources described him as "being over six feet in height, slender but compactly made. His black hair was cut close, he wore a heavy black moustache, with the rest of his face cleanly shaven. He had a well shaped aquiline nose, a high, good shaped forehead and keen brown eyes that snapped like those of an eagle. His voice was low, his language good and his clothes always neat and well fitting. Placed in a different environment and with the advantages of education he would have been a man of distinction and influence."⁵⁰ The *Flemingsburg Democrat* him as "a tall, rather stoop shouldered, dark complected, black haired man, with a penetrating black eye that lights on you like a flash."⁵¹ Jesse had survived his wild youth. His regrets were considerable; he wanted nothing more than to settle into the roll of a husband and father. In his own words "...there is nothing I prize so high as peace & quiet."⁵²

There would be no peace for Jesse Underwood. Quiet, when he at last found it, would consist of an unmarked grave.

III

The Underwood War, Part Two

Exterminated

"If you can look into the seeds of time,
And say which grain will grow and which will not,
Speak then to me, who neither beg nor fear
Your favours nor your hate." ⁵³

So spoke Banquo to the witches three. The prophecy he received in return.... which of us would *truly* wish to know tomorrow?

Jesse Underwood's dream of a fresh start in a new land came to an abrupt end near Concord, in Lewis County. Word of Underwood's presence in the county had preceded him, and his reputation lent credence to the rumor that he was on a horse stealing mission. Sheriff Warder set out from Vanceburg to bring him in, accompanied by A.O. Watkins, John Ruggless, and James Cooper. As the Sheriff left town via Second Street, Jesse and his party made a farewell call to Mrs. Hinsley on Third Street. Hinsley knew that Warder was after Jesse and feared for her own household least he be apprehended there. She told Jesse of the situation. Underwood declared that he would not be arrested, inquired as to the direction of the Concord road, and departed.

The sheriff was conducting his search in the opposite direction. Jesse would have probably been home free had it not been for the meddling of one of Mrs. Hinsley's domestics, who brought the tale of Jesse's visit to her master's attention in a prompt and dramatic fashion. Mr. Hinsley informed the county judge, who dispatched a rider to intercept Sheriff Warder. Warder was caught up with five miles upriver from Vanceburg, and immediately turned to pursue the Underwood party.

Citizens along the route told Warder that Jesse, who intended to board a steamer at Concord, had sent a messenger to detain the boat until his arrival. The Underwood party abandoned their wagon- perhaps in an attempt to speed their escape- but Warder overtook them at Mr. Riggs' farm outside of Concord.

The Sheriff's demand that they surrender was answered by Jesse with two shots from a small pistol, neither of which had any effect. Jesse was standing among the horses when the rest of the posse came up. Ruggless shouted out a warning to the others and Jesse discharged his pistol once again. Ruggless got off one shot, which wounded McClure in the side, and fell dead, shot through the chest by Jesse. The remaining officers closed in on Underwood, now blazing away with a pistol in each hand. Warder wounded him in the back and shoulder with a shotgun; Watkins shot him in the wrist, causing him to drop one of his pistols. Jesse took to the bushes on foot, effecting an escape, but not before Warder dropped another load of buckshot into his belt and waist.

The remaining men of the Underwood party were arrested, handcuffed and escorted to Esquire Parker's home nearby. Watkins returned for Ruggless' gun. Jesse, hidden nearby, chose not to kill him from ambush. After Watkins' departed, Jesse searched the scene of the action for his hat. Not finding it, he appropriated Ruggless'. He then walked to the head of Brush Creek Island,⁵⁴ to the home of Lewis Ruggless, (who turned out to be a relative of the

deceased deputy) identified himself, and stated that he wished to surrender to the county authorities. The posse was notified at Parker's, and took him in hand. Jesse *did* catch a steamer at Concord, but it transported him to the Vanceburg jail.

The womenfolk nursed their husbands' wounds- Mrs. McClure at Esquire Parker's, Jesse's wife at Vanceburg. The other two travelers departed for home. William Underwood came to visit Jesse in jail. Interviewed by the *Courier*, Jesse expressed his regret about Ruggless' death, and stated that the Sheriff had done him an injustice by attempting to arrest him when he was not under indictment, and quietly leaving the State to find a place where he could live in peace.⁵⁵ History thus records that Jesse returned to Kentucky to make peace, was successful in making peace, attempted to depart peacefully and had peace taken from him at Concord- another name for peace.

Sheriff Warder telegraphed to the Governor for a reward offered for Underwood's capture. No such reward was in force on the Executive Journal.⁵⁶ Threatened with death several times by Underwood's friends, the Sheriff was soon defending himself against the "infamous lies" of the *Maysville Republican*, whose editor, Thomas A. Davis, had accused Warder and deputies of being liquored up during the arrest. Warder denied these reports, reminding Davis of the Underwoods' raid on Maysville during the War, as well as their general reputation for "robbing individuals in all the country between the waters of the Big Sandy and Maysville..."⁵⁷ The *Flemingsburg Democrat* joined the fray on Warder's side, declaring "the whiskey business in Maysville will never play out while Tom Davis perambulates on two legs. The only thing to be apprehended is that the supply may run short."⁵⁸ On March 25th the Kentucky Senate voted on a bill to pay Sheriff Warder and the family of John Ruggless, deceased, for the capture of Jesse Underwood. The bill passed 31-1.⁵⁹

The *Democrat* records the next event in our story. Jesse had been transferred to Lexington for safe keeping. Held without a mattimus,⁶⁰ Underwood was about to be sprung by attorney V.B. Young⁶¹, when a warrant arrived for his arrest on the nearly ten year old charge of murdering George Trumbo. He was duly transferred to the Bath County jail. An indictment against him for Trumbo's murder had been stolen (along with several other indictments) from the Bath Circuit Clerk's office in March of 1876. The witnesses all being yet alive, another indictment was expected. Alf Underwood returned to Vanceburg via the Ohio River, inquiring about Jesse and his business before departing for Carter County.⁶²

The *Portsmouth Times* records that the Stammers did not "hole up" during Jesse's incarceration. On the first of February a quarrel between the Stammers and the Fultz brothers, of Fultz' Mills on Smokey Branch of Tygart Creek in Carter County, escalated into a gun battle that boasted fifty to sixty participants. The Stamper who started the argument turned himself over to the custody of a Mr. Cooper to avoid being taken in by law officers. The Fultz party looked up an officer and went in pursuit, tracking Stamper to Cooper's. When Cooper refused to turn over his "prisoner" the arresting party forced the door. Cooper discharged a double barreled shotgun loaded with slugs into the face of Obadiah Fultz, with fatal results. Cooper and Stamper were then overpowered and transported to Grayson to await trial. Only a few days before, a man had succumbed to the effects of a bush-ranger's bullet. "A man carries his life in his hands in that section...." the *Times* reported.⁶³

Jesse was given a two day examining trial in Owingsville in mid-February 1878. His wife and two brothers were in attendance; father George was not. Attorneys representing him

were Mr. Young and Mr. Reid. His bail was set at \$5000.00. Unable to meet bail, he was again transferred to Lexington, escorted by Sheriff W.N. Smoot, General A.J. Nesbitt, Chas. Teale and J. Roe Hart.⁶⁴ There was a good deal of public sympathy for Jesse, and Bath County Jailor B.D.Nixon and other county officials were nervous about the possibility of a jail break, especially since Jesse had been "sprung" once before by brother Alf. Extra guards were allowed the jailor while Jesse was in custody; extra guards were also used during his Lexington transfer.⁶⁵

Underwood cooled his heels throughout the summer, while the Commonwealth prepared its case against him. He was returned to Bath County in September, the Jailor once again requesting and receiving seven additional guards on top of the three he normally used.⁶⁶ The jailor's fears were realized, after a fashion. Early on the night of November sixteenth, a Saturday⁶⁷, Jesse awoke to find his cell door and the back door to the jail unlocked. Never being one to spit in the face of opportunity, he strolled out into the night and headed for Carter County.⁶⁸

Peace still held in between the factions, although a wary peace. Jesse took his family to Fort Underwood for protection. Still under indictment for the Trumbo killing, he appeared nowhere without his rifle, determined to sell his freedom at a dear price.⁶⁹ He firmly believed the Holbrook and Stamper factions to be the string pullers behind his recent legal problems, but sought no vengeance. Unable to work the fields due to fear of arrest or possible ambush, he hunted foxes, taking their hides to Morehead to claim the state bounty offered for them. This was his meager income, spent to care for his family.⁷⁰ He no longer had means to leave the state, nor the will to return to an outlaw life to change his financial situation. Like the foxes he hunted, his past habits now seemed to conspire against him, and his future was, at best, uncertain.

So the uneasy months rolled by. In April the *Flemingsburg Democrat* reported "Geo. L. Underwood, who was shot through the abdomen twenty months or more ago in the "Tygart war", still lingers but is rapidly declining."⁷¹ Elverton Underwood returned to his fields. Feeling secure that the peace his brothers had made was a lasting one, he was following a horse drawn plow, his young daughters dropping seed into the fresh furrows, when he was mowed down by a hail of bullets in the afternoon of May 22, 1879.⁷² Helped to his home by his children, he died on his own doorsill.⁷³ His faceless killers' tracks led directly to the home of Squire Holbrook- one track matched Holbrook's own exactly.⁷⁴ The "war" was on again; both sides eyed the surrounding woods with trepidation as bushwhackers took up their stations and cold lead sought out warm blood.

In June of 1879 Ulysses Grant Underwood, George W.'s youngest child, died from diphtheria at Fort Underwood. He was sixteen, and had the distinction of being the only one of George's sons to die of natural causes that year.⁷⁵

The next event to take place has been given varying interpretations by different authors. Coates indicates that the death of George Lewis Underwood (in August⁷⁶) from wounds sustained two years earlier was the point of no return for both sides. Galeener-Moore offers a differing viewpoint: George Lewis Underwood did not die at all, but simply relocated for safety. The record would tend to support Galeener-Moore in this. When George Lewis "died", Dr. Steele, a longtime family friend and supporter, was in attendance. Remembering that Jesse had already been given the benefit of a funeral when things got too

hot after the Trumbo killing, is it too much of a stretch of the imagination to see the ruse tried again? Two pieces of evidence give credence to this. In a letter to the *Greenup Independent*⁷⁷ Jesse Underwood speaks out on the family's troubles- and George Lewis' name is conspicuously absent from the list of fallen. More to the point is the 1880 Federal census of Bath County, where the supposedly dead for a year George L. is listed living with his "widow" and children in Wyoming!

Whatever the mode of George L.'s passing from the conflict, Jesse had lost one too many brothers. It is generally conceded that his was the finger that pulled the next trigger, sending one true bullet across Squire Holbrook's front yard and into his heart.⁷⁸

Revenge blindly begets revenge, and William Underwood, peacemaker, was shot dead at his Rowan County supper table by two faceless members of the opposition. At his late September funeral, friends urged old George to flee the state for his own safety, reminding him that the Holbrooks and Stampers had sworn to kill them all. George refused to go. One can imagine the old warrior, dirt from a third- or was it a fourth?- son's grave clinging to his weathered hands, responding to the suggestions with scorn, his one good eye glaring like that of a cornered panther, "That is possibly true, and what is urged is sensible, but the bones of my three wives lie buried on my land, eight sons and three daughters were born to me there. The land is poor, but it is mine. A man does not like to be driven, like a dog, from his own house. I have wronged no one- I've harmed no one, and all that can be said against me is that I have refused to turn against my own flesh and blood."⁷⁹

The guns continued to speak. The *Weekly Maysville Eagle* carried reports of Stamper-Holbrook partisan Johnson's death, and the ambush of a Mr. Masters and David Wilson. Masters escaped unscathed, but Wilson suffered a shattered shoulder and an arm broken below the elbow⁸⁰. Interviewed in early October in Morehead, George Underwood stated that: "His eye was shot out three years ago, but since then no one has molested him, and he does not think anybody will, as he has taken no part in the war."⁸¹

Putting comments made to the press for political purposes aside- and George was an old hand in politics- his stubbornness was once again to be his undoing. Even as he struggled with his grief, enemies laid plans to annihilate the Underwoods. On October ninth, a bare week after William's funeral, George was shot by a concealed marksman while bringing in the firewood. The first shot broke his shoulder blade; the second hit his legs. He managed to get inside before a third could be fired. His daughters removed the bullets and struggled to staunch the bleeding. There would be no help from neighbor or physician, for the word was out: aiding the Underwoods would result in certain and sudden death.

Jesse was summoned to his father's bedside, where he was overwhelmed by this latest injury. Whispers reached his ears from sympathetic neighbors. His arrest was no longer sought. Things had progressed beyond the bounds of long ineffectual law. His foes wanted but one thing- his demise. They were numerous; they were patient. The days of the fox were numbered.

The Thursday following George's shooting, Jesse was fired upon as he tried to pass from the main body of the house to the detached kitchen. He escaped unscathed, but his enemies' resolve was only hardened. Men were assigned to cover different portions of the house, each with orders not to fire beyond the boundaries of his allotted space. Quietly they marked the hours. Thinking himself safe, Jesse once again attempted the trip to the kitchen. A half dozen

rifle balls pierced his body before he cleared the distance. Dragged inside by the fearless women of the family, he lingered until nightfall, dying stoically, an outlaw whose past had risen up against him.⁸²

The siege continued. Jesse's body remained indoors, unembalmed and unburied. The County Sheriff, B.W. Burchett, choosing prudence over valor, steadfastly refused to involve himself in the matter, calling on the new governor, L.P. Blackburn, to once again send in a company of troops to quell the disturbance. Captain J.N. Stewart, commander of the Carter County Guards, sent the Governor the following:

Grayson, Ky., Oct. 13, 1879

To Governor L.P. Blackburn
Frankfort, Ky.

The Underwood War has broken out afresh and one of the Underwoods was killed at his home Friday, and the old man is surrounded at his house and wounded. No one will bury the dead man. Old man Underwood is afraid of his life and his life is threatened. The civil officers are powerless and no one will obey them. Can't the military company here be ordered out to protect the citizens and preserve order?

J.N. Stewart, Captain,
Commanding the Carter County
Guards

W.H. Warnock, Judge, C.C.C.
B.W. Burchett, S.C.C.⁸³

Blackburn refused to call out the troops a second time at state expense, calling instead for the sheriff to do the duty he had sworn to do. Col. J.W. Bryan of Covington was ordered to Carter County to investigate the situation. Deputy Sheriff McCarn reported to Grayson that the western portion of the county was under the complete dominance of the Holbrook and Stamper faction. Notices had been posted: to assist in the burial of Jesse Underwood was to assure necessity for burial for one's self. Sheriff Burchett rode out of Grayson at the head of a posse to break the siege and provide a Christian burial for Jesse. Unfortunately, the posse never made it to Ft. Underwood. And the siege continued.

The Stamper and Holbrook faction surrounded Fort Underwood, maintaining a twenty-four hour a day vigil. No one was allowed in or out, and Jesse's corpse remained in the room where old George lay wounded, reflecting perhaps upon the twists of fate that had brought his family to this terrible end. Several attempts by the women folk to communicate with their enemies were met with threats; despite the sickness of several of the children, the family stayed put.

The Sabbath came at last, and with the falling dusk the Underwoods heard the yells and whoops of their opponents. An eye witness account, given to a *Courier Journal* correspondent reads: "Mrs. Edna Griffith says that she and three other women of the Underwood family were sitting up with the corpse of Jesse Sunday night, when, about 10 o'clock, some twenty-five or thirty men, all with blackened faces, came into their yard and demanded admittance,

claiming that they were hunting for Claib Jones and Jno. Morton (John Martin?), and that they would not hurt George if they would let them in. The door being opened fifteen of the mob came into the house, seized all the arms in the house and stayed over an hour. They talked about the Underwood war, uncovered Jesse's corpse, made rude jokes about him and laughed boisterously. Finally, one of them said, "Let us bring our meeting to a close," and then they asked George to show them where he had been shot. George leaned over to show them his arm, when one man emptied his gun, loaded with slugs and shot, right through his breast, tearing a hole as large as a man's fist. Another shot him through the back of the head, and then they left."⁸⁴ Thus did the last of the fighting Underwoods meet his Maker. The *Flemingsburg Democrat* announced his demise on the second page of the October 23, 1879 issue. On the third page of the same issue, a single sentence: "The case of John Martin for horse stealing, and also that of John R. Tabor, on the same charge, was continued."

On Monday morning the Underwood ladies left the house to appeal to the menfolk of the area to help with burying their dead. But the notices had their effect- twenty appeals met with deaf ears. When Frank McFerren and his daughter arrived with coffins and shrouds on Tuesday they were the first souls to offer the family assistance. They, along with a Mr. Lee, dug the graves and laid Jesse and his father to rest.⁸⁵ Their acts of charity were answered with threats of death. The Underwood ladies were warned to remove themselves from the county; known friends of the family received warnings from the "Regulators" to watch their talk and their ways. Further retribution was promised for those who offered aid or continued to pose a threat to the victorious faction.⁸⁶

The Federal Mortality Census for Carter County, taken in 1880, listed the following Underwoods: Everton, 45, shot from ambush; Elvis⁸⁷, 40, farmer, shot; George L., 38, farmer, gun shot wound; Jesse, 35, roving, shot; George W., 65, farmer, shot. The census taker noted: "No Underwood family's here June 1, 1880, of which the above belonged, they having moved West in the Spring."⁸⁸ The Underwoods had been, as their enemies promised, and as Coates later wrote, plucked out, root and branch.

IV The Lull Before the Storm

The years marched on. Before the beginning of the Underwood War, in 1876, Morehead had two stores, one owned by Warren Alderson, one by Howard Logan. The single hotel, Judge Carey's Carey House, stood on the corner of what is now Main and University Boulevard, across from the Courthouse Square.

In October, 1879, the Flemingsburg *Democrat* noted that Joshua Hammonds, involved in a struggle with Alvin Bowling, was fatally shot while trying to knife his opponent.⁸⁹

Lawlessness in neighboring Elliott County reached such a pitch that the citizenry organized themselves into paramilitary organizations called Regulators in the fall of 1879. Both Union and Confederate soldiers took the oath and took to the trail, and suspected lawbreakers soon found themselves facing the summary justice of "Judge Lynch". As the vigilante movement grew in effectiveness and numbers- over three hundred descended on Sandy Hook on the night of May 1, 1880- it spilled over into Boyd, Carter, Lawrence, Morgan and Rowan Counties. Crime of all sorts was effectively discouraged, but the abbreviated appeal process was not attractive to either the accused or the legal authorities. The latter, along with the more moderate members of the Regulator organization, campaigned for its dissolution, which was effected by late 1881. Among the names of those who applied for a gubernatorial pardon for their participation in the movement were Stewart Bumgardner and John R. Tolliver.⁹⁰

On the night of Valentine's Day, 1880, Nancy Brain took a boat thru the flooded town of Cross Roads to help welcome Homer Wilson (son of Dr. Jerry and Annie) into the world. Homer later became her great-grandson-in-law.⁹¹

The railroad arrived in Morehead in 1881.⁹² With a new transportation system came new commercial ventures. Huge log drives were made down the Licking River. H.G. Price ran his steamboat, the *Gerty*, upriver from Farmers to West Liberty.⁹³ Price was heavily into the stave business, with booms on East and Christie Forks, Main Triplett and the Licking River. He had a stave yard with a steam stave-bucker near the Morehead depot, and purchased property from Judge James Carey in Farmers with the intent of establishing another yard there.⁹⁴

In southern Rowan County, Hogtown began to grow. A post office, called Elliottville, was established there. Postmaster Charley Ward, also town judge and general store owner, got the town incorporated as Bristo. Two other stores, one Sud Turner's and the other a branch of Warren Alderson's, ran by H.C. Turner, competed for area business. Jim Click ran a blacksmith shop. Alex Fletcher and son Jerry started a thriving steam mill on Christy Creek.⁹⁵ January 1882 found typhoid at large in the Elliottville area. Rev. Henry Caudill and Leander Thomas both succumbed to the disease, and James White was reported near death.⁹⁶

The village of Triplett, four miles east of Pine Springs and two miles north of Triplett Tunnel, boasted a store, a blacksmith shop, a school house and a post office kept by Fielding B. Ham, deputy county clerk.⁹⁷

In March of 1880 the county jail was burned; in November the county clerk's office burned and all records were destroyed. County Attorney Z.T. Young was appointed the

court's commissioner, taking over the difficult job of sorting out potentially conflicting land claims now that the deeds were gone. Interestingly, H.M. (Howard) Logan was listed as surety on his bond.⁹⁸

May of 1882 found H.M. Logan and Dr. C.P. Martin⁹⁹ opening a drug store near the Doctor's Morehead residence.¹⁰⁰ June of 1883 saw Morehead with three hotels, owned by Carey, H.C. Powers and Dr. R.L. Raine, respectively.¹⁰¹

Gates Station- now not even identified by a highway sign- boasted in 1883 three hotels and two saloons. Its lumber yard, Dickenson and Elliot, was shipping 150 to 250 thousand feet of lumber per week.¹⁰²

In early February of 1882, William T. Nickell, town marshal of Bristo, got into an altercation with Leander Tolliver at a dance at Mastin Cox's home. Tolliver insulted Nickell, whereupon Nickell knocked him down. Tolliver pulled his gun while on the floor and shot Nickell in the stomach. A chase ensued, with Nickell pursuing Tolliver, firing as he ran. Tolliver's aim proved better, for he turned and placed another slug in Nickell, this time near the heart. Nickell died about thirty minutes later.¹⁰³ On the fifth of October 1882, the *Ashland Independent* carried a report of the knifing of James W. Nickell by young Jefferson Bolling.¹⁰⁴ (The case was drug out in the courts- August 1884 Rowan County Court Records show Sheriff John C. Day allowed one "gard" for the arrest and delivery of Jeff Bowling, charged with malicious cutting.) The August 1883 court session found nine individuals in jail and twenty-seven more under indictment. A local correspondent's advice was: "Look out boys; stay in the bushes a week longer."¹⁰⁵

Another item from the *Independent*¹⁰⁶ may shed some light on the state of Kentucky law and order in the 1880's: "Morehead- A conflict of authority between the sheriff of this county and the marshal or deputy marshal of Maysville on the evening passenger train at Farmers Station on Saturday last- the question being as to who should have the custody of a prisoner- resulted in a fight in which the marshal got a good deal the worst of it and the sheriff brought the prisoner to this place." (Perhaps there was a reward on this particular prisoner?)

But the sheriff didn't always get his man: in September of 1883 John and Alexander Gillespie murdered Newton Gibbs with a pistol and a shotgun, escaping on the train. Sheriff Day and Deputy Goodan returned from that manhunt empty handed.¹⁰⁷

On March 1, 1883, for \$50.00 in hand and \$100.00 due March 1, 1884 at 6% with lien, Floyd Tolliver purchased from James M. and Nancy Brain a lot in Farmers on Main Street.¹⁰⁸ (Tolliver and Brain had a falling out shortly thereafter- the August 1883 grand jury indicted Tolliver for shooting Brain.¹⁰⁹) On March 17, 1884, Floyd transferred the title on the former Brain property to his wife, Mary E. Tolliver.¹¹⁰

On June 13, 1884, D.B. Logan and W.C. Humphrey purchased a town lot and store house from H.G. and Anna Burns. This property, described as the second lot on Main Street from Main Cross Street, adjoining the Dr. Raine lot (formerly the Tabor lot), became the sole property of Logan on November 15, 1884, when he purchased Humphrey's half interest.¹¹¹

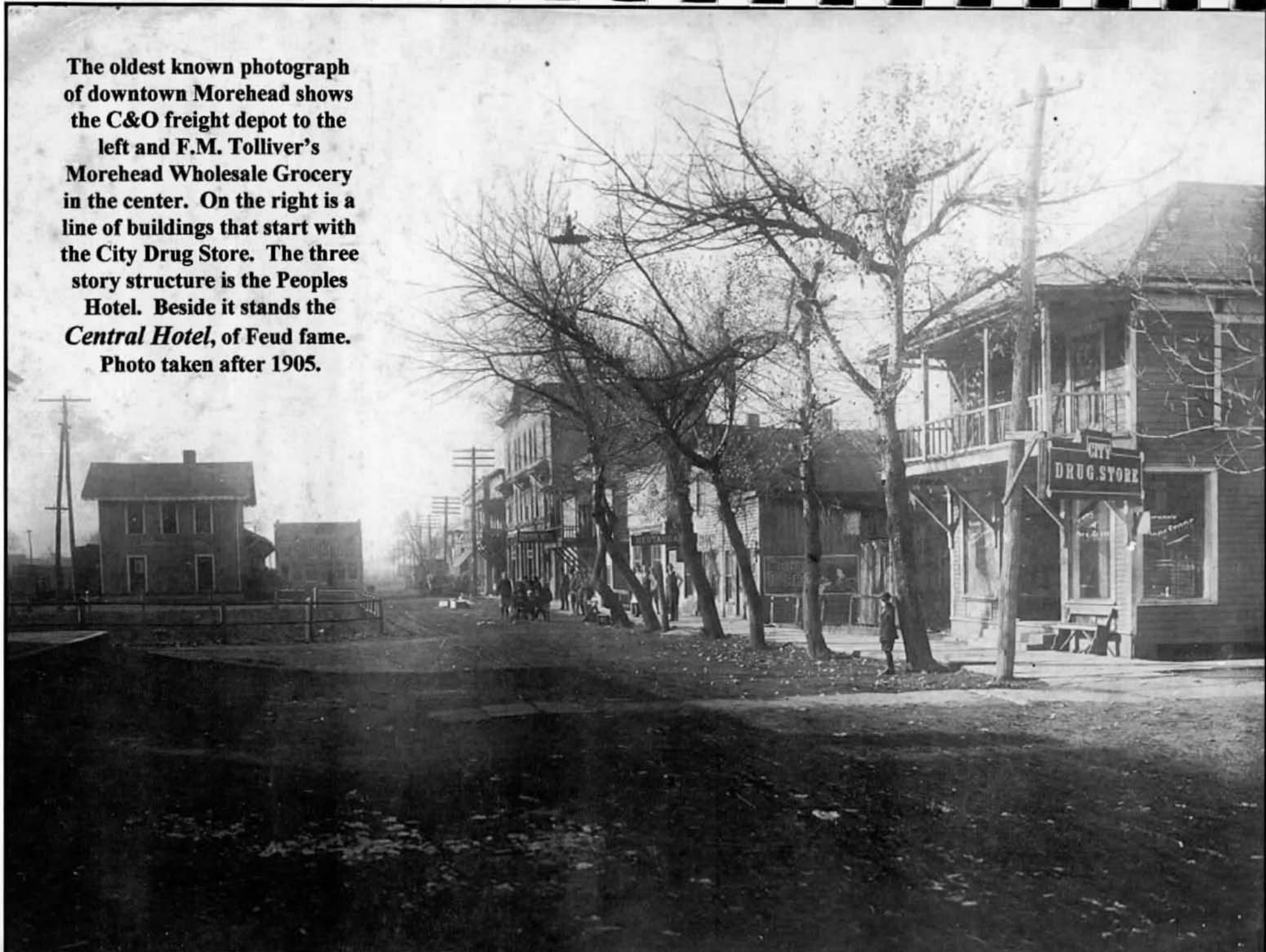
Among the rising political stars in Rowan's Democratic party was County Attorney Z.T. Young, spoken of in 1883 as a potential Congressional candidate.¹¹² On the twenty-first of August, 1884, he served as temporary chairman of the party's convention in Catlettsburg. Among other Rowan delegates mentioned were S.P. (S.B.) Goodan (on three committees) and J.C. Day.¹¹³ Sheriff John C. Day had made the papers in March, when he was united in

marriage to Sarah F. Black by Rev. Elkanah Johnson.

The Republicans had their convention in April of 1884,¹¹⁴ also at Catlettsburg. Among the listed delegates were former Judge James Carey (now county court clerk), Howard M. Logan (county receiver), Dr. C.P. Martin, Dr. H.S. Logan and B.L. Tabor (county superintendent of schools).

As the nineteenth century county prepared itself for the twentieth, an occasional reminder of the seventeen hundreds popped up. 1883 found H.C. Powers building an opera house below his hotel near the depot;¹¹⁵ Morehead cutting timbers for a new high school;¹¹⁶ Morehead made a "division" for the railroad.¹¹⁷ In 1884 a Pennsylvania and New York company was preparing to drill a one thousand foot oil well within a mile of town.¹¹⁸ But papers of the period also make note of a panther seen on Bearskin-¹¹⁹ and Thomas Christian, a great bear hunter, who still continued the practice of using flint and steel to light his pipe, passed away. He was about eighty years of age.¹²⁰

The oldest known photograph of downtown Morehead shows the C&O freight depot to the left and F.M. Tolliver's Morehead Wholesale Grocery in the center. On the right is a line of buildings that start with the City Drug Store. The three story structure is the Peoples Hotel. Beside it stands the *Central Hotel*, of Feud fame. Photo taken after 1905.



V
August 1884 - December 1884
-Election Fracas and Killing - Murder and Revenge-

Upon the assassination of Appellate Judge J.M. Elliott in 1879, Thomas Hargis once more threw his hat into the ring for office. His qualifications were again questioned by the political opposition. When Hargis responded with a denunciation of his accusers, chief among which was Maysville *Eagle* editor Thomas M. Green, Green reacted with a libel suit. A protracted trial, which Hargis eventually won, ensued, polarizing Rowan County. Republicans and Democrats eyed one another with distrust and resentment at the hotly contested county officer elections. Animosities grew with the years. The stage was set for tragedy. On August 4, 1884, the curtains were drawn.

Imagine, if you will, the place that Morehead may have been on this day: the sound of the wind, unfettered in this long, green valley; horses hooves clopping against the packed dirt street; creaking wagons, buggies, saddles and harnesses; the rumble and clatter of the C&O engine and cars a block away; the clomp and swish of boots and ladies skirts on the rough board sidewalks; voices raised in greeting and derision. The distinctive smells: lathered horses, wood smoke from cooking fires, the perfume of an occasional pig lot or the courthouse privy, vegetables of the season going to market, composting in the summer heat, the hot smell of oiled guns recently tested. The tastes of the era, the more overwhelming smells that become tastes: the dust, the smoke, thirty flavors of legal and clandestine beers and liquors, sampled from bottle and jug, cup and gourd. Hands clasp yours in hearty greeting. Others pound your back in friendship. Remember me. Remember me..... August in Morehead, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and eighty-four. August in Morehead, a hot, humid affair, a month of considerable perspiration and inconsequential breezes, weather brewed to try the patience of a saint.

Saints were not much in evidence on this day. Supporters of the rival candidates hawked their qualifications at the polling places, each trying to drown out the voices of the opposition. Parched throats partook of cool beer and the local white lightning. The voting was by voice- there was no secret ballot at this time. Each knew his neighbor's stance- and uncommitted or indifferent voters often could pocket from \$2.50 to as much as \$50.00¹²¹ from candidates unsure of their popularity- or perhaps, sure of their unpopularity. As the hours wore on the fourth became a day when every man had an opinion - and a temper to back it up.

Several nights before there had been a party at the Gault house. William Trumbo's wife had grown tired and retired upstairs. She fell asleep- in a bed not her own. When H.G. Price found her in his room, he "woke her and made some indecent remarks to her". Mrs. Trumbo reported the conversation to her husband.¹²²

The Maysville *Daily Evening Bulletin*¹²³ credits Wm. Trumbo and H.G. Price with beginning the gunfight at the courthouse polls in Morehead. A more accurate statement would be that they began the fight that led to the gunfight. Trumbo's anger, fueled by whiskey, finally got the better of him. He made a point of picking a quarrel with Price, and they were soon involved in bare knuckle discussion.

John Martin, never shy when a good fight was involved, drew his pistol and unleashed

his tongue. Trumbo was his brother-in-law- perhaps this explains why he took the part of Price. John Keeton chimed in on Trumbo's side. Morehead Marshall Allen Sutton arrived just in time to disarm Keeton and Martin, but soon lost his cool over a remark of Keeton's. A general melee erupted. Floyd Tolliver, fresh off the 4 o'clock passenger train from Farmers, arrived with County Sheriff John C. Day. Day's command of peace was met with a shower of rocks. A pistol was fired, and an open gun battle ensued. When the smoke had cleared Ad Sizemore was wounded; Solomon Bradley was dead.¹²⁴

The Republican candidate, W. Cook Humphrey, edged out Deputy Sheriff Sam Goodan¹²⁵ by a mere twelve votes. The election was over, and the public's attention was now focused on another question. Whose finger pulled the trigger that sent Solomon Bradley to his grave? Later that month a grand jury indicted both Floyd Tolliver and John Martin for manslaughter. No true bill was returned against John C. Day for the Sizemore shooting.¹²⁶ (Sizemore would eventually recover.)

Both sides now retired to tell their stories and await the results of a jury trial. The Democrat (Tolliver) faction saw Martin, son of well to do local farmer Ben Martin, as the clear cut culprit in the matter; the Republican (Martin-Logan) faction laid the blame squarely on the doorstep of Tolliver, one of the trustees of the town of Farmers.¹²⁷

There occurred in November one of the few Rowan County murders between 1884 and 1887 not grounded in the Feud. John Gibson Hughes of the Pine Grove Precinct lived with his two sisters. It was alleged that their relationship was incestuous, and that two children, one by each sister, had been burned at birth. A band of regulators dragged Hughes from his bed with a rope tied around his neck. He was shot two or three dozen times and left to die in his yard.¹²⁸ For his part in the murder William Garner was given life in prison; O'Banion Logan¹²⁹ and William Cornett served a year each. Indictments against the other parties¹³⁰ were eventually dropped.

The years 1883 and 1884 saw a surge in land ownership in Rowan County. Thousands of vacant acres were laid claim to. The county was growing, becoming settled in spite of itself. The partisan turmoil about to begin would set this process back years.

Sheriff-Elect Humphrey did nothing to cool the partisan fires. On August the fifth, the day after the election, he journeyed into Morehead and publicly offered \$100.00 to aid in the prosecution of Floyd Tolliver. After the indictments were issued, Humphrey, Martin, Stewart Bumgardner and several others traveled to Farmers- allegedly hoping to draw Tolliver into a gunfight and kill him. Tolliver, suspecting their motives, discreetly remained at home until they had departed. Later Humphrey sought to hire Alvin Bowling- known to have bitter feelings towards Floyd and Marion Tolliver- to kill Floyd, offering him \$250.00. Bowling refused to act as a hired assassin, remarking that if he ever killed Tolliver it would be in self defense. Bowling was also a sworn enemy of John Martin, having testified against him in the Green-Hargis trial in his capacity of Morehead Marshal. He wasn't about to do Martin's dirty laundry for him.¹³¹

Morehead was a small town in a small county. It was inevitable that John Martin and Floyd Tolliver would eventually run into one another. On December second Tolliver attended a meeting of the county court where he was appointed to membership on a committee that was to work with a similar Morgan County body "to devise a way to build a good county road from West Liberty to Farmers."¹³² John Martin was also in Morehead, to pay a small debt he owed

to John Tippit.¹³³ Martin spotted Tolliver at the courthouse as he was leaving in the company of John Day and Sam Goodin. There was an argument, but it was apparently patched up, for the pair were observed walking the streets of Morehead in the company of Cook Humphrey, all in good spirits with one another. But under the surface bubbled a vein of dark hatred, and one witness reported hearing Martin remark to Humphrey, "I'll release him of his bond before the sun goes down."¹³⁴

The Gault House stood across the street from the courthouse. It was a blocky two story structure, with three front doors and a narrow wooden porch that ran the width of the front. Nine wooden pillars supported the porch roof, surmounted by a second story veranda where guests were wont to observe the comings and goings of the town. Constructed before the Civil War, the original log structure had been encased with clapboards. The bar was on the first floor. It was there that Tolliver and Martin, two well armed men, both indicted for the same crime, both with a history of violence, came face to face once again around two p.m.¹³⁵

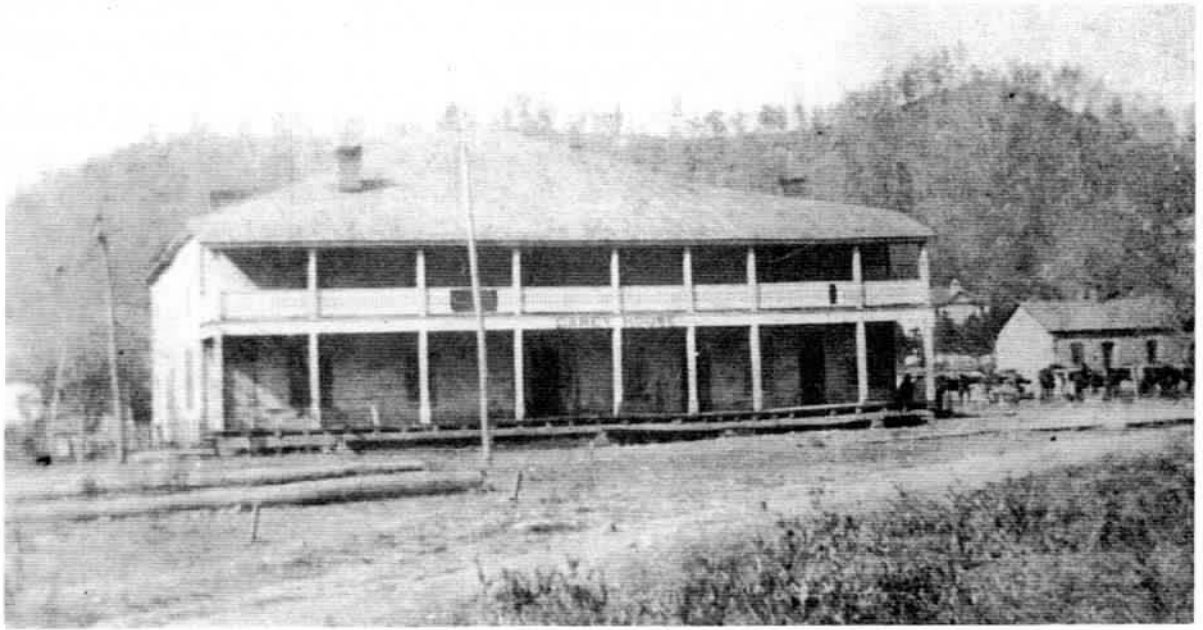
What passed between these two men? Boone Logan gives us as near to an eye witness account as we have: Tolliver entered the Gault House bar-room, where he saw Martin drinking with T.B. Tippett. Tolliver invited the pair to drink with him, but Martin refused. Tolliver asked Martin to put aside their difficulties, remarking that Martin had always proved a kind and clever host when he had spent the night with him, and that it was foolish of them to be enemies. Martin replied that Tolliver had treated him wrong; Tolliver said that he did not consider that he had; Martin whipped a pistol from his breast pocket and shot Tolliver thru the heart.¹³⁶ Gathering around Tolliver's body, his friends swore John Martin would pay- his life for Floyd's. The Feud had begun.

Bad news travels fast, even in rough country. Craig Tolliver learned of his brother's death at midnight on the second. Five minutes later he was astride his horse. Within two hours he had negotiated twenty-seven miles of rough mountain trails and arrived at Morehead.¹³⁷ It was he who brought Floyd's body back to Morgan County for burial at Pleasant Run.¹³⁸

Surrendering to authorities, John Martin was lodged in the Rowan County jail less than ten minutes after he had murdered Tolliver. He was closely guarded that night, the guard consisting largely of his friends. Martin was neither fool nor coward, but there was a muttering abroad in the county, and the general feeling was that he had finally exceeded his bounds and vengeance, this time, would fall upon him.¹³⁹ The possibility of a "necktie party" convinced Judge Stewart and County Attorney Z.T. Young to transfer him to Winchester for his own safety. On December ninth, an examining trial, originally scheduled for the next day, was postponed indefinitely to allow hot heads to cool. The Clark County Jailor, unfortunately, was not informed of this action.

Vengeance delayed is vengeance denied. A week and a day after Floyd Tolliver's death, his incensed kinsmen put in motion a plan for retaliation. John Reid (nicknamed Bud) Tolliver, a cousin of Floyd's who had studied some law, manufactured an order directing the Winchester jailor to release John Martin into custody for transportation back to Morehead.¹⁴⁰ Farmers Town Marshal Alvin Bowling took the order and the train to Winchester, accompanied by four men: a Hall, an Easterling, and Milt and Edward Evans.¹⁴¹

Martin's wife had visited him earlier in the day, filling him in on the inflamed temper of the county and the examining trial's postponement. His mood when roused by the jailor was



Two Views of a Morehead Landmark

Judge Carey's Carey or Gault House, standing on the site of the present day Cozy Building across from the old Courthouse Square, was the site of Floyd Tolliver's shooting and sheltered Cook Humphrey and Ed Pearce the night of the April Fool's Day Battle. According to Jim Andy Nickell, Col. John Hargis gave William Nickell a yoke of cattle to build and cover the original log structure before the Civil War.



restless and suspicious. Seeing the faces of the group to whom he was to be released, his misgivings were confirmed beyond his wildest conjectures.

Martin pled with the jailor to telegraph Morehead for confirmation of his transfer, insisting that these men were his sworn enemies; that release into their hands meant his certain death. The jailor had seen too many such scenes. After all, hadn't most of his captives professed their innocence? The order appeared genuine. Marshal Bowling left Winchester with a shackled Martin in tow.

As darkness fell that Wednesday, the tenth day of December, 1884, the eastbound C & O passenger train chugged across Clark, Montgomery and Bath counties towards Rowan. In one coach sat the wife of John Martin, secure in the knowledge of her husband's safety in Winchester, pondering their future together. In Coach Number 38 sat her husband, surrounded by his grim-faced captors, reading his death in their eyes.

Situated ten miles west of Morehead on the Licking River, the town of Farmers was experiencing a lumber boom in the 1880's and had a larger population than the county seat. Floyd Tolliver had operated his hotel there, and it was there that his death was to be avenged. As the train slowed for the Farmers station, a group of masked men sprang aboard. Lee and Marion Tolliver¹⁴² forced the engineer to bring the train to a halt. The conductor and firemen had pistols placed to their heads. John Martin was riddled with lead. Martin's wife, guessing the nature of the altercation, rushed to the other coach. She barely recognized him.¹⁴³

Martin was mortally wounded - but he did not die in Farmers. Getting off the train in Morehead, he walked the short distance to the Powers hotel, a Railroad Street hostelry that once stood across First Street from the present day Tourism Center. He expired there at nine o'clock the next morning.¹⁴⁴ Before his death he pointed the finger at Alvin Bowling as the initiator of the fatal fusillade. Bowling faulted the masked mob.¹⁴⁵

Martin's friends and kinsmen blamed County Attorney Z.T. Young for his death. No evidence has been unearthed to support this claim. The tragically omitted duty of informing the Winchester jailor of the cancellation of the examining trial fell as much upon the shoulders of the county judge as the county attorney. But revenge has never fed upon reason.





The Rowan County Jail As It Appeared in the 1870's.

-History Slumbers Among the Emerald Hills



Photo Courtesy
Helen Price Sta

THE HUGH TOLLIVER HOUSE, CIRCA 1957

VI

Bonds of Blood and Honor

Rowan County girded itself for the worst. County records of the time reveal some of the ties of kinship and friendship among the combatants to be.

Mary E. (Robinson) Tolliver filed as administrator of the estate of her husband Floyd on December thirtieth, 1884. Her bond sureties were F.M. (Marion) Tolliver (Floyd's brother) and J. Roberson. The estate's appraisers included Dr. David White, Dr. J.S. McMillian, and Turner Evans.¹⁴⁶ In 1883 and 1884 Floyd and F.M. were both listed as sureties on Sheriff John C. Day's tax collection bond.¹⁴⁷ Others listed as sureties for Day were (on Jan. 1, 1883) S.B. Goodan- Day's deputy and candidate for sheriff against Humphrey- and (on June 4, 1883) Goodan's brother Thomas L. Tom Goodan later married Martha Tolliver, daughter of Jacob Finley Tolliver and Orlena (Wyatt) Tolliver- a double cousin¹⁴⁸ to Floyd. Another lawman whose bond S.B. Goodan signed¹⁴⁹ was A.M. Bowling.

The two sets of Tollivers¹⁵⁰ were both transplanted North Carolinians whose fathers were Confederate veterans. Bowling was a son of Delany S. Bowling, a Virginian who had moved to Kentucky during the War Between the States. Another of Delany's sons, born in 1864, was christened Jeff David.¹⁵¹ Day and Goodan were both Democratic politicians deeply involved with the local party.

On the other side of fence stood W. Cook Humphrey, newly elected sheriff of Rowan County, and his personal and political allies, the Martins, Logans and Careys.

Only twenty-seven¹⁵² when elected, Wesley Cook Humphrey had a lifetime of instruction presented to him during his brief tenure. His revenue and general tax collection bonds for 1885 were signed by S. Bumgardner and Elias Bradley,¹⁵³ father of Solomon. It seems likely that Stewart Bumgardner was tied to Humphrey by bonds of blood as well as friendship as one of Cook's sisters, Sarah, was married to a Robert Bumgardner.¹⁵⁴

Friendship and common political views joined the Humphreys and Ben Martin's family. Both were Republican, and Cook and his brother Gabe had boarded at the Martin's when they attended school in Morehead.¹⁵⁵ Ben Martin's house stood a mile and a half to the east of Morehead, "near the forks of the road at the mouth of Christy".¹⁵⁶ His son John's and son-in-law Richmond's homes were nearby. Son Will resided in Morehead; son Dave in Carter County.¹⁵⁷

The Logan families that became embroiled in the conflict were a far flung network of cousins whose common ancestor was James Logan.¹⁵⁸ Most politically active was Howard M. Logan, who was, at one time or another, both county receiver and Morehead city treasurer.¹⁵⁹ His wife, the former Elizabeth Trumbo, was a first cousin to Lucy Trumbo Martin. Howard's oldest brother, Dr. Henry S. Logan, was also involved in Rowan's Republican party. Hotel owner Henry C. Powers was a first cousin to these brothers on their mother's side. Daniel Boone Logan, first cousin once removed of the brothers, would come to prominence in the later stages of the Feud. His politics were Democratic, like his father's, and he was a vocal supporter of the Tollivers during the beginning of the conflict.¹⁶⁰

Also aligned behind Humphrey were former County Judge James Carey (now County Court Clerk) and his son Deputy Court Clerk Matt Carey. The elder Carey owned the Carey

or Gault House and was the husband of the former Pamela Brain, daughter of James M. Brain of Farmers. One will recall that Brain sold Floyd Tolliver a lot in 1883, and the later bad blood between them.

There were, of course, other families involved in the conflict- many of them recruited from adjacent counties when both sides sought reinforcements as the Feud lengthened.

One other prominent force needs to be mentioned here- Z.T. Young and his oldest son, Allie. Democrats, politicians of the first water, first the father and then the son served as county attorney during the Feud. They were accused from the beginning of being pro-Tolliver. Although they vehemently denied this,¹⁶¹ the animosity of the Martin faction eventually forced them closer and closer to the Tolliver camp. It is hard to walk a political tightrope in a hurricane.

VII
January 1885 - March 1885
A Morehead Robbery - Shootout in Mt. Sterling
On the Road to Elliottville

Two cold blooded public murders in less than two weeks! As both contingents devised schemes for retaliation, the general population prepared for worse to come.

In the best of times the office of Sheriff during the late nineteenth century was not the easiest of positions. Sheriffs were the chief law enforcement officers of the county- there were no state police to rely on for backup. They were also the tax collectors upon whom the counties depended for money to run the county government. The combination was not an endearing one to the needier or less law abiding portions of the population, and a sheriff could easily leave office poorer in friends and richer in enemies, providing he lived to see the end of his term. Young Cook Humphrey's actions were more calculated to provoke than to placate. One would have thought that the Republican stalwarts of the county might have counseled a more cautious course. Instead, they were accused of being the instigators behind Humphrey's impetuosity.¹⁶² Humphrey brought his friend Stewart Bumgardner from Elliott County several nights after the Tolliver shooting. They passed through Hogtown after dark, making threats about what would happen if John Martin was harmed or subjected to too vigorous a prosecution.¹⁶³ Such blatant partisanship soon put Humphrey in a hornet's nest.

Tension between rival factions continued to escalate. Col. Warren Alderson was probably the best bankrolled citizen of Morehead during the Feud. On January 30, 1885, at about 11:00 p.m., his back door was battered open with an axe. Three masked men suggested to Alderson that he might wish to open his safe. Alderson was usually a frugal man, but a lump on his head and a sound cursing convinced him of the prudence of parting with \$400.00. Before they left, the robbers stated that they would prefer to kill him anyway, as he was a friend of Floyd Tolliver, and warned him not to speak a word against John Martin.¹⁶⁴

On the other side of the conflict, John Martin's father Ben and brother Will were advised that a change of scenery was a necessity if they were to continue to enjoy the benefits of a life unimpaired by lead poisoning. They took this advise to heart, selling a house and lot valued at \$300 for a mere \$180 to Col. John Hargis,¹⁶⁵ and relocated to Kansas, far enough away to make their testimony to a grand jury investigating John's death unlikely.¹⁶⁶

Will Martin's indictment in the Alderson robbery might also have played a part in the Martin men's decision to relocate. Will, Allen Sutton and D.H.(Harrison) Tinsley were indicted in early February by the grand jury. The Martin faction rallied to Sutton and Tinsley's defense. As the grand jury investigated the events of the last few months there was general expectation of a violent outbreak at the courthouse. Humphrey's friends advised him to stay away from Morehead. This he did, presumably turning the business of his office over to Deputies Fantley R. Muse and Gabrail Humphrey (Cook's brother); not returning until near the end of the grand jury session. On Valentine's Day¹⁶⁷ Stewart Bumgardner took his deputy sheriff's oath. He and Sheriff Humphrey were soon much in evidence, Winchester rifles in hand, quickly destroying much of the sympathy Humphrey had gained by his absence from the grand jury investigation.¹⁶⁸

Alvin Bowling's luck ran out in Mount Sterling on February twenty-third. At 1:00 a.m. he abducted Miss Mattie Scott, nineteen, from her Mt. Sterling home. The abduction must have been a willing one, for the couple took the train to Olive Hill, there to spend the night in non-conubial bliss. They came back to Mt. Sterling the next morning, registering at the Turner Hotel as man and wife.¹⁶⁹ Bowling went out for a drink, which turned into several drinks. Soon he was boasting openly on the streets of shooting John Martin.

Drunks and their braggadocio are often ignored, and Bowling may well have returned unscathed to the arms of his lover had it not been for another drunk. Mr. Boyd, a Rowan County merchant from Freestone, a community close to Farmers, where Bowling had served as marshal, was being dragged to jail for public intoxication. Bowling confronted the arresting officers and demanded Boyd's release. Initially ignored, Bowling laid any doubts about his sincerity to rest when he leveled his gun at the deputies.

Bowling and Boyd returned to the railroad station after Boyd's release. Deputy Marshals J.D. Wyatt and John Gill followed, summoning a posse enroute. Seized by Gill and others while attempting to board the train, Bowling turned and began firing. Gill was mortally wounded by Bowling's first blast; another shot hit Howard Wilson's hand. Two bullets meant for Lindsey Anderson missed their mark. Bowling surrendered to the persuasiveness of Gill's pistol, thrust in his face by Anderson.

Unarmed, Boyd was not charged as an accessory to murder. A disappointed Miss Scott returned to her home (and, presumably, enraged father) after it became apparent that Bowling would not accompany her on the afternoon express to Cincinnati and their romance was another casualty on the stony road of love. Deputy Gill died, leaving a wife and four children. Bowling sobered up behind the bars of the local jail.¹⁷⁰ His defense for his indefensible behavior would be insanity.¹⁷¹

County Attorney Z.T. Young was the next casualty of the Feud. He had attempted to hold himself apart from the strife, but his politics were Democratic, and the Martin faction had come to look upon him as an enemy.¹⁷² On the third of March, Tubalo Manning employed Young in a case of forcible entry, to be tried at Elliottville on the seventh. Deputy Sheriff Bumgardner handled the paperwork of the case, and accompanied Young on his ride out. Pleading urgent business in the area, Bumgardner remained behind as Young rode back to Morehead alone.

The long road to Elliottville wound through a heavily timbered valley, brightened only occasionally by a log cabin set at the edge of cleared land. A cold March wind filled with blowing snow blew across the lonely land, the perfect setting for premeditated murder. As Young plodded on towards town and a warm fire, his bushwhackers had ample time to select their spot- about three and a half miles from Morehead- and snap off two shots, one of which entered Young's right shoulder and exited out his right breast.

It was about three o'clock in the evening. Young kept his head, whipped his horse to gallop and escaped. In a conversation with Boone Logan the day after the shooting, he discussed the glimpse he had of his unknown assailants: the shooter was "a tall, rough-featured man with a high-receding forehead and light mustache" the other was a man of small stature.¹⁷³ Young blamed his recent prosecution of Gibson Hughes' killers and the indictments brought against Allen Sutton, William Martin and Harrison Tinsley for the bitterness against him.¹⁷⁴

About ten days after Young's escape, Deputy Sheriff Stewart Bumgardner met with more efficient assassins. Once again a lone afternoon¹⁷⁵ traveler wandered into a trap set in his honor. Bumgardner, however, did not survive to describe his adversaries. His buckshot and bullet ridden corpse was discovered by the mail carrier three miles further south on the self same Elliottville-Morehead road, "literally torn to pieces".¹⁷⁶ Two Blair boys assisted the mail carrier in removing the body to the house of a neighbor for burial.¹⁷⁷

Was Bumgardner's death an act of revenge or robbery? Z.T. Young, interviewed in Mt. Sterling on March sixteenth, stated that a number of his friends had banded together for revenge upon his suspected attacker, but he had counseled peace and expected no action.¹⁷⁸ Perhaps Bumgardner's convenient absence during Young's attack had persuaded some opposing partisan of his portion in planning the assault? Or did thieves merely covet his ever present repeating rifle? The earth had muted up his lips; his murderer(s) kept their own counsel. Rowan County Court Records reveal that on October 5, 1885, James A. Caudill was allowed three dollars for an inquest on S. Bumgardner.

County officials took the hint. By the end of March only County Clerk Carey remained at his post. He had been the recipient of several warnings to relocate.¹⁷⁹

Four men had now died in a period of nine months. Bradley's death might be termed accidental, inasmuch as it occurred in a mob situation and he was probably not singled out, just unlucky. Tolliver's death was, according to Logan, cold blooded murder. Others swore that Martin acted in self-defense. Martin's death was a calculated act of vengeance. But Bumgardner did not die in a brawl, a face to face showdown or as the result of a killing he had committed. His death, like Young's shooting, was taken by many as a simple act of terror, an object lesson. The law would henceforth be construed, by both sides, to their own advantage whenever possible. And in the end, for all intents and purposes, there would be no law- neither sword nor shield. Twenty men would die in Rowan County from August 4, 1884 to June 22, 1887. In only one instance would a murderer be successfully prosecuted for his crime.

Rowan's newfound outlaw status was not lost upon the press of the state. Crime sold papers, and the *Courier Journal* kept a sharp eye on the unfolding side show. On March 30 the paper carried an interview with Mr. Charles L. Gray, a Louisville drummer who plied his trade in Rowan County from March the sixteenth thru the twentieth. In Morehead he found little business. Men with rifles and several revolvers stood on the street corners. The county judge, sheriff, marshal and deputies were all gone.

Having business with a tobacco man in Elliottsville, Gray pled with the mail carrier to allow him to ride there with him. Reluctant agreement was procured.

On the trail Gray began to question the postman about the recent events in the county, finally making such a nuisance of himself that the carrier ordered him to shut up and stay at least ten feet behind him. Gray objected, whereupon the carrier pointed to a patch of blood on the roadside. "That's where they killed Bumgardner," he remarked. "They were in ambush, and right now there are men hid above us ready to shoot down their enemies if they pass this way. If they take you for one of these they may pop you over." The abashed drummer held his tongue the rest of the journey.

When they had emerged from the "deep gorge through which the road from Morehead to Elliottville runs for ten miles", the mail carrier informed Gray that it was customary for riders through the gorge to put their hands behind their backs as a sign of no harm meant.

Gray concluded the interview with a description of the origins of the trouble that managed to confuse characters and events completely. He also mentioned that, during his stay, rumor had it that a mob was being got up to go to Lexington to hang Alvin Bowling. "Some people, among them Bowling's brother-in-law, say Bowling ought to be hung.....", Gray reported.¹⁸⁰



VIII
April 1885 - mid-June 1885
An April Fool's Day Battle - Feudists Seek State Intervention
A Peace Treaty - Confession in Owingsville

After the death of Deputy Bumgardner, Cook Humphrey found enough business outside of Morehead to occupy himself for several days. When he returned it was in the company of one Ed Pearce, alias Murrel, a small, red-bearded man whose insignificant appearance¹⁸¹ masked an iron nerve. Who was the man behind this new face? Various sources document his history and reputation and credit him with being: one of the most dreadful characters in the mountains, with half a dozen murders to his credit; from Greenup County, where he is supposed to be under indictment for murder; the man who committed the robbery of Joe Haggerman's store in Bath County a few years back.¹⁸² Whatever Pearce was, whatever he had done, his arrival on the scene boded ill for both sides. For in Morehead, Pearce's function was quite simple. He was a hired gun.

On the last day of March, D.M. Dillon was appointed Deputy Sheriff.¹⁸³ That night Cook Humphrey, accompanied by five men from Carter County, arrived in Morehead on the through freight from Olive Hill.¹⁸⁴

Early April Fool's Day morning, Humphrey and Pearce went looking for trouble. They found it in George Nickell's pool room at the Central Hotel. John C. Day and Jeff Bowling were shooting a friendly game when Humphrey and Pearce entered the room. Each side eyed the other with evident suspicion. Several meaningful glances between Pearce and Humphrey led to a volley of accusations and counter accusations.¹⁸⁵ Pearce drew on Bowling; Day quickly covered Pearce with his pistol. Humphrey pulled his gun on Day; Bowling covered Humphrey. The four combatants took stock of the Mexican standoff, holstered their weapons and departed the premises.¹⁸⁶

Day and Bowling retreated towards R.L. Raine's Cottage Hotel to retrieve their rifles. Humphrey and Pearce stepped across the street¹⁸⁷ to the Gault House, secured their Winchesters and followed, opening fire when they got within range. Their shots were returned with relish. The fusillade continued until Humphrey and Pearce began to run low on ammunition. They then retreated to the Gault House. Bystanders took cover or took their chances.

Z.T. Young's son, Allie, had the misfortune to be standing across the street¹⁸⁸ from the Gault House as Pearce and Humphrey returned. Pearce recognized the form lounging in front of the old Tabor House and sent a round in his direction. "Git, you ___ of a ___! Git!" After he had dodged fifteen to twenty more slugs, Young took Pearce's advice and caught the next train to Mt. Sterling, nursing a grazed hand. Asked later why he had fired upon the unarmed young man, Pearce replied, "Oh, well, he's a damned Young, an' ought to be killed."¹⁸⁹

Tolliver reinforcements arrived that afternoon¹⁹⁰ from Mt. Sterling, and Pearce and Humphrey were besieged in the Gault House. Shooting continued throughout the night with pistols, shotguns and rifles- the log walls of the hotel were estimated to have received a hundred rounds during the night.¹⁹¹

Hostilities were renewed the next morning when Pearce took a shot at Day. Soon Day,

Bowling and Craig Tolliver, using the cover afforded by the surrounding buildings, worked their way to Col. Alderson's store house, only sixty yards from the Gault House. From these two shelters each side hurled lead at the other. Humphrey was reinforced by H.M. Logan, Matt Carey, Richmond Tussey and a half dozen others. About three o'clock in the afternoon the Tollivers were reinforced by about a dozen gunmen, including several of Craig's kinsmen and Dr. Jeremiah Wilson. The Martin faction melted into the woods, unpursued by their prudent opposition.¹⁹² The Tolliver supporters took control of the bullet pocked town. Remarkably, the only fatalities recorded were two dogs,¹⁹³ although cynics might suggest that the town's good name gasped its last breath alongside them.

The conflict had reached crisis proportions, and county officials of both political persuasions traveled to Frankfort seeking the intervention of Governor Knott. Many of Morehead's more prominent citizens temporarily relocated to the comparative security of Mt. Sterling. Among them were Dr. R.L. Raine, Warren Alderson, Circuit Clerk James W. Johnson, Robert and James Nickell, James Thompson, William Trumbo and Z.T. and Allie Young.¹⁹⁴

The lightning was in the air. While some fled the storm, counseling like Col. Young, "It is as much as your life is worth to visit Morehead, for you will be shot down like a dog!"¹⁹⁵; while Judge James Carey spoke of fleeing Morehead on foot at midnight, of walking twelve miles before catching a wagon ride to Flemingsburg, thence a train to Frankfort¹⁹⁶- fools rushed in to smell the ozone. Two drummers came to Morehead to see the Feud Show. They found conditions not as entertaining as they had imagined, and less concern for the general health and well being of bystanders than they would have ordered. Forced by the train schedule to spend the night, they decided to enhance their survival chances by telling one very small white lie - and announced that they were outlaws. Fortunately, Moreheadians have always preserved their sense of humor. That night they drank with the boys; Craig Tolliver dubbed them "Little Fatty" and "Big Fatty" and gave each a cartridge from his pistols. They caught the morning freight,¹⁹⁷ not bothering to show their samples.

Two C&O passengers passing through Rowan county also had a little taste of the local excitement. Several heavily armed Tolliverites had boarded the train at Farmers. Mr. Carlton, of the Carlton Opera Troupe, was digging in his pocket for a whiskey flask when the salesman he was seated with expressed his ignorance about local affairs with the rude inquiry, "What the devil do you all want with so many guns?" His question was promptly answered, and the duo found themselves staring up the wrong end of several gun barrels. After a long spell of begging, followed by the whiskey flask being chucked out the train window, the guns came off the travelers, leaving them sweating with relief.¹⁹⁸ History does not record any further comradery between the two, although it may be presumed that the memories formed were lasting.

The *Courier-Journal* correspondent ran into Col. Z. T. Young in Frankfort, where Young had traveled to request state troops be sent to Morehead. They took the train together to Lexington, the reporter noting a hole the size of a nickel darned in the shoulder of Young's new black coat.

In Lexington the party encountered the opposition-Judge Carey, Matt Carey and Howard Logan- waiting at the station for the Frankfort train themselves. Logan approached Young, asking if he had gone to have troops sent to Morehead. Young declined to answer,

whereupon Logan insisted, "I asked for information!" Young replied, "...I did, but I don't think they will come." Logan then hotly accused Young of being at the root of all of Rowan's troubles. Young replied that he had left to avoid the fuss and was not to blame. "You are a damned liar!" Logan responded. Young said he was not a fighting man and wanted no trouble. He retired to his coach in an excited state.¹⁹⁹

When the eastbound train pulled in to Mt. Sterling it was learned that the Tolliver and Carey²⁰⁰ factions had both left Morehead. Dr. R.L. Raine decided to return.

Arriving in Morehead about three in the afternoon, the reporter took a stroll around the deserted village through the drizzling rain. Mountaineers at the station questioned him about troops coming, and asked about newspapers. Adjutant General Castleman and his party had just departed after concluding their probe into Rowan's affairs.

The newshound's inquiries into the happenings of the last few weeks produced the following information: After the murder of Bumgardner, Dawson Manchester (D.M.) Dillon²⁰¹, a neutral, was sworn in as deputy sheriff to make peace between the warring parties. The Republican faction: Sheriff Humphrey, Alex Bradley, Allen Sutton, Frank Hellman, Richmond Tussey, Ed Pearce, Jim Carey, Matt Carey, H.M. Logan and L.D. Logan, refused to shake hands and bury the trouble. The Democratic faction, led by Craig Tolliver and Jeff Bowling, included Marion Tolliver, John C. Day and others.

After the shootout the Tolliver faction was out in force at Farmers. Craig Tolliver and Jeff Bowling rode into Morehead; the *Courier* correspondent interviewed them and reported: Tall, all bone and sinew, with a smooth shaven face that was good humored but stern, Craig Tolliver had this to say about his enemies, "They are as treacherous as Indians. When you've got to fight thieves and men under indictment for murder and every other crime, you don't know what to expect..." Bowling had a stalwart frame and a boyish face that didn't look over twenty-two. Both were cool but alert, with pockets full of .44 caliber cartridges. Both expressed their willingness to shake hands and make peace.

In fairness the reporter noted that the Republican faction was out of town and their side of the story was untold.²⁰²

In Frankfort the Careys, H.M. Logan and Logan's son, William O., conferred with the governor and heard Castleman's report on the state of affairs in Rowan.²⁰³ After the meeting, Governor Knott urged the leaders of the factions to meet in Louisville to work out a peaceful solution to the county's problems. County Court Clerk Carey- described as tall, broad shouldered, burley, possessed of an ample expanse of stomach and reddish whiskers profusely salted with gray- and H.M. Logan negotiated a six point peace plan with Z.T. Young, John C. Day, Dr. Jeremiah Wilson and S.B. Goodan.²⁰⁴

Under the new arrangement the county remained quiet for nearly three months. Briefly, the points were: All citizens will aid one another in upholding the law; Deputy Sheriff D.M. Dillon and three neutral parties will see that point one is enforced; all participants in previous violence will post bond by May first; no hotel in Morehead will be used as a factional headquarters; if peace does not hold, troops will be sent to enforce the peace; peace and unity were urged by all.²⁰⁵

Craig Tolliver disbanded his well-armed force of about twenty men on the afternoon of April fourth. A pledge to lay down arms and assist in carrying out the new peace plan was circulated, and signed by D. Bowling, Jeff Wather, S.B. Goodwin (Goodan?), J. Wilson, J.M.

Hargis, J. R. Tolliver, Craig Tolliver, John C. Day, J. H. Hargis, Chas. S. Harlow, W. Carpenter, P. Dyllon (Dillon?), W.D. Mennick, James Allington (Ellington?), L.R. Lawer, W.C. Hargis, J.C. Lynch, T. Higgins, and C.A. Black. Lee, Jay, William, J.T., T.M. and Calvin Tolliver signed as non-combatants. The town was in general good spirits. Young Jeff Bowling, married only a few weeks, sat picking his banjo and thinking about his Ohio wife.²⁰⁶

Easter Sunday, April the fifth, saw peace reigning on the cruel streets of Morehead. Although there were no church services to bring them together, the people up and down the streets had their doors open and little knots of individuals could be seen conversing.

Dr. Martin, the first Republican leader to return to town, was greeted at the station by the Tollivers, who were very friendly. In Louisville Judge Carey approached opposing faction member Sam B. Goodan, once described as the most reckless looking of the negotiators, who was currently wearing an old black slouch hat pulled far down over his eyes and smoking a nickel cigar, and remarked: "We have a scheme to put you on exhibition during our stay in here. We'll get you a tomahawk and one of those big horse pistols that General Castleman was telling us about, put some red stripes on your face and open a show with you as the leading attraction- the wild warrior of Rowan..."²⁰⁷

Dr. Raine had received threats that his hotel would be destroyed. At his request, Jeff Bowling and Craig Tolliver spent the night of the fourth there. They rode out of town with Jeff's father, Squire Bowling, about ten o'clock on Easter morning. Interviewed beforehand, Jeff said, "I'm glad you came out here and I hope you see that we are not ready to kill anybody that comes around. We don't live by fights, and we would never have been in this trouble if it hadn't been forced upon us."

Craig Tolliver, interviewed on the morning of the fifth, before his departure for his West Liberty home, stated, "I got a dispatch yesterday from Judge Carey, asking me if I would consent to act as sheriff if Humphrey would resign. I shall accept the place. I'll let the people select some good man for deputy and we'll each ride over half the county." But Carey told a reporter in Louisville that Humphrey would remain in office as a figurehead while Deputy Dillon took charge, and reassume control if the peace took root.²⁰⁸ Was there a misunderstanding on the part of a reporter in one of these interviews? Carey, a leading Republican, could not have been expected to just hand over the office of Sheriff to a Democrat.

Just where was the man who currently held the office of Sheriff? Newspaper reports said that on the fourth he was in Carter County with Pearce, seeking reinforcements; rumor on the eighth had them lurking in the brush waiting to ambush their enemies.²⁰⁹ Three days later Humphrey made his appearance in Morehead, signing both his and Pearce's names to the peace agreement. Shaking hands with Bowling, Tolliver, Dr. Wilson and ex-Sheriff Day, Humphrey boarded the Louisville bound train with Carey, there to confer with Castleman.

In Morehead, the very day that Humphrey signed the peace agreement marked the beginning of the end of his Rowan County political career. The six point peace plan began to unravel -Deputy Dillon was already balking at serving as acting sheriff since Humphrey had not resigned.²¹⁰ Craig Tolliver became Morehead town marshal, filling the vacancy created by the indictment and jailing of Allen Sutton for the aforementioned Alderson robbery.²¹¹ Two versions of how Tolliver came to be appointed appeared in the *Courier Journal*. The first, datelined April 14, Mt. Sterling, cited Z.T. Young and son Allie as prime motivaters in a plot to force the citizens of Morehead to accept Craig Tolliver as marshal.²¹² The second version,

Col. Young's rebuttal, contained his emphatic denial of any involvement in Tolliver's selection, and listed all the people who had signed the petition to have Tolliver assume the position. The names included partisans from both sides.²¹³ Boone Logan defends Young on this point, listing Dr. Jerry Wilson as the originator of the petition and stating that in the regular May election Craig Tolliver received fifty-one votes to his opponent's six.²¹⁴

Tolliver's opponent in the marshal's race was Robert E. (Bob) Messer. On the fourth of May, Messer gave bond for the office of constable in District One (Morehead). His bond sureties- S. B. Goodan and C.W. Collins- were the same that Craig Tolliver had listed on his June first marshal's bond.²¹⁵ Presently denigrated into obscurity, the office of constable in the nineteenth century carried considerable authority.

Indicted along with Sutton for a part in the Alderson robbery, D.H. Tinsley cooled his heels beside Sutton's in the Flemingsburg jail. Fleming Circuit Court met in the third week of May. The Martin faction was out in force for the trial. Tinsley was acquitted; Sutton was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary.²¹⁶

Adjutant General Castleman, interviewed in Frankfort on May twenty-second, predicted violence would break out again in Rowan County, citing mutual distrust between the factions. The formation of so many small counties, easily controlled by cliques, he continued, spelled trouble for Kentucky.²¹⁷

Castleman's predictions proved prophecy. Ed Pearce, arrested in Greenup County, was transferred to Owingsville to face an old robbery charge. From his cell he summoned Z.T. Young. In the presence of Young and Owingsville Attorney J.M. Nesbitt, Pearce sung like a bird, confessing to involvement in a plot to assassinate Young, Jeff and Alvin Bowling, and six others. A dozen members of the Martin faction were implicated in various crimes and conspiracies. Prominently mentioned were Sheriff Humphrey, H.M. Logan and John Martin's sister Sue, pointed out as the alleged leader of the faction. Pearce confessed that he and a confederate by the name of Rayburn had been hired to assassinate Young for \$50.00, failing only because snow had ruined Rayburn's aim.²¹⁸

Shortly transferred to Mt. Sterling for safekeeping, Pearce told reporters on May the thirty-first that abandonment by his friends in the Martin faction moved him to reveal their schemes.²¹⁹ Logger, highwayman, gunslinger- twenty-two year old Ed Pearce was a young man with a colorful past and a black future. The May jailbird sang one song- but under oath the tune would change.

IX
The End of June 1885
The Sheriff vs. the Marshal at the Martin House
The State Marches In

"Give a man enough rope," the saying goes, "And he will hang himself." Marshal Alvin Bowling had given ample demonstration of the axiom. The *Courier Journal* of June eleventh reported this indictment in Mt. Sterling for the murder of John Gill.²²⁰

Ed Pearce's confession, freely given or -as he later claimed- forced, was kerosene poured upon smoldering coals of suspicion and resentment. All the old ill feeling between the factions surfaced again; all of the mistrust. There was a rush to beat plowshares into swords.

About the time of Bowling's Mt. Sterling indictment, two very suspicious-looking characters were spotted skulking the night darkened streets of Farmers. On the evening of June twelfth, Marion Tolliver and Dr. Jeremiah Wilson armed themselves and set out in search of the supposed Martinites. They spotted their quarry and were spotted in return. The intruders beat a hasty retreat before Wilson and Tolliver got close enough to identify them. During the pursuit Dr. Wilson accidentally discharged his Spencer rifle, wounding himself in the right foot. With the entire Tolliver party in Farmers under arms, the nameless prowlers were seen no more.²²¹

Reports from Rowan a week later indicated affairs were very unsettled. Sheriff Humphrey, either unable or unwilling to perform the duties of his office, had failed to collect several hundred dollars in judgements placed in his hands and had thereby incurred liability for them. Because of this, his brother refused to sign his bonds. Refusing either to give bonds or resign, Humphrey warned that, were he removed from office, his successor would find Rowan County most unpleasant quarters.

From his Mt. Sterling cell Ed Pearce shipped another board for Humphrey's political coffin. According to Pearce, when Humphrey first assumed office he made an arrangement with John Martin. Humphrey would collect all the taxes he could; Martin would rob him; they would split the money and resettle in the West. The same arrangement, Pearce said, was later offered to himself and Rayburn.²²²

On June twenty-sixth county court met in Morehead. One of the decisions made: W.C. Humphrey, Rowan County Sheriff, having failed to execute bond for collection of the county levy in 1885 and sureties on his other bonds not being sufficient, court declares sheriff's office vacant.²²³ Humphrey cautioned the Judge, thru his son Logan Stewart, not to appoint any of Humphrey's friends to the post.²²⁴

June had not been kind to Sheriff Humphrey. And the month would get a lot ruder towards the end.

The Ben Martin house was a substantial two-story structure. The front portion was frame, the rest log. It stood thirty feet from the public road. On the other side of the road were the stables. Various small out buildings dotted the grounds. The tracks of the C&O lay seventy-five yards in front of the house; a hill covered with dense underbrush rose behind. A few hundred yards off was the residence of Richmond Tussey, the Martin's son-in-law. A long narrow valley stretched to the north-east.²²⁵ Through this valley wound the East Fork of

Triplett, joined by Christy Creek near the site of the Martin residence.²²⁶

Humphrey and Ben Rayburn spent the night of the twenty-seventh at the Martin house. Sometime during the night Humphrey came back to Morehead and was observed retrieving his rifle from the Galt House.²²⁷

Humphrey was expecting trouble, as his after dark retrieval of the rifle proved. But was he expecting to receive it or pass it out? The *Courier Journal* would lead one to believe that Humphrey expected to be attacked. Boone Logan's Letters state instead that Humphrey's actions were perceived as a threat. What really occurred? We cannot hope to fully understand the motives of the participants, but we can give a fairly comprehensive accounting of their actions.

The suspicions of the Tolliver faction were aroused on the twenty-seventh by three things: H.M. Logan and Matt Carey left Morehead in a hurry; Humphrey was observed retrieving his rifle at a late hour; a Tolliver ally carried a report to the faction that two armed men were observed at Mrs. Martin's home.²²⁸ These actions, coupled with Humphrey's remarks and suggestions about whoever was to follow him into the sheriff's office, caused Morehead Police Judge Minnick to issue a writ for Humphrey's arrest.

Craig Tolliver received this writ when he arrived in Morehead on the 2:00 a.m. passenger train from Farmers on Sunday morning, the twenty-eighth. He moved quickly, recruiting-and presumably awakening- Bob Messer, Jeff Bowling, John Trumbo, H. M. Keeton and Thomas A. (Tom Allen) Day to assist in the arrest. They arrived at the Martin residence just about daybreak. Deciding to watch the house for awhile, they concealed themselves.²²⁹

Shortly after sunrise Ben Rayburn and Sue Martin robbed a bee hive in the back yard. One of the bees stung Rayburn and he complained a good deal. Sue laughed and told him he made more fuss than if the entire Tolliver gang were after him. Craig Tolliver later repeated to her the exact words of their conversation. None of the Tolliver party were aware of Rayburn's identity.²³⁰ They had no way of knowing this was the man Pearce had fingered as Young's shooter.

Also in the Martin house that morning were Cook Humphrey and Sue Martin's sisters Annie, Rena and Hattie. Hattie (Mrs. Richmond Tussey) was pregnant.²³¹ Ben Martin and his sons, Will and Dave, were in Kansas; old Mrs. Martin was away at a funeral.

After scouting the premises long enough to suit themselves, the posse moved in. The actual events that took place thereafter probably fell somewhere between and around the two versions given by the combatants. For what truly is history? History is what we choose to remember. History is what we choose to believe, and to act upon as if it were fact, a mixture oftentimes of truth, myth, and wishful fancy. What *did* happen that day at the OK Corral, that day when the Czar's family was executed, that day when Lincoln's assassin was surrounded in a barn, that day in Roswell, that day when John Swift determined his silver mine was lost forever? What? What indeed?

According to the Martin faction,²³² Craig Tolliver came to their door demanding the surrender of Humphrey and his cohort. Humphrey, in turn, demanded to see the warrant for his arrest. When Tolliver wouldn't show any warrants, Humphrey suspected foul play and refused to surrender. The posse took cover around the house and began shooting. Humphrey and Rayburn sought refuge on the second floor.

Under cover of the peppering gunfire, Craig quietly slipped in on the ground floor.

Creeping stealthily up the stairway, he reached the second floor when Humphrey discovered him and discharged the Martin family shotgun in his face. Craig fell on the stairs, where one of the posse grabbed him by the legs and pulled him to safety.

The Tolliver version differs from the Martin in several vital respects. According to Boone Logan's Letters,²³³ Craig Tolliver and his posse first asked Sue Martin if Cook Humphrey was in the house. She replied that he was not. Tolliver inquired who was there, to which Martin replied, "Nobody." The posse then began a search of the premises, starting with the lower rooms. They found nothing downstairs and proceeded to the second floor. Pulling open the first upstairs door, Tolliver received a shotgun blast in the face and arm. Reeling, nearly falling into the room with his attacker, Tolliver was rescued by Jeff Bowling, who dragged him down the stairs and out of the house.

The posse retreated to the security of whatever cover was available. When shots rang out from the second story windows, they responded in kind.²³⁴ The only immediate casualty was Mrs. Tussey, who fainted.²³⁵

When the firing ceased, Sue Martin sought Craig Tolliver's permission to go to Morehead for a doctor for her sister. Craig's temperament had not been improved by the buckshot in his face. According to her later testimony,²³⁶ permission was denied with an oath and several shots aimed in her direction. Sue Martin was a strong-willed young woman. She dodged the bullets, out-maneuvered the pursuit and proceeded to Morehead on foot. Once there, she was promptly jailed by Marshal Tolliver, who had procured a horse and returned to town. Later her sister Annie, concerned about Sue's prolonged absence, came after her and shared a cell for her trouble.²³⁷

Although seriously wounded, Tolliver wasted no time when he returned to Morehead. An additional force consisting of Boon Day, Bill Day, Mick Day, James Oxley, and a young man named Collins, was summoned and dispatched to the aid of the first posse, which had been left under the direction of Constable Messer. With them went another writ for Humphrey's arrest- on a charge of shooting Tolliver.²³⁸

The morning dragged on. According to her testimony, when Vina Martin returned from her brother-in-law's funeral around noon she found her house full of bullet holes. Standing around the yard were Tom Allen Day, Boone and William Day, Jeff Bowling, Mace Keeton, Jim Oxley and John Trumbo. She pled with them to leave, but they refused to do so without Humphrey and (the still unidentified) Rayburn²³⁹ in custody. She then pled with Humphrey to surrender. Humphrey said he would surrender to the county coroner or to the posse if they could show a writ for his arrest. Bowling replied that Constable Messer had the writs with him and had gone after the coroner; that if Humphrey would not surrender the house would be torched.²⁴⁰

The other side presents a different version of the events. Humphrey promised to surrender to Crit Johnson (the coroner), their version goes, only to get Bob Messer to leave the premises and enhance the chances of escape for himself and Rayburn.²⁴¹

About four o'clock in the afternoon, Humphrey and Rayburn decided to make a break for it. Mrs. Martin went to the stables where Tom Allen Day, one of the best marksmen, had stationed himself. When the fugitives burst out of the house's eastern door she knocked Day's rifle up, ruining his aim. Leaping the yard fence, Humphrey and Rayburn dashed across the cornfield toward the forested hill and safety.

Their adversaries rested their guns on the yard fence and aimed. Rayburn made it about one hundred yards before he fell beneath the fusillade. Cook Humphrey made it into the brush, where the posse was afraid to pursue because of his Winchester. Lying concealed, Humphrey watched them advance on his fallen comrade, shoot him several more times, rob him and divide the money. Mrs. Martin and her remaining daughters later built a pen around Rayburn's body to keep the hogs from mutilating it.²⁴²

The posse lingered in the vicinity of the Martin residence. Somewhere between nine²⁴³ and eleven o'clock that night the house was set afire. Mrs. Martin extinguished the flames, but was ordered out of the house. She dragged out Hattie, who had fainted. The house was set afire again as they left. In the darkness she recognized the voice of Tom Allen Day and probably those of Robert Messer, Jeff Bowling and John Day.²⁴⁴

As they started to leave, a shot was fired. "Where the hell are you going?"

"Down the road," Mrs. Martin replied.

"God damn you, go up the road!" the voice came back.

The Martin family spent the June night huddled on a hillside,²⁴⁵ watching as first their home and later a cottage about two hundred yards distant were burned.²⁴⁶

The Tolliver faction denied this accounting of the arson, accusing Mrs. Martin of torching the residences herself for the insurance.²⁴⁷

June twenty-ninth found the Tollivers and their supporters in complete possession of a town filled with quiet terror. The streets were guarded; the one p.m. west bound train was thoroughly searched. Judge Carey and H.M. Logan were still absent from the scene. Rumors were circulating that their homes, too, would be burned.²⁴⁸

Sue and Annie Martin were released from jail. Their tempers were as hot as the bullets that had flown around them.

Squire W. A. Caudill held an inquest over the body of the man killed at the Martin house. The body was identified as that of Ben Rayburn; the Martin women, testifying at the inquest, denied any knowledge of their lodger's identity. They did admit that he had stayed the night.²⁴⁹

Deputy Sheriff Fantly Muse telegraphed from Flemingsburg for the state militia. Three companies arrived Monday night under the command of Major McKee and set up their tents on the courthouse square.²⁵⁰ Peace descended upon a bruised and bloody Rowan.



X
July thru early August 1885
Troops Come to Morehead - The Feudists on Trial

Under Kentucky law as it currently stood, the militia had no authority to act except through the county officials. County Judge Stewart was persuaded to issue a document giving the militia the authority to patrol the streets and disarm citizens. As far as the powers granted them by the constitution, the two strongest potential forces for order in the county were the judge and the sheriff. Judge Stewart seemed as weak-willed in this crisis as Humphrey was ineffectual. The power vacuum was soon filled by a contentious host of others.

Rayburn's half-decomposed body was found in the courthouse. Under the inducement of the troops, it was buried by the local citizenry.²⁵¹

When Governor Knott and Adjutant General Castleman arrived in Rowan on Wednesday, July first, all was quiet.²⁵² The only disruptive incident reported since the arrival of the militia had been the firing of several shots on Tuesday night.²⁵³

On July the third A.J. McKenzie was appointed temporary sheriff. Jeff Bowling, John Trumbo, Boone Day, Robert Messer, James Oxley, Mick Day, H.M. Keeton and Craig Tolliver were arrested for the murder of Rayburn. All were put under guard at the encampment ground except Tolliver, who was placed under house arrest in the Raine Hotel on account of his wounds.

Lawyers for the Commonwealth were Attorney General Hardin and County Attorney Z.T. Young. Counsel for the defense was Young's son Allie. The case was continued until Monday, July sixth, to allow witnesses to be procured and additional counsel secured by the defendants.²⁵⁴

It is likely that Craig Tolliver's wounds and house arrest prevented him from attending a triple service at Beth Salem Church on Upper Grassy in Morgan County on July fifth. Funerals preached included those of his brother, Wesley Boyden Tolliver, his sister-in-law, Mrs. William (Lydia J. Robinson) Tolliver and his sister-in-law, Mrs. Daniel (Victoria "Victory" Ann Robinson) Tolliver.²⁵⁵ These were "green funerals",²⁵⁶ performed several months after the burials of the deceased.

Three more prisoners were brought in by Sheriff McKenzie on Monday morning: Tom Allen Day, James Oxley²⁵⁷ and G.P./P.G. Day.²⁵⁸ The trial was rescheduled again, for Tuesday the seventh.

Also arrested was Mrs. Vina Martin, for knowingly selling poisoned food to Dr. Raine's Cottage Hotel in an alleged attempt on the life of Craig Tolliver. Her bail was set at \$500.00 and her examining trial for July eighth. The Martin faction immediately protested that the charges were fabricated in an attempt to discredit Mrs. Martin's testimony as the strongest state's witness.²⁵⁹

The *Courier Journal's* reporting of the fresh outbreak of violence in Rowan County, reporting upon which many of the tales of the Feud are solely based, is notably pro-Martin. Boone Logan's Letters to the *Sentinel Democrat*, a collection of documents published by Z. Taylor Young to use in the defense of his own position- which he always claimed to be neutral- give several reasons for a pro-Martin attitude among the state officials. They point out that

the first Feud victims the troops encountered when they arrived in Morehead were the pitiful and homeless Martin women, two of them fresh out of what they claimed was unjust and unlawful confinement, another pregnant and sickly, another nearly sixty. The Martins, soon aided by the skillful arguments of Howard Logan and Matt Carey, pled their case to the newcomers long before the courthouse doors creaked open for a formal hearing. To directly quote Boone Logan, "No patent medicine man can tell the story of his remedy with more skill and cunning than the Martin women can represent their grievances."²⁶⁰ The opposition on the other hand, were notable for their "reticence and independence." Nor did Craig Tolliver's "braggadocio manner while on trial" do anything to impress the prosecution.²⁶¹ It is not unlikely that the *Courier Journal's* reporters were treated much the same as the troops and prosecutors.

Another item of note for Monday, July sixth: the Rowan County Court, observing that W.C. Humphrey had "left and abandoned the office", ordered acting Sheriff A. J. McKenzie to hold a sheriff's election in August. There was some question as to the legality of this move, but Humphrey, in hiding since his narrow escape from the Martin house, was in no position to object.

On the next day C.W. Collins was appointed temporary jailer to fill the position left vacant by A.J. Nickell's resignation. Collins had served as surety on the bonds of both Marshall Tolliver and Constable Messer. His own bond signer was Z.T. Young.

Court convened Tuesday at three p.m. H.F. Prichard of Catlettsburg acted as additional council for the defense. The defendants filed their affidavits and stated that it was their belief they could not obtain a fair trial from Judge Stewart. Stewart stepped down after ordering two magistrates, one of each political persuasion, to be summoned to act as an examining court to try the prisoners.

Sheriff McKenzie and a squad of militia ransacked H.M. Logan's home in a vain search for Humphrey. Cook's old companion, Ed Pearce, was easier to come by, and was transported back to Morehead to face charges of shooting and wounding Allie Young²⁶² and to act as a defense witness against the Martin faction.

The first testimony was taken Thursday. Magistrates W.W. Phillips and Wm. Moore presided over a packed courtroom. Pleading for a fair and impartial hearing, Z.T. Young withdrew from the case, handing over the prosecution to Attorney General Hardin. W.W. McGuire of West Liberty acted as assistant prosecutor. Joining the defense was C.W. Goodpaster, of Bath County.

Sue Martin was called as the first witness. Her testimony as to the happenings of June twenty-eighth filled the rest of the day. According to Miss Martin, the posse first asked for her brother Will Martin. Sue told them that he was not there. Craig replied that she was a "God damn liar". He then asked if Cook Humphrey was there. Sue once again responded to the negative. Tolliver said, "I know he is here, and we have come to kill him", and the party rushed past her into the house. She next heard a shot and someone falling down the stairs. Further testimony gave the story of her attempt to summon medical aid and subsequent incarceration. She emphasized the posse said nothing of arresting Humphrey- just killing him.²⁶³

Court reconvened at 10 a.m. the following morning. The cross-examination of Miss Martin was the first item of business, as the defense attempted to prove that she had employed

Pearce and Rayburn as assassins. Sue did admit to visiting Pearce's father's house with Cook Humphrey, trying to collect for a pistol her brother Dave had sold Pearce on credit. She claimed to have seen Pearce only twice in her life, and had not seen Rayburn for six years before the day he was killed. The troubles she had suffered, Sue claimed, had caused her some loss of memory.

Annie Martin next took the stand, confirming her sister's testimony. When asked what authority he had to search their home, Annie testified, Craig Tolliver had replied that he needed no authority.

Vina Martin wrapped up the day's testimony, telling the story of the events that occurred after her return home from the funeral. Under cross-examination she did admit that Tom Allen Day called out to Humphrey to surrender and he would not be harmed. Humphrey had not believed Day, and had refused.²⁶⁴

Saturday's testimony began with Mrs. Tussey. Confirming the stories of her sisters and mother, she added that she believed Jeff Bowling to be the one that shot Rayburn after he fell.²⁶⁵

Court reconvened on the fourteenth. Mrs. Tussey was unable to testify and John R. Tyree took the stand. He swore that he was a neighbor of the Martins and at home during the excitement. There were eight or nine men in the posse, he testified, of which he knew Bill and Boone Day. He heard one shot first- a fact that the defense took to indicate Humphrey started the hostilities.

J.J.C. "Crit" Johnson next testified that, at four o'clock on the evening of June twenty-eighth, Robert Messer came to his home and put in his hands a warrant for the arrest of Sheriff Humphrey for shooting Craig Tolliver. They started out towards the conflict together. About a mile from Johnson's house, they were fired upon.

The defense called Vina and Sue Martin back to the stand and attempted to show contradictions in their testimony. John Martin's widow, Lucy Oxley/Trumbo Martin,²⁶⁶ testified that Sue had attempted to persuade her to collaborate the Martin testimony. Dr. G.A. Black testified that Vina Martin swore revenge upon Al Bowling and the two Evans for the death of her son.

The next witness to be called was Ed Pearce. As had been expected in some circles, he retracted his earlier confession. He confirmed Sue Martin's testimony- he had seen her only once, when she came to collect for Dave Martin's gun. During the period from March tenth to the seventeenth (when the attempt was made on Young's life) he and Rayburn had been trying to get out staves in Carter County. They finally gave up the attempt because of bad weather.

On May eighteenth, Pearce continued, while he was yet in the Greenup jail, Craig Tolliver, Bob Messer and Allie Young came with a warrant for his arrest on charges of shooting Z.T. Young and shooting at Allie Young. Tolliver threatened, "We are going to take you to Maysville and up to Winchester by the same route Martin traveled." After his transfer to Owingsville, Pearce thought it prudent to "confess".

This new version of history was too much for Z.T. Young to swallow. He asked to be allowed to examine Pearce in order to show contradictions in his testimony, then proceeded to give him such a thorough verbal workover that Attorney General Hardin protested he was working for the defense. Young denied abrogating his official responsibilities. But Pearce, he said, was a liar. The Tolliver supporters met this pronouncement with a round of applause.

Hardin responded that Young was biased. Counsel for the defense spoke up that the County Attorney's authority in this case superseded that of the Attorney General's. Hardin immediately replied that either he had control of the case and Young was off it or he would take no part in what he termed a farce. At this, the Martin adherents and soldiers raised a round of their own applause.

The entire courtroom rose to their feet in intense excitement. For a long few moments it looked like the Feud would be settled immediately in a general slaughter. Cooler heads prevailed however; order was restored and testimony continued.

Dr. Raine's wife and Mrs. Minnick testified that Tom Allen Day, John Day, John Trumbo, and Jeff Bowling were in the Raine Hotel from 8:30 p.m. on the night of June twenty-eighth and therefore could not have been involved in burning the Martin house.

Craig Tolliver, nearly well, was turned over to Sheriff McKenzie with the rest of the prisoners.²⁶⁷

On July the sixteenth-Thursday- Police Judge Minnick testified that he had issued a warrant for Humphrey's arrest on June twenty-seventh on the charge of "raising a band of armed and lawless men to do violence to the citizens of Morehead." This warrant was delivered to Tolliver at 3 p.m. on June twenty-eighth.²⁶⁸

Final testimony took place on the twentieth of July, but a more important event occurred in the assembly of a nominating convention. Republican Hiram Pigman was nominated for sheriff, Democrat Joe Myers for deputy, G.W. "Wash" Davis for jailer.²⁶⁹

On the twenty-first, the magistrates handed down their decisions. Under a system where both had to agree for any guilt to be fixed, it is not surprising that they voted along party lines. Wm. Moore voted to bind the defendants over for trial; W.W. Phillips voted to acquit all.²⁷⁰ Since there was no agreement, the defendants all walked out of the courtroom free men- with one exception.

And what an exception! Just as he was about to receive the congratulations of his friends, Craig Tolliver felt a strong grip upon his arm. "You are my prisoner," said a voice in cool, low tones. For the first time since the beginning of the trial, Tolliver's demeanor was shaken, and his face was seen to pale. After being taken from the courtroom under guard, Tolliver's arrest papers were looked into and he was put in a cell, protesting vigorously.

A piece of Craig's past had caught up with him- in the form of a Hamilton County, Ohio, grand jury indictment for robbery. Craig had married in Ohio- the indictment was brought on charges filed by his mother-in-law. After the indictment, he left his family and moved back to Kentucky, where he was lost sight of until the Feud brought his name to prominence- and the attention of Ohio authorities. He was now to be transported to Cincinnati to stand trial.²⁷¹

On the twenty-third, the *Courier Journal* reported that Police Judge Minnick had been forced to swear out a warrant for Rayburn hours after Rayburn's actual death.²⁷²

Two days later, Mack Day and Jesse B. Coldiron had a drunken brawl. Coldiron was either more sober, a more able fighter, or both, for Day got very much the worst end of the deal. Sheriff McKenzie attempted unsuccessfully to arrest Coldiron. When he returned with soldiers, Coldiron fled to the bush.

Meanwhile former Sheriff Humphrey, still hiding somewhere near Morehead, sent word that he would surrender when his safety was assured.²⁷³

Coldiron was not so successful at keeping a low profile. He was found and arrested in the bush on the twenty-seventh for breach of the peace. His trial got him a verbal reprimand and cost Day \$5.00 for abusive language.²⁷⁴ The next day Coldiron was appointed town marshal, filling the vacancy created when Tolliver was arrested. His sureties were H.S. Logan and C.P. Martin- H.M. Logan's brother and business partner, respectively. The marshal's office was now firmly in Republican hands.

A *Courier Journal* editorial on July twenty-seventh accused Z.T. Young of shielding the Tolliver faction from the law and called his trial speech a "proclamation of license to all the lawless men in Rowan County."²⁷⁵ In a letter to the editor published two days later, Young spoke out in his own defense, denying allegations that he had tried to prevent the grand jury from indicting John Martin's killers; that he had encouraged Day and Tolliver to kill anyone in the Courthouse fight; that he had influenced Sheriff McKenzie to select W.W. Phillips as a judge; that he had a difference with Attorney General Hardin over control of the trial. He further stated Floyd Tolliver was killed with Cook Humphrey's pistol. Young said that, although Martin and Humphrey were known to have threatened Tolliver in Farmers, he had advised the grand jury against indicting Humphrey because he did not believe a conviction could be obtained.²⁷⁶ Whatever Young had or had not started, events were now beyond the control of any one man; whatever his protestations of equal handed justice, he and his family were increasingly targeted by the Republican opposition. How long could he walk the fence?

On the second of August, Rev. Dr. Guerrant preached at the courthouse to a good crowd.²⁷⁷ Two companies of militia had already departed. The August election day passed uneventfully. There was talk of pulling out the third company; Sheriff McKenzie, obviously not satisfied that the peace would hold, threatened to tender his resignation upon their departure.²⁷⁸

The next day began the August circuit court session in Morehead. Governor Knott and Attorney General Hardin had arrived the night before to observe proceedings.

Special Judge George T. Halbert of Vanceburg appointed Greenup's George E. Rowe prosecutor. A grand jury was impaneled. Among its members were two²⁷⁹ of the prisoners who appeared before the Magistrates' court the previous month. Orders were given to bring O'Banion Logan and associates, involved in the murder of Gibson Hughes, from Lexington to Morehead to stand trial.²⁸⁰

On the second day of the session, Attorney General Hardin, recognizing all too many faces among the grand jury, moved to have the jury set aside. In Hardin's words, "Out of a thousand voters in this county, this grand jury is made up of the criminals, their close kin, and steadfast friends and admirers."²⁸¹

Boone Logan stated the opposing view. In a letter dated August twenty-fourth, Logan defied the *Courier Journal* correspondent "to show up any member of the Grand Jury in any other light than that of a law-abiding, peaceable, honest citizen".²⁸² When Judge Halbert withheld his decision, Hardin bowed out of Rowan's troubles.²⁸³

The next day, August the sixth, James Oxley and Thomas Trumbo were excluded from the sitting on their own motion- replaced with men unconnected with the trouble. Other changes, according to the *Courier Journal*, were likely.²⁸⁴

On the eighth, former President Grant was entombed. Cannon at Camp Knott were fired in salute. Bad water in Morehead was causing considerable sickness. The trial of

O'Banion Logan had come to a standstill because John Evans, chief witness for the prosecution, refused to attend.²⁸⁵ Indictments were beginning to be returned by the grand jury.

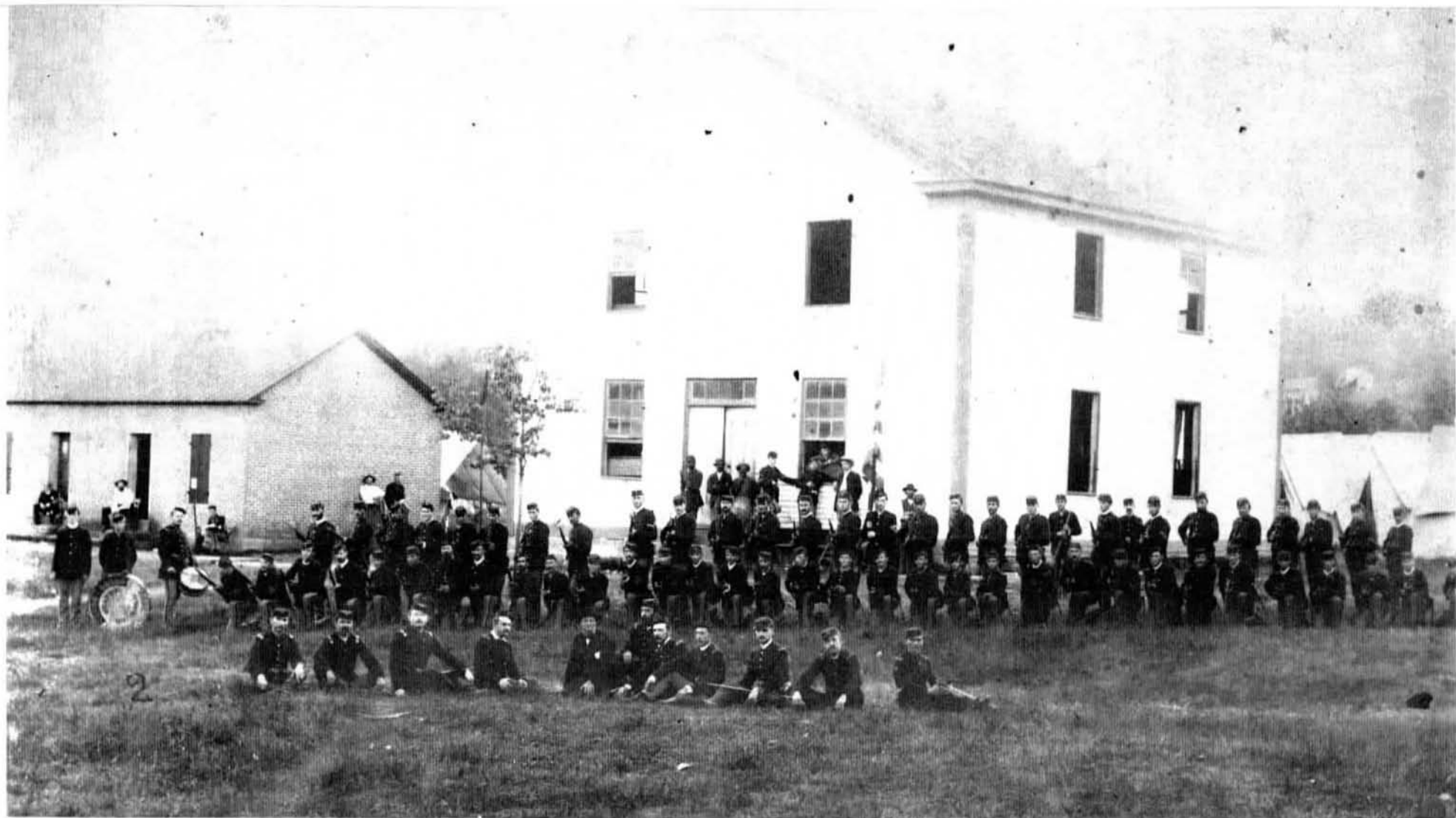
Morehead remained fairly quiet throughout the session. Over thirty indictments were issued. Witnesses, however, were expected to be hard to come by (perhaps it was a personal health issue?) and convictions were not looked for. Among the indicted were: Craig Tolliver²⁸⁶- beating, bruising and imprisoning Sue and Annie Martin; John Sizemore- carrying a concealed deadly weapon; Mrs. Vina Martin- selling poisonous food with intent to poison; Cook Humphrey and Ed Pearce- conspiracy to kill; the arsonists who burned the Martin house (including Thomas A. and John C. Day). Adjourning on the seventeenth, the grand jury recommended the murder cases of John Martin and Ben Rayburn be resubmitted to a later grand jury.²⁸⁷

At sunrise on the morning of August seventeenth, Cook Humphrey surrendered to Major McKee. The "Great Mysterious" had been in hiding since the troops arrived. He now related his version of how he came to be embroiled in the Feud. According to Humphrey, his first involvement came in Hogtown in January, when Craig Tolliver warned him not to seek indictments against the Tollivers for the Martin shooting. In February, Humphrey continued, his life was twice in jeopardy. Once Marion Tolliver shadowed him through the streets of Morehead, but was discovered by McKenzie before he had a chance to fire. After Circuit Court convened Alvin Bowling sought a shootout, but was deterred by a cocked pistol. A little later the Tollivers, John Day and Dr. Wilson sought his removal from office. All of these actions led Humphrey to appoint Stewart Bumgardner deputy. All of *his* actions, Humphrey claimed, were in self defense. The grand jury was not in complete agreement, returning five indictments against him.²⁸⁸

On the nineteenth of August, the last company of troops pulled out of Morehead. Humphrey left with them, having had "high words" with the Day brothers on the previous day. Refusing to keep troops in Morehead as a mere police force, the state declared that the local officials must do something to restore law and order among the people.²⁸⁹ What that something was to be was not specified.



Andrew Jackson (A.J.) McKenzie, Sr. was appointed Rowan County Sheriff after the shootout at the Martin house. The family photo shows in front row, L to R: ***Caroline McKenzie Alfrey, Sherman McKenzie, A.J., Sr., Taylor McKenzie, Oscar McKenzie, Louisa McKenzie and A.J., Jr.*** Back row, L to R: ***Ellen McKenzie Foster, Harry McKenzie, Nerve McKenzie Alfrey, Wallace McKenzie, Clarenda McKenzie Cochran and Jim McKenzie.***



The state militia came to Morehead three times during the course of the Feud. This photo was taken during the July-August 1885 visit, in front of the Courthouse. None of the individuals in the photo have been identified.

XI
August 1885 - June 1886
Ten Months of Tension - Pearce and the Bowlings Leave the Fray
Two More Murders

On the thirteenth of August, H.M. Pigman became sheriff. D.M. Dillon was one of his sureties and his deputy. Less than a month later Pigman resigned the office due to his inability to go the required bonds.²⁹⁰

Early October found Rowan County quiet. Mt. Sterling pastor J.M. Wells and Louisville's Rev. Dr. Edward O. Guerrant were both trying to raise funds to build a church in Morehead.²⁹¹

October twelfth saw W.C. Humphrey in Frankfort with state Senator L.W. McKee (formerly Major McKee) lobbying for Governor Knott's permission to return to Rowan and resume his tax collection duties. Knott cautioned Humphrey to wait a while longer. Returning to Fleming County, where he had resided since August, Humphrey promised patience, but claimed to have friends in Rowan who would guarantee his safety. Rowan's county court had annulled his election but had not yet settled on his replacement.²⁹² Kentucky's system of tax collection had some fundamental flaws- although sheriffs had to post a substantial bond, collected taxes often went unaccounted for. Sheriffs often successfully lobbied the legislature for special consideration, further constricting the already meager flow of tax revenue to the state treasury. The state's reluctance to intervene in the many bloody feuds of the time was due, at least in part, to a lack of funds.²⁹³

Four days later Samuel Caudill was appointed sheriff. He had a total of ten sureties,²⁹⁴ more than twice the usual number. There should have been no problem with his bonds. Nevertheless, he resigned his office on the twenty-seventh, serving only eleven days. Court records indicate that William Ramey was appointed sheriff that same day, with Samuel Alfrey his deputy.

By October twelfth, Craig Tolliver's health had improved sufficiently that his case was brought to trial in Cincinnati. Lack of evidence brought about his acquittal on the twenty-first. The case, involving Craig's alleged 1881 robbery of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Hannah Buxton of Lockland, Ohio, never came before a jury. Departing the courtroom, Craig facetiously sent his compliments to Governor Knott, whom he held partially responsible for his arrest and extradition. While awaiting orders to stand trial in Indiana, Illinois and California, Tolliver said, it was his hope that he would first be allowed to spend a year or two in Kentucky, as he was as poor as Job's turkey.²⁹⁵ The twenty-eighth found him at home in Morgan County.²⁹⁶

During the autumn of 1885, Z.T. Young waged an unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic nomination for Commonwealth's Attorney from Rowan's district. The Feud was the issue and, according to excerpts from the local press, Young defended his position ably.²⁹⁷

Many Rowan County citizens considered the possibility of starting over in another state. On October 26, 1885, Robert I. Nickell wrote:

"Here I will gladly write to you and hope that your days
are not filled with news like ours are filled with here. Jack, you

would not recognize what you see in Morehead these last days and months. Oh my, there are murders, shooting, some cowardly, some not, but most not called for. The sides won't be satisfied until all the Tollivers and all the Martins are gone, and by that time, the sides won't care maybe..... Uncle Andrew left as Morehead jailer.....Cousin Joe Myers was nominated for deputy. Knowing the law the way he does, he would hold it up well. Bolling is being held over till the next term. Jack, Clay and Margaret left town, temporary. I am not sure what will become of his place....¹¹²⁹⁸

The last months of 1885 saw the end of any involvement in Rowan's affairs by Ed Pearce and the Bowling brothers. Pearce, convicted in Bath Circuit Court of robbing Joe Haggerman, was given seven years in the penitentiary.²⁹⁹ Alvin Bowling received twenty-one years from a Mt. Sterling jury on his manslaughter conviction- accepting the verdict without a tremor.³⁰⁰ Jeff Bowling was accused of murdering his wife's stepfather, John Douglass, a wealthy farmer of Bennington Township, Ohio. At the examining trial Bowling walked out of the courtroom and did not return.³⁰¹

Robert Nickell's brother, Jim, had decided it was time to go. On November 12, he wrote:

"This letter is to tell you that Sally and we are coming to Texas. Brother Bob's going to work on selling my land and I would be obliged if you could locate a place for us. I will pay money if it is good land. If not I would rather rent some fit acreage until after I come see for myself. It's time we left out of here and would rather it be Texas than Missouri or Illinois. It is certain it will not get better here for a long time to come..."³⁰²

On the fourth of December, the Beaver Run Lumber Mill burned completely. Located at Farmers, the mill was owned by the Buckwalter Brothers from Ohio. Losses exceeded eight thousand dollars in this suspected arson. The mill was uninsured.³⁰³

On December twenty-eighth, Moses Little escaped after killing John Marlow in Morehead. Little was drunk when he shot Marlow, apparently over Marlow's ill treatment of Mrs. Marlow, Little's sister.³⁰⁴

Craig Tolliver received another lead treatment in late December or early January when Asbury Crisp "in a fit of jealousy and rage"³⁰⁵ shot and disabled him, probably in Elliott County. Crisp escaped, but was recovered at the house of a Master Brown in Scioto County, Ohio. On January fourth, Crisp was escorted thru Vanceburg by Elliott County Constable William M. Crisp and posse.³⁰⁶ He was incarcerated in the Elliott County Jail.³⁰⁷ All the evidence leads one to believe that Craig had been wooing the wrong woman.

With Pearce and the Bowlings in custody, Craig Tolliver out of commission and Humphrey out of the county, Rowan passed a fairly peaceful January.³⁰⁸

Things were noisier in Frankfort. Cook Humphrey's trial was set for the February term of court in Morehead. He had been visiting Governor Knott since January twentieth, trying to convince him to station troops in Morehead during the trial. Z. T. Young and Boone Logan were also in Frankfort. On the twenty-third Logan and Humphrey met in the lobby of

the Capitol Hotel. A lively discussion ensued. Logan stated his belief that Bumgardner got just what he deserved. This assessment of his friend's death set poorly with Humphrey. A fist fight was narrowly avoided.³⁰⁹

The February third *Courier Journal* reported that the grand jury had not yet been chosen. An announcement by Judge Cole that the occupants of the court rooms would be searched for weapons ignited a stampede for the door- only one person remained inside.³¹⁰

During February Malvina Martin and Cook Humphrey were each found not guilty of one of the charges against them. O'Banion Logan was convicted in the Hughes murder case and sentenced to one year in prison.

The following indictments of interest were handed down: Thomas J. Trumbo- forcibly breaking and entering a railroad car; Moses Little - murder; Craig Tolliver- unlawfully arresting, shooting with intent to kill; Robert Messer- shooting; Wiley Tolliver- unlawfully shooting; H.C. Powers- breaking the Sabbath; Allie Young- gaming; William Young- carrying a concealed deadly weapon (a charge which nine others were indicted on also).³¹¹

Delaney Bowling, father of Alvin and Jeff, had three cases continued to the next term. He was apparently sick to the death- each case listed "his death suggested".³¹² Bowling's sickness may have been as much emotional as physical. At Newark, Ohio, on the fifteenth of February, his son Jeff was convicted of first degree murder.³¹³

The February term of court passed with Rowan County no closer to a lawful solution to her problems. Martin's killers, Bumgardner's killers, Rayburn's killers, remained not only unconvicted, but also unindicted. Nor did it seem likely that such indictments could result in conviction. The immediate result of this impasse could be clearly illustrated with two pieces of data: the 1880 Rowan County census lists a total of 783 households; Rowan County court records for March 2, 1886 show 80 taxpayers removed from the county. Allowing for some population growth in the six years from 1880 to 1886, one can safely figure that roughly one in ten Rowan Countians had decided to resettle elsewhere. This exodus would continue.

The *Courier*, as usual, showed no reluctance in settling the blame for Rowan's troubles squarely on the shoulders of Zachariah Taylor Young. The paper responded to Young's candidacy for commonwealth attorney from Rowan's judicial district with an editorial that announced, "Barbarism is triumphant in Rowan; barbarism must be overthrown."³¹⁴

On November twenty-first, Tom Goodan, younger brother of former deputy S.B. Goodan, married Martha Tolliver, youngest daughter of Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr., Craig's cousin. One Friday night about three months later (March fifth, 1886), Goodan ran into "Squire" Whit Pelfrey in a bar "twelve miles east of Morehead".³¹⁵ Pelfrey, a prosperous man of middle age, was a native of Carter County and a Humphrey supporter. He and Goodan had several drinks and left the saloon together. Once outside, Goodan slit Pelfrey's throat from ear to ear, almost decapitating him.

According to Goodan, Pelfrey reached into his pocket, giving the impression he was going for his gun. Other witnesses stated that Goodan had been "playing buzzard"-pretending he had taken in more alcohol than he really had. He was transported to Lexington for incarceration to prevent mob justice.³¹⁶

Dr. Guerrant's efforts to erect a church in Morehead were crowned with success. Having donated the lot upon which the church was constructed, Col. John Hargis was anxious to attend the opening service. On the third of April his wish was fulfilled after a fashion- his

funeral was the first service conducted. Prominent in town affairs, Hargis had represented Morgan and Breathitt Counties in the 1849 constitutional convention. A monument was to be erected to his memory by the grateful people of Rowan and Breathitt Counties.³¹⁷

Morehead remained peaceful. On May the third, Thomas J. Oxley was elected town marshall. A local option election was scheduled for the first Monday in August in Precinct No. 1 (Morehead) on the motion of D.B. Logan and others.³¹⁸

On May nineteenth, Jackson Carter of Morehead shot and killed a Mr. Roe at Stepstone (four miles west of Owingsville) on the midnight east bound express. Roe's brother shot Carter in the leg while he was escaping the coach. Carter caught a later train to Morehead, where he was arrested by Marshall John Givens and returned to Mt. Sterling. Roe's death had apparently come as the result of a couple of arguments he had with Carter earlier that day while attending Barnum's circus in Mt. Sterling.³¹⁹

On the first of June it was reported that William Moody's son Thomas fell from a horse he was riding near Cross Roads and became entangled in the plow gears. The horse spooked, broke into a run, and drug young Moody a half-mile before he could be stopped. Moody was dead by the time the horse was caught.³²⁰

Rowan County Court records indicate a local option election was scheduled for Farmers in August. Strong drink had entered into much of the violence of the last few years. Attempts to curtail its availability were to be expected.

The Hazel Green *Herald* of June twenty-third reported Craig Tolliver's nephew, Andrew, back home (Upper Grassy, Morgan County) after an absence of nearly three months. His foot had been cut in an accident and he was walking on crutches.³²¹ Six days later, Alvin Bowling was escorted to the Frankfort prison by Montgomery County Sheriff Eilis Dean. The Court of Appeals had refused to overturn the lower court's ruling.³²²

XII
July 1886 - August 1886
W.O. Logan Killed - State Militia Return
The Queen City Swindle - Caruth's Compromise

Months of relative peace had done nothing to calm the passions of the combatants. On the first of July trouble broke out again- this time between Craig Tolliver and Matt Carey. Both men were later interviewed. The stories recorded were so widely disparate, one almost wonders if each actually met the other at all.

Carey's tale was that he was walking unarmed past a hotel near the depot when he met Craig Tolliver, who was sporting a gun. Tolliver asked him to go behind some houses. Carey refused. Tolliver attempted to force him. Carey grabbed a bannister and held on. Some passing ladies begged Tolliver to release him.

H.M. Logan approached the struggling pair with his hands behind his back. He shouted for Carey to come to him. Tolliver, distracted, loosened his grip, and Carey managed to slip away. Tolliver then drew on Logan, who backed off. The ladies persuaded Tolliver to quit the fight.

Craig Tolliver's version of the row sets the beginning near the post office. It was there that he met Carey, who winked at him in a "mean, malicious manner." Tolliver questioned the meaning of the gesture and was unsatisfied with the reply. The pair did not fight, but started back at the same time.

A bit further down the street they met H.M. Logan with a hand in his pistol pocket. Tolliver warned him to remove the hand; Logan started to draw. Tolliver jumped into a nearby doorway. Someone shoved a pistol into his hands and he got the drop on Logan. Logan pleaded for his life; Craig let him go unharmed.³²³

As a result of this peculiarly recorded altercation, Cook Humphrey was summoned back into town. H.M. Logan was up in arms; Craig Tolliver set up headquarters at the Raine Hotel. Business once again ground to a stop as the alarmed population readied themselves for the inevitable reign of lead.³²⁴ Elder B.F. Parker of the Owingsville Christian Church broke up his Morehead revival and arrived home on July second. He blamed the violence on the approaching August elections.³²⁵

Four days later, July fifth, the simmering emotional pot boiled over. Deputy Sheriff Henry Ramey had warrants for Craig Tolliver, Cook Humphrey and Humphrey's friends Charles Bailey, Nathaniel Fowler, and Tom Harris. Tolliver gave himself up. Bailey surrendered himself into Ramey's custody, and they walked over to Howard Logan's store together. Logan asked Ramey if he had a warrant for his arrest. When Ramey responded to the negative, Logan told him to get out. Ramey refused; Logan shoved him thru the front door and called him a "very dirty name." Ramey struck him with his fist. And then the shooting started.³²⁶

According to Logan, Ramey fired the first shot; Ramey claimed that Logan retrieved a double barrel shotgun and shot him in the side.

Sheriff William Ramey, hearing the shots, rushed to aid his son. H.M. Logan's son, William, pulled a pistol. Bullets and buckshot thickened the air for a few minutes. When peace

was restored, both Rameys and the younger Logan were found to be wounded.³²⁷

The Rameys would recover from their wounds. Will Logan was not so fortunate. Heavily sedated with morphine, he was baptized by Rev. C.O. Guerrant as a member of the Presbyterian Church. The state militia under Major McKee returned to Rowan County. A special term of court was slated to begin the twenty-second of July.³²⁸

Across the Ohio River, Jeff Bowling was sentenced to be hung by the neck until dead. Governor Foraker allowed him thirty days respite while friends sought to have his sentence commuted to life imprisonment.³²⁹

Morehead, in July of 1886, was a town of about four hundred souls. The unpaved streets were graced by occasional stray pieces of plank walk. Non-aligned citizens carefully avoided speaking of the Feud. Most were afraid to testify because of the possibility of violent reprisal. "Uncle Jesse" Coldiron was running for jailor.³³⁰

Howard Logan's store had been closed since the fight.³³¹ Logan was constantly at his son's bedside, watching tight lipped as the young man succumbed to the slow touch of death.³³² Mrs. Logan was deeply affected by her son's plight. Her daughter, Ida, had passed away the previous October.³³³

To the east of Morehead, the Martin family was rebuilding their home. Ben Martin, Vina Martin, three daughters, and a fifteen year old son were living in a log outbuilding while the house was under construction.³³⁴

While statewide interest in Rowan's unsettled affairs ran high, an enterprising reporter pried into the *Courier's* files and unearthed the following piece of county history: In the year 1875, J.W. Sewell, a con artist from Covington, purchased 1,800 Rowan County acres lying four and one-half miles from Morehead on the road from Morehead to Olympia and took a patent on 10,000 more acres. He then proceeded to have an elegantly engraved map published of a place he named Queen City- a map detailing parks, lakes, splendid public buildings and a railroad. Using this map, Mr. Sewell sold hundreds of 25' x 100' town lots for \$2.50 to \$4.00 each.

Sewell's grand coup came when James Appleby, a wealthy Montreal hotel owner, traded a \$100,000 hotel for a block of Queen City and several thousand acres. Appleby traveled joyfully to Kentucky to examine his newly acquired possessions. One can imagine his fury when he found Queen City to consist of but a few rude huts. The railroad, which supposedly ran past the city's doorstep, had, in reality, proceeded no closer than Mt. Sterling. Appleby filed suit in Rowan court, but died before the case came to trial, perhaps a casualty of a broken heart.

Sewell himself was eventually killed by a vengeful Indian he had swindled. The land- which he had registered in the name of his sister, Mrs. Grigsby, making the deeds he issued totally worthless- was sold for taxes. Warren Alderson was among the buyers.³³⁵

As the days drew closer to the special court term another article revealed that former Constable Bob Messer had fled to Arkansas after shooting Taylor Hawkins several months earlier.³³⁶ Messer's father-in-law, Elijah Amberg, was a jury member when court convened.³³⁷

The special term of court opened at 9:00 a.m., July twenty-first. Presiding was Judge A.E. Cole; Asher G. Caruth, of Louisville, was the prosecutor. The first few days were taken in selection of the jury.³³⁸ On the twenty-third, Tom Goodan was indicted for the willful murder of Whit Pelfrey. The population of Morehead shrank as men fled possible

indictment.³³⁹

William Logan died at five o'clock on the morning of July twenty-fourth. He was nineteen years old. The funeral was held the following day at eleven a.m., in a church crowded with friends. It was beginning to look as though Howard Logan might lose his wife also.³⁴⁰

Tom Goodan and Charles Coburn were brought to Morehead from their Lexington cells on the twenty-fourth. Allie Young undertook Goodan's defense.³⁴¹

Two days later, Craig Tolliver and Cook Humphrey were arrested. Both were placed under \$500.00 peace bonds by Judge Cole. Tolliver claimed Humphrey had a revolver in his vest, but both men proved unarmed when searched.

Sheriff Ramey dropped the warrant he had against Howard Logan. Logan had threatened to kill him in the heat of passion. Ramey's son Henry was rearrested for the murder of William Logan.³⁴²

On the twenty-seventh, Henry Ramey was discharged from custody when the grand jury failed to return an indictment. H.M. Logan was indicted on charges of shooting with intent to kill, shooting and wounding, and carrying a concealed deadly weapon.³⁴³

On July twenty-eighth court was adjourned until the August third regular term. The witnesses were held over.³⁴⁴

One conviction came out of the special term. Coburn was given two years in the pen for robbing a railroad car at the depot.³⁴⁵ Goodan's case was continued.³⁴⁶ Judge Cole was openly accused of being biased toward the Tolliver faction.³⁴⁷ Hiram Brain, a Martinite, claimed the affair was so one sided he could no longer serve on the jury.³⁴⁸

On the thirtieth, Caruth spoke to the *Courier Journal's* reporter and gave his opinion of Rowan's troubles. According to Caruth, ninety percent of the county's population were honest and law obeying. The problems caused by the remaining one in ten were further fermented by certain newspaper reporters bent on sensationalizing the facts. Cook Humphrey and Craig Tolliver were the main reasons for the strife; if they were out of the county, affairs would settle down.³⁴⁹

A young man by the name of Peck was arrested in Morehead that same day on charges of trying to shoot a train hand. The sheriff's posse included Ramey, Craig Tolliver, Mason Keating (Keaton) and John Amen (Allen) Day.³⁵⁰

At the regular August court term, William Cornett was sentenced to one year in the pen for his participation in the Hughes murder. William Fouch's bond was forfeited when he failed to appear to face charges of cutting with intent to kill.³⁵¹

On the sixth of August, the *Courier Journal* showed their prejudice once again. A drawing of Craig Tolliver was accompanied by an editorial which described him as "not a handsome man nor a particularly brilliant one" who "could in no manner serve the state so well as by dying out of it".³⁵²

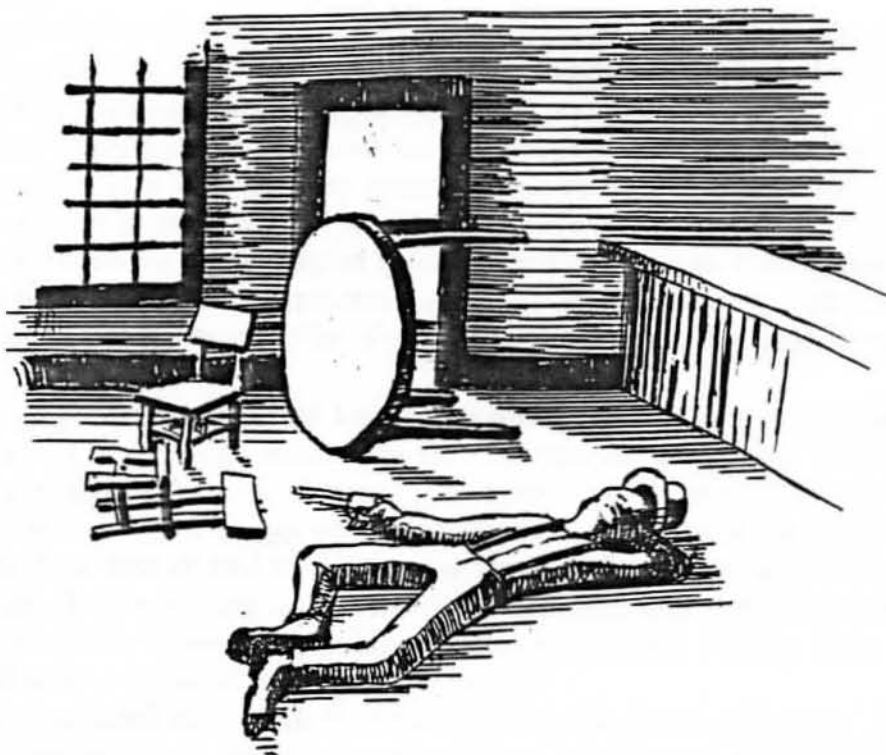
Circuit court records of the sixth show that Daniel Boone Logan obtained his law license on the motion of Z.T. Young. His knowledge of the law was examined by fellow attorneys J.J. Nesbitt, V. B. Young and A.W. Young.³⁵³

Prosecuting Attorney Caruth, experiencing the usual difficulty obtaining convictions under the turgid conditions in Rowan, developed his own peace plan. In exchange for their promises to permanently depart the county, indictments against Craig Tolliver and Cook Humphrey were held *in terrorem*- ready to be put back in force if they choose to return.

Humphrey pulled up roots and resettled in Missouri; Tolliver promised to make a new start in Texas.³⁵⁴ In addition to the charges against Tolliver and Humphrey, charges against Malvina Martin, Thomas A. Day and others, and H.M. Logan were filed away with leave to redocket.³⁵⁵ In retrospect one can see Caruth putting the best face possible on the situation. None of the major Feud players had ever been convicted; convictions in a Rowan County court would have been impossible to obtain. The Commonwealth surely could have sought a change in venue, although extra expense would have been involved. Caruth's "paper peace", if it held, was cheap and quick. If it didn't, well..... the State had tried, hadn't they?

On August eleventh Thomas Goodan was sent to the Maysville jail to await the February term of court.³⁵⁶

The elections of early August left the Youngs and their political allies in control of most county offices. Allie Young became county attorney in his father's stead; George A. Johnson became county court clerk; James W. Johnson became circuit court clerk.³⁵⁷ Rowan's little war was approaching its final stages. Some new characters were about to enter the stage; some old ones were about to change their roles.



XIII
September 1886 - December 1886
A Conspiracy Unveiled - Cousins Battle - H. M. Logan Shot

On the tenth of September James Pelfrey³⁵⁸ brought his wife and two children to Morehead to see the Creston Circus. Pelfrey got drunk and was thrown in jail for the night. Taylor Young interceded on his behalf the next morning; Allie Young saw that he was released from jail without a fine.

Later in the day Pelfrey fell to talking with Green Mannin, who had been present when Taylor sought Pelfrey's release. Pelfrey expressed his astonishment about not being fined. Mannin related the tale of how Taylor had spoke up for him. This further surprised Pelfrey, who questioned Mannin closely about what Young had said. Mannin inquired about the reason for his curiosity. Pelfrey remarked that "but a few days since Henry Logan offered me \$100.00 to kill Taylor Young". Taken to Young, he related the following tale:

"On August fourteenth I accompanied James Hoffman to Lewis County, where I intended to rent a farm. On Kinney we ran into Dr. Henry Logan and Louis Rayburn³⁵⁹. Henry Logan called Rayburn and I to one side and tried to recruit me into his camp. "Jim", he said, "Your brother Whit has been killed and the Morehead elite is going to acquit Goodan for it. I want you to help Louis Rayburn kill Taylor Young, William and Henry Ramey, D.B. Logan and John Keeton. I will furnish you with a Winchester rifle and give you \$100.00 apiece for each you kill."

I responded that, with a wife and two children depending upon me for support, I couldn't afford that kind of trouble. Logan insisted upon my help, and I finally agreed. After giving the matter some private thought, I changed my mind."

Pelfrey then offered to prove his story by arranging for Logan to meet him at a certain time and place with a rifle and the money. The Youngs agreed to this plan and Pelfrey contacted Logan. A meeting was arranged at a secluded, uninhabited dwelling two miles from Morehead. Well before the scheduled meeting time of nine a.m. Pelfrey and five well armed companions had arrived. His comrades secreted themselves nearby and Pelfrey awaited the coming of Logan and Rayburn. Nine o'clock came and went; the alleged conspirators never showed.

It was later determined that Logan was forewarned of the trap thru old Allen Keeton, who had learned of Pelfrey's confession thru his son John Keeton. The news apparently reached Logan just in the nick of time. The meeting had been set up for Thursday. On Wednesday evening Henry Logan and Louis Rayburn came down the North Fork of Triplett together. Rayburn told several persons on the way that he was going home with Logan to get some medicine. Rayburn's father, old Ben Rayburn, later stated that Louis and Henry were trying to make a cow trade. Logan later acknowledged that Pelfrey came to his home on Monday and said he intended to kill Taylor Young.

Pelfrey revealed more of his first meeting with Rayburn and Logan. To the Youngs he declared that Rayburn had told him he already had his rifle and \$100.00. Pelfrey also spoke of a difficulty that had occurred between Rayburn and D.B. Logan at Pine Springs on the last August election day- information that Pelfrey would have been unlikely to have known had not

Rayburn revealed it to him. Dr. Logan further divulged at that Monday meeting that he had a man who had been shadowing Taylor Young for a month. A man could conceal himself in the weeds growing behind the Central Hotel and kill Young any morning between six and nine, Logan said.³⁶⁰

Newspapers of August nineteenth carried reports of a violent wind storm in neighboring Bath County and a fair in Maysville³⁶¹. Five days later it was reported from Columbus, Ohio that Jeff Bowling was to be hung Friday the twenty-seventh, at one o'clock. Friends continued to plea with the governor for commutation of his sentence³⁶².

On the afternoon of August twenty-seventh, former Sheriff John C. Day entered the barroom of the Raine Hotel³⁶³ and ordered a bottle of whiskey from his cousin and close friend Tom Allen Day. Instead of whiskey, Tom Allen set up a bottle of brandy. John drank and was content- until Tom informed him of the switch and said he knew that John was such a damned fool he wouldn't be able to tell whiskey from brandy.

Seething, John didn't say a word in reply. He rose from his seat, walked to the back room, picked up a billiard cue, and rushed Tom. He gave Tom a sound beating with the cue, kicked him a few times, and broke one or two whiskey glasses over his head for emphasis. After pounding Tom until he was tired, John left the bar and started to walk off.

Behind him on the floor of the barroom, Tom came to his senses. Retrieving his revolver, Tom shot his departing cousin in the small of the back. The bullet passed thru the liver and out the other side. John C. Day died four days later at one o'clock in the morning, reprieved at last from the horrible pain of his wound.³⁶⁴

In mid-September Howard Logan nominated Judge Thomas of Lewis County for Congress at the Republican convention in Maysville.³⁶⁵ Two weeks later a rumor that Z.T. Young had dropped dead of heart disease in an Elliott County courtroom was refuted.³⁶⁶ The seasons were as confused as the domestic tranquility- in neighboring Carter County apple trees bloomed in profusion at September's end.³⁶⁷

Elliott County's newly discovered diamond fields were dealt with in an early October article.³⁶⁸ On the fifth, William Ramey was appointed sheriff for 1886. Three sureties of note were Allen G. Alderson, Squire Hogg, and A.J. White. Hogg, a former justice of the peace (resigned August 3, 1886) was also Ramey's deputy.³⁶⁹

The last days of fall brought a drop in the fortunes of P.A. Anderson, a wealthy Montgomery County farmer with an interest in a Farmers Station store. He declared bankruptcy on October twenty-third. Notes from surrounding counties included: Montgomery- Mt. Sterling was building a new depot³⁷⁰; Breathitt- Craig Tolliver's brother, William, and William's son, Alex, were logging; Wolfe- J.W. Day gave a concert at the Hazel Green Public School where the blind musician was quite a hit, singing and playing the violin³⁷¹; Boyd County recorded its first snowfall on November sixth³⁷².

On November the tenth, Col. Z.T. Young successfully pled with Judge Cole to release Tom Goodan on bail. Goodan had contracted typho-malarial fever while in custody in Maysville.³⁷³

Between 6:30 and 7:30 on the evening of Thursday, November the eighteenth, H.M. Logan left the Gault House for his home about fifty yards away on the same street. A man concealed in a clump of small trees near the hotel fired twice at Logan with a shotgun. The first shot just missed his face and was so close the force of the concussion turned him around.

The second shot broke his leg just below the knee. The assassin's bare footprints were traced back thru the Gault House garden.

The current Morehead rumor placed the shotgun wielder in the hire of the Tolliver faction, who had supposedly offered him \$50.00 for Logan dead, \$25.00 for Logan shot. Logan allegedly knew the gunman but considered it useless to swear out a warrant. His only comment for the record was that the gunman had intended to kill him, not to scare him, as had originally been reported. Mrs. Logan was worn and pale.³⁷⁴

As winter settled upon the muddy streets, native Morehead citizens took to traveling in pairs. Visitors were scattered and few.³⁷⁵

On the sixth of December, D.B. Logan represented Mrs. R.L. Raine before the county court in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a tavern license.³⁷⁶ Logan's mentor, Col. Van B. Young of Mt. Sterling, was spoken of as a candidate for lieutenant governor, an office he had sought four years previous.³⁷⁷

The *Courier Journal* reported on the fifteenth that Rowan's affairs were so unsettled that Allie Young deemed it prudent to resign his post and leave the county.³⁷⁸ If such was the case Young was not a prudent man- he was still county attorney the following April.

Z.T. Young was prospering in his relocated practice in Mt. Sterling. R. G. Foreman, originally convicted of manslaughter for his New Year's Day, 1884, killing of Jerry Cravens, had his fourteen year sentence overturned on a technicality. A member of the prosecution during the retrial, Young saw Foreman receive a twenty-one year sentence the second time around.³⁷⁹



XIV

January 1887 - Early June 1887

Craig Tolliver Returns- Four More Deaths- Conspiracies Continue

The first month of the new year brought little hope to the embattled inhabitants of Morehead. A report from Owingsville on the third detailed Craig Tolliver's earlier return to Morehead- a reappearance made in defiance of his personal vow to remain away. "Tolliver and a reign of terror," the report stated, "Make a simultaneous appearance."³⁸⁰

On Monday night, January third, Morehead constable Mason Keeton and John Rogers were attending a dance at H.C. Powers' hotel. Keeton was drunk. For reasons unknown to any but himself, he pulled his pistol and shot a finger off Rogers' right hand. In the resulting confusion, an unknown party fired four shots at Keeton. One pierced his heart.³⁸¹

Coincidentally, Rowan Court Records of the same date reveal that H.M. Logan was released from Powers' bond and immediately moved that Powers show reason why his liquor license should not be revoked. Powers and Logan were first cousins- but something had obviously gone sour between them. A new surety was recorded for Powers eight days later- M.T. Cogswell.

Squire Hogg became county sheriff in early January. His deputies were A.J. Harris, A. J. White and George W. Hogg; his sureties included A. J. White, Samuel F. Clark, John R. "Bud" Tolliver and Bud's brother W.W. Tolliver.³⁸²

The eleventh saw the second death of the new year. Wiley V. Tolliver³⁸³ expired from knife wounds he had received the previous day in a drunken brawl with a Mr. Bentley. Their quarrel was not supposed to have been grounded in the Feud, although Bentley was rumored to have been shadowing Craig Tolliver's Morehead residence for some time. Craig himself was out of town. Wiley's brother purchased rifle cartridges in Morehead on the eleventh, preparing himself for any eventuality.³⁸⁴

It was a rough and tumble decade throughout Eastern Kentucky. Like the citizens they served, editors of the period were given to the expression of strong opinions. For those opinions they sometimes suffered- as the *Ashland Independent's* editor, James A. Miller, found when he was brutally beaten by two young men who had taken offense at one of his articles.³⁸⁵

In late January or early February,³⁸⁶ Craig Tolliver made the papers in Morgan County. Arriving in West Liberty on Tuesday morning, Tolliver told several locals that he expected trouble from brothers James and Jesse Blair and requested someone to undertake a peacemaking mission. No immediate volunteers were found for this task and as Craig departed town he discerned the Blairs coming in, armed with double barrel shotguns.

Retracing his steps, Tolliver sought out Judge McKenzie. Upon hearing Tolliver's story, McKenzie had him disarmed and arrested. A posse was called together to arrest and disarm the Blairs. When this was accomplished the parties were brought together and talked out their differences. All agreed that they were the victims of a misunderstanding. Pledging peace, they were allowed to depart.

Judge McKenzie's prompt and decisive action saved his town's citizens from the side effects of a gun battle. The same parties, meeting on the streets of Morehead, would have breakfasted on lead and perhaps bedded at the undertaker's.

On the eighth of February, T.J. Oxley became Morehead's marshal. Two of his sureties, J.R. and W.W. Tolliver, had signed Sheriff Hogg's bonds.³⁸⁷

During the February term of circuit court Tom Goodan's murder case came to trial again. There were more than twenty witnesses, including Dr. C.H. Porter, Cyrus Mannin and Perry Mannin. On February tenth a jury composed of Allen Garten, Wm. Barber, Thomas Workman, Daniel Short, James Hogg, F.M. Royse, Alvin Clarke, John H. Day, D.G. Ham, P.C. Reynolds, E.G. Templeman and C.C. Caudill returned a verdict of not guilty.³⁸⁸

Three murder indictments were handed down the next day. The parties named were Thos. A. Day, Ben Bentley and John Arnold.³⁸⁹

During the circuit court session a suspicious looking character was noted lurking around town. Arrested by the Sheriff, the man proved to be carrying a pistol and several shotgun cartridges. His account of his actions was not believed and he was kept in custody.

The stranger proved to be one James A. Harris, alias Pendlum. To his uncle, Hayden Harris, he related the following confession: "Dr. H.S. Logan recruited me to assist in the assassinations of Judge Cole, Col. Z.T. Young, and County Attorney Allie Young. My confederates were to have been Morgan McClerg, Lou Rayburn, a Mr. Hensley and a Mr. Logan. H.M. Logan was the money man. Thru his brother H.S. we were provided with guns and ammunition and promised \$100.00 each when our task was complete.

Our plan was to shoot Cole and the Youngs during the court term while all were in town at the hotel. If it proved impossible to shoot them thru the windows we would have set the hotel afire and shot them as they ran out."

On the strength of Harris' confession the grand jury returned indictments against Henry Logan, Louis Rayburn, Lon Rayburn and Morgan McClerg. Logan's sons W.H.W and John B. were placed under peace warrants.³⁹⁰ Dr. Logan and McClerg, in lieu of \$6000.00 bail, were jailed, later to be transferred to Lexington.³⁹¹ Morehead's pulse was in a flutter yet again.

On February seventeenth, the *Courier Journal* carried an interesting article, a report from Owingsville. It seems that Marion Gray of Fleming County, learning of Harris' whereabouts, swore out a complaint against him in Owingsville. The charge was grand larceny. Marshal D.S. Nixon recruited four trustworthy men for a posse and proceeded to Morehead to take custody of the prisoner.

The reception they received was somewhat less than cordial. Judge Cole refused to surrender his star witness into the marshal's dubious custody- Nixon was the same officer who had "lost" Jesse Underwood some years earlier- and the posse soon found themselves back at the hotel awaiting the west bound train. Shortly, they had company.

Word of their mission had spread. Thru the hotel doors marched a platoon of fifteen to twenty "angry and vicious-looking" men. Surrounding the Bath County party, they informed them in no uncertain terms of the dire consequences that would ensue if they attempted to take Harris away. Spencer rifles and double-barreled shotguns were meaningfully flourished. One would imagine that the posse boarded the train with a sense of relief.

In Owingsville, the article concluded, where Harris's character was well known, it is regarded as an outrage to send men to jail on his unsupported testimony.³⁹²

The Morehead post office was burglarized on the night of the twenty-first. Several

registered packages disappeared, among them one belonging to J.H. Cole of West Liberty.³⁹³

From February Circuit Court records, two other items of note: First, Mary E. Tolliver, Floyd's widow, had mortgaged her property in Farmers to R.H. Conner on March 20, 1885 for \$150.00. That mortgage being unpaid, the property was offered for sale by the master commissioner. Second, Sheriff Squire Hogg had been ordered to summon twenty guards for the court session. The men that he called were all Tolliverites- hardly surprising.

On March first, it was reported that Commonwealth's Attorney Asher G. Caruth had resigned his office to pursue a full time private practice.³⁹⁴

Daniel Boone Logan became Morehead police judge on the seventh; the next day D.G. Ham replaced James M. Carey in the office of Morehead Treasurer. Carey had joined the exodus, removing from the county.³⁹⁵

The Licking River rose as the winter of 1886-87 neared its end. Lumbermen seized the opportunity to get their logs to market- the Morgan and Kendall Houses in West Liberty were teeming with log raftsmen.³⁹⁶

A most unusual wedding occurred on Thursday, the third of March. Rev. W.R. Davis united his twin nieces in marriage with the twin sons of Abel Caudill of Rowan County. William Wells, of Caney in Morgan County, gave his daughter Mahala Wells to Robert Lee Caudill and his daughter Kalah Wells to John T. Caudill.³⁹⁷

Craig Tolliver opened a dry goods store in Morehead, traveling to Cincinnati to purchase supplies. He spent several days and around two thousand dollars. The Cincinnati *Enquirer* described him as a Rowan deputy sheriff and law abiding citizen who neither drank whiskey nor carried a gun.³⁹⁸

Tragedy visited Morehead on March fourteenth. While visiting his good friend, J. T. Witcher, a former railroad conductor, John Trumbo was given a cruel slap by fate. The friends fell to bragging about their prowess with their weapons. "I could cut your throat, Trumbo, were you and I to get into a fight, before you could draw your pistol and save your life", Witcher boasted. "Well, I'll just show you you couldn't", Trumbo replied, and drew his pistol. Trumbo's gun discharged, the .44 caliber slug striking Witcher directly above the right eye. He died instantly, ten feet from the bed where his young wife lay ill.

Witcher's funeral was held on the next day. The large crowd in attendance was peaceful. The coroner's verdict of accidental shooting seemed to satisfy everyone.³⁹⁹

Jeff Bowling's friends continued their campaign in Ohio. His fourth respite since his sentencing reprieved him of a walk to the gallows on March twenty-fifth. His execution date was reset for June twenty-fourth.⁴⁰⁰

The County Court settled several interesting claims on April fourth, among them one for \$4.00 from M.T. McDaniel for an inquest on Stewart Caudill.⁴⁰¹

H.C. Powers' house was mobbed for the second time on the night of April twenty-eighth. All of the windows were broken out and considerable other damage was done. Powers had endured enough. Convinced that he would be killed if he remained in the county, he gathered up his family and furniture and relocated to the town of Covington.⁴⁰²

Powers had attempted to steer clear of the factional strife, but had run afoul of Jay Tolliver. His troubles began soon after. The people of Morehead and Rowan County, Powers declared, "denounce in unmeasured terms the compromise by which the prosecution of Tolliver and his gang was dropped." Apparently forced, either directly or due to lack of other

options, Powers rented his thriving business in Morehead to Craig Tolliver before his departure for \$250.00 per year.⁴⁰³ Craig changed the name to the American House.

John Manning (Mannin), a newcomer to the scene, became Morehead's town marshal on May tenth. Craig Tolliver, Manning's opponent in the marshal's race, became police judge on the nineteenth.⁴⁰⁴ The town's law enforcement structure was firmly in Tolliver's hands, as Manning was surely his hand picked candidate and Craig had only ran against him as a matter of form.

William Tolliver opened a general merchandise store at Goodwin's Chapel in May. His son Alexander was the salesman- which may have kept him out of the fighting that occurred in June. Their advertisement read: "County produce taken in exchange for goods, and the patronage of the public is respectfully solicited".⁴⁰⁵

On June sixth, B.C. Tolliver sought a tavern license for the American Hotel.⁴⁰⁶

XV

June 1887

Henry Logan's Sons Killed - The Rameys Outrun Death A Terrible and Final Vengeance

Hiram Cooper was an individual of limited popularity, reputed to have committed a series of small crimes, petty theft and the like, and to be generally of low moral character. His popularity was so limited, in fact, that signs suggesting his immediate and permanent removal from the area began appearing on the streets of Morehead.⁴⁰⁷ Nevertheless, upon an affidavit sworn out by this selfsame Cooper, W.H.W. Logan, Jackson Logan, Coon Logan⁴⁰⁸, John Pigman and Nathan Fowels (Fowler?)- were charged with ku-kluxing- conspiring and banding together to murder Cooper. A posse was summoned to arrest W.H.W. and Jack Logan, brothers, the sons of Dr. Henry Logan.

The posse was under the leadership of Morehead Marshall John Mannin. H.M. Logan later stated that its members included Craig, Bud and Jay Tolliver, two unknown Tollivers, John Mannin's brother Jim, Deputy Sheriff George Hogg, one of Z.T. Young's sons, Harry Clark and others. Clark, it seems, had been absent from the Feud scene for a couple of years and was unaware of the situation when he was summoned by the marshall to assist in the arrest.⁴⁰⁹

Roads change over the years. The best information that we have indicates that the double log cabin that served as the Logan home⁴¹⁰ stood at the end of the road that leads through present day Holiday Estates⁴¹¹. The posse arrived in the afternoon, finding the Logans driving in the horses. Upon learning their intentions, the Logans ran into the house and sought refuge on the second floor. Pleas for their surrender went unheeded. Marshall Mannin started in after them. He had reached the foot of the stairway when the roar of a shotgun greeted him. He staggered outside, badly wounded in the left arm and shoulder.⁴¹²

The posse shot the windows out of the house, then came to the conclusion that the safest and easiest course to flush out their opponents would be to torch the place. The Logans were offered a choice- surrender or toast. Promised that they would not be harmed, they choose the former. They were disarmed, marched about forty yards to a nearby spring, and "shot down like dogs".⁴¹³

The posse returned to Morehead, leaving the mutilated bodies of their adversaries- "killed while resisting arrest"⁴¹⁴- stiffening under the open sky. Bud Tolliver told Hiram Pigman of the shooting and requested that he care for the corpses.⁴¹⁵ Pigman didn't trust Tolliver, suspecting an ambush. He waited until the next morning before traveling to the scene of the murders. His outrage at what he found there only became fully evident in about two weeks.⁴¹⁶

The general opinion among the members of the Martin-Logan faction was that Craig Tolliver had arranged the murders to prevent the Logans from testifying on behalf of their father.⁴¹⁷

On Tuesday, June Fourteenth, ex-Sheriff Ramey and his son Henry were ambushed. Strong legs, good wind and a conveniently located corn field allowed them to escape unscathed.⁴¹⁸

Like Henry Clay Powers, many other Morehead citizens had chosen relocation over remaining in the maelstrom of the Feud. H.M. Logan moved to Ashland; Judge James Carey, Matt Carey and J.M. Brain to Covington; James E. Clark to Unionville, Clark County, Missouri; Richmond Tussey to Carter County; R.C. Humphrey to Missouri.⁴¹⁹ The Tolliver faction was in full control of the little town, wielding power with heavy hands.⁴²⁰ The killings of the Logan brothers however, were the final straw. Everyone expected a reaction- the rumors in the press were rampant.

The news from Maysville on the twenty-third was: "Tolliver Wants Seven More Scalps. Craig and forty to fifty followers were in the woods; the opposing faction had also taken to the brush. Craig says he wants seven more scalps and intends to have them."⁴²¹

The Louisville paper of the previous day stated Tolliver was expecting to be attacked and had called his friends to Morehead. The friends of the murdered Martins and Logans had organized into a body of Regulators and vowed to effect the punishment of the Tolliver faction.

Morehead commerce was at a standstill. The unaligned citizens preferred not to oppose the Regulators, but dared not disobey Craig, who had conscripted and armed every man in Morehead old enough to carry a gun.⁴²² The Regulators had threatened to destroy the town and kill all who stood against them. Craig's reply was that a thousand men might take Morehead- but only with much difficulty and loss of life.

The papers were guessing. The truth was simpler- and perhaps even more fraught with drama. One man stood at the core of the remaining opposition to the Tolliver tyranny. That man was Daniel Boone Logan.

Logan's politics were Democratic. He had been a close friend to the Youngs, defending the Tolliver position in several outspoken letters to the Mt. Sterling paper.⁴²³ He had no particular sympathy for his Logan cousins- H.M. and H.S.- regarding them as conspirators who would use assassination to achieve their political ends. He had stayed on the Feud's fringes until this time. The events of the last few weeks now brought him to the fore.

The murders of his cousins were not all that had caused a shift in Logan's views. Threats had been made against his immediate family⁴²⁴ by Craig Tolliver; threats had been made against his home and his person. Logan now found himself in direct conflict with the man he had once spoken for. Forming an alliance with Hiram Pigman, Logan vowed that together they would bring their oppressors before the bar of justice.

Logan slipped out of Morehead and traveled to Frankfort to talk with Governor Knott. Knott listened with sympathy to Logan's tale of Morehead's woe. Craig Tolliver, as police judge, had defied the law by opening a saloon and selling liquor without a license. Two of his friends were doing the same. The people lived in terror of these lawless men, Logan said, and were afraid to overtly oppose them.

The Governor refused to send the militia to Rowan County yet again. Twice before, Knott reminded Logan, they had been assigned there, at a cost to the state of \$100,000. Their presence had served only to protect the court in the conduct of trials that were travesties of justice.

Obtain warrants for the Tollivers' arrests from the county sheriff and county judge, Knott advised. Summon together a posse to effect those arrests.

Logan requested arms. Knott replied that he could give him none. Logan's next stop was Cincinnati, where he spent a small fortune on Winchester rifles. These were shipped to

his home in cases marked hardware.⁴²⁵

Logan and Pigman secured the cooperation of Sheriff Squire Hogg.⁴²⁶ Rowan and surrounding counties were systematically and quietly canvassed. A posse was recruited and a time and date for the arrests was set- Wednesday, June twenty-second, at 10 a.m.⁴²⁷

Secret meetings were held and a plan of action developed. Logan's Cincinnati Winchesters were distributed. The remaining Regulators were armed with pistols, shotguns, rifles and muskets. Warrants were issued for the arrests of the leaders of the Tolliver faction, their chief followers, and their political allies. Those on the wanted list included Craig, Jay, Bud, Andy and Cal Tolliver; Boone, Bill and Tom Day; Sam Goodan, Hiram Cooper, John Rogers, Burke Manning, Jim Manning, Allie Young and Z.T. Young, Jr.- Allie's younger brother. Sheriff Hogg held the warrants.⁴²⁸

Craig Tolliver was expecting an attack. The timing and the number of opponents involved however, were a complete surprise to him.

During the night and early morning the posse assembled on the outskirts of town.⁴²⁹ A cordon was established in the brush around Morehead. Once the town was surrounded, the Regulators began moving in, tightening the noose. The men took up positions behind trees, houses, lumber piles- whatever offered protection. All that remained now was to demand the surrender of the Tolliver faction. The night telegraph operators were put under guard to prevent word from leaking out. Nothing was to be sent except railroad business- but the dispatcher slipped word out to Mt. Sterling. Soon the wires were clicking.

Those clicking wires soon clicked a message back to Morehead. The engineer and conductor on the early C & O freight telegraphed for their wives to leave Morehead immediately.⁴³⁰ The lightning was in the air.

Boone Logan left his position and walked over to the railroad depot to consult with Hiram Pigman. After a brief exchange they both headed back to the squads under their leadership. It was about 8:15 a.m.⁴³¹

Alfred Hardin left his home on Upper Lick Fork in the pre-dawn darkness to deliver a load of cross ties to Morehead. A dozen or so bone jarring miles later he pulled into the tie yard near the depot, where he was given the word- get his business done and get out of town, unless he wanted to participate in a likely gun battle. Alfred took his informant at their word, tossed his ties off the wagon with relish, whipped the slow moving oxen to their maximum plod, and had just crossed the C&O tracks at Brady when rifle fire broke the morning stillness.⁴³²

One of the posse, a man named Bryant, was spotted by vigilant Tolliverites while crossing a clearing towards Pigman's men. Bryant was carrying a Winchester, and the Tollivers opened fire on him. He fled with his attackers in hot pursuit, firing as they ran.⁴³³

From behind stumps, trees, bushes, house corners, and piles of ties, the Regulators sprang up and leveled a collective blast at the Tolliver attackers. "The earth seemed to swarm with armed men"⁴³⁴; the Tollivers, badly outnumbered, beat a precipitous retreat.

These two mistakes- the leak of the news of the posse's presence and Bryant's sighting- may well have caused the death of the Tollivers, as they combined to initiate the battle before Sheriff Hogg had a chance to demand a surrender.⁴³⁵

The first shots were fired in the vicinity of the depot and the Raine Hotel. The Tollivers retreated to join their friends at the Powers House (American Hotel). Hiram Pigman advanced, took control of the depot, and riddled the Powers House. The Tolliver party found their

position untenable. As the posse began to close in from different directions, they made a break for the Central Hotel.

Bullets once again filled the air as the hopelessly outgunned group sprinted for safety. Bud Tolliver fell, his knee shattered. His brother Cal covered him long enough for him to crawl through a fence and conceal himself in some tall grass.⁴³⁶ Cal inflicted a serious wound on Bud Madden, and was himself hit in the side. He managed to crawl under a house and conceal himself until nightfall, when he slipped out of town and escaped to safety.⁴³⁷

The Tollivers managed to gain the shelter of the Central Hotel, but soon found it, too, undefendable against the firepower opposing them. Boone Logan demanded their surrender, promising protection if they laid down their arms. The Tollivers did not trust Logan- perhaps their own example of promised protection was too fresh in their minds- and refused. Logan sent Mrs. Jim Mannin in to talk with her husband and the others. She returned crying- the Tolliver party still refused to lay down their arms. Logan warned them that the next step would be to set fire to the hotel.⁴³⁸

Hiram Cooper, shooting at posse members in the court house square with a large revolver, was himself shot in the breast.⁴³⁹ The rest of the Tolliver party determined to try to break thru the Regulators' lines to the safety of the surrounding hills. The posse, they noticed, were all bareheaded. The Tollivers shed their headgear as well and emerged from cover into the street. They had gone but a little distance when their ruse was discovered. Lead rained around them; women and children rushed about the town screaming.

Jay Tolliver's luck ran out not far from the Central Hotel. His .38 caliber Smith and Wesson⁴⁴⁰ offered scant protection against the long guns of the opposition. He fell, apparently dead. Later George Claycraft went to retrieve Jay's pistol. Jay moved; Claycraft interpreted it as an attempt to shoot him, jumped backwards and shot Jay three times in the head.⁴⁴¹

Nimble wits and nimbler heels enabled a few of the Tolliver party to escape. But there was no eluding death for their leader, a known and marked man. According to one eyewitness, Craig was running down the street toward the Cottage Hotel when he was struck in the leg by a bullet. He fell, attempted to rise, and was struck again in the chest. Falling again, his second effort to get up was greeted by another bullet. Craig rose no more, but the firing continued. Fifteen men were shooting at him, among them Ap Perry and Hiram Pigman. He was shot twice thru the head.

Cate Tolliver, a mere lad of fourteen years, got to Craig first, retrieving his watch and pocketbook. Cate was armed with a revolver and shooting straight at the enemy. Because of his small stature there was no concerted effort to kill him, although a bullet passed thru his clothing.⁴⁴²

Hiram Cooper was discovered upstairs in the Central Hotel in Allie Young's room in a wardrobe. When he turned his pistol on the intruding posse he was shot thru the head.⁴⁴³

Bud Tolliver was found hidden in the tall grass behind Johnson's store. Placing their pistols against the wounded man's head, several posse members, among whom was Alex Bradley, blew his brains out. Found in Bud's possession was a .44 caliber Winchester, rumored to have belonged to former Deputy Bumgardner.⁴⁴⁴

Andy Tolliver, three times wounded, managed to escape to Morgan County and safety.⁴⁴⁵

The Tollivers were not the only ones heading for the hills. Old Aunt Sylvia, colored

servant of the Hargis family, her corncob pipe clinched firmly between her teeth, ran past the Thomas Tippet house, her peacock feathers gaily waving in the hot June breeze. Inside the Tippet home, Mrs. Hattie Jones' class of school children crouched terrified on the stairway while the guns cracked outside the walls.⁴⁴⁶

John Rogers, Z.T. Young's nephew, was in his office when he heard the firing commence. Going to the door, Rogers saw armed men advancing from every corner. When he left his office for a nearby house a swarm of fifty bullets followed him. Running out the back way, Rogers kept to the cover provided by the thickets, crossed Triplett Creek and took to the dubious shelter of the southern hills.⁴⁴⁷

While the bullets flew thickest, Bud Tolliver's four year old son came out on the tracks and asked Hiram Pigman if he intended to shoot him. "We are not after children", Pigman replied, and sent the tot out of harm's way.⁴⁴⁸

The posse's blood was up. In addition to the execution of the wounded, Craig Tolliver's saloon was raided and the American House was robbed. In two hours of continuous shooting over 1,500 shots were fired.⁴⁴⁹

The rest of the wanted parties scattered like dust to the four winds. Marshall Manning and his brother crossed the river at Ashland, likely Ohio bound. Sam Goodan, removed to Owingsville, was of the opinion that the sanguinary work of the twenty-second would continue. The search, at least, did continue, as a party of thirty men scoured Farmers on the twenty-third for John Rogers, Tom Allen Day, and F.M. Tolliver.⁴⁵⁰

The west-bound passenger train, which had been detained for more than two hours on the outskirts of town⁴⁵¹ by a delegation of armed men, finally reached the depot. The passengers, whose curiosity had been kept at a pitch by the popping of pistols and cracking of rifles, got the grand tour. What they found were houses riddled with bullet holes, streets trampled and graced with occasional pools of blood, and, in a little room of the American House, the stiffening, wide-eyed corpses of Craig, Bud, and Jay Tolliver and Hiram Cooper, surrounded by their wives and mothers whose piteous "cries and groans would have moved the heart of a savage..."⁴⁵²

At three p.m. a mass meeting was called at the courthouse. Boone Logan, Dawson M. Dillon and J.M. Brain spoke. A Citizen's Protective Association was formed. "The law shall be obeyed in Rowan County!", they proclaimed, and "If anyone was arrested for this day's work, we will reassemble and punish to the death any man who offers the molestation."⁴⁵³

To Governor Proctor Knott in Frankfort Boone Logan sent a laconic dispatch. "I have done it."⁴⁵⁴

The posse went from saloon to saloon, pouring out liquor. The bodies of the Tollivers were taken charge of, washed and dressed. An order was sent to Lexington:

Morehead, June 22, 1887

L. and G. Straus:

Send four coffins-- two six feet four inches long and two six feet six inches long; also four suits of clothes.

William Hodgkin

Craig Tolliver's widow paid for all the coffins. Upon Craig's was placed the simple inscription, "Rest in Peace." Marion Tolliver arrived from Farmers to supervise the burial of his brother and cousins. While his mother Eleanor grieved the loss of her son, Marion talked quietly to

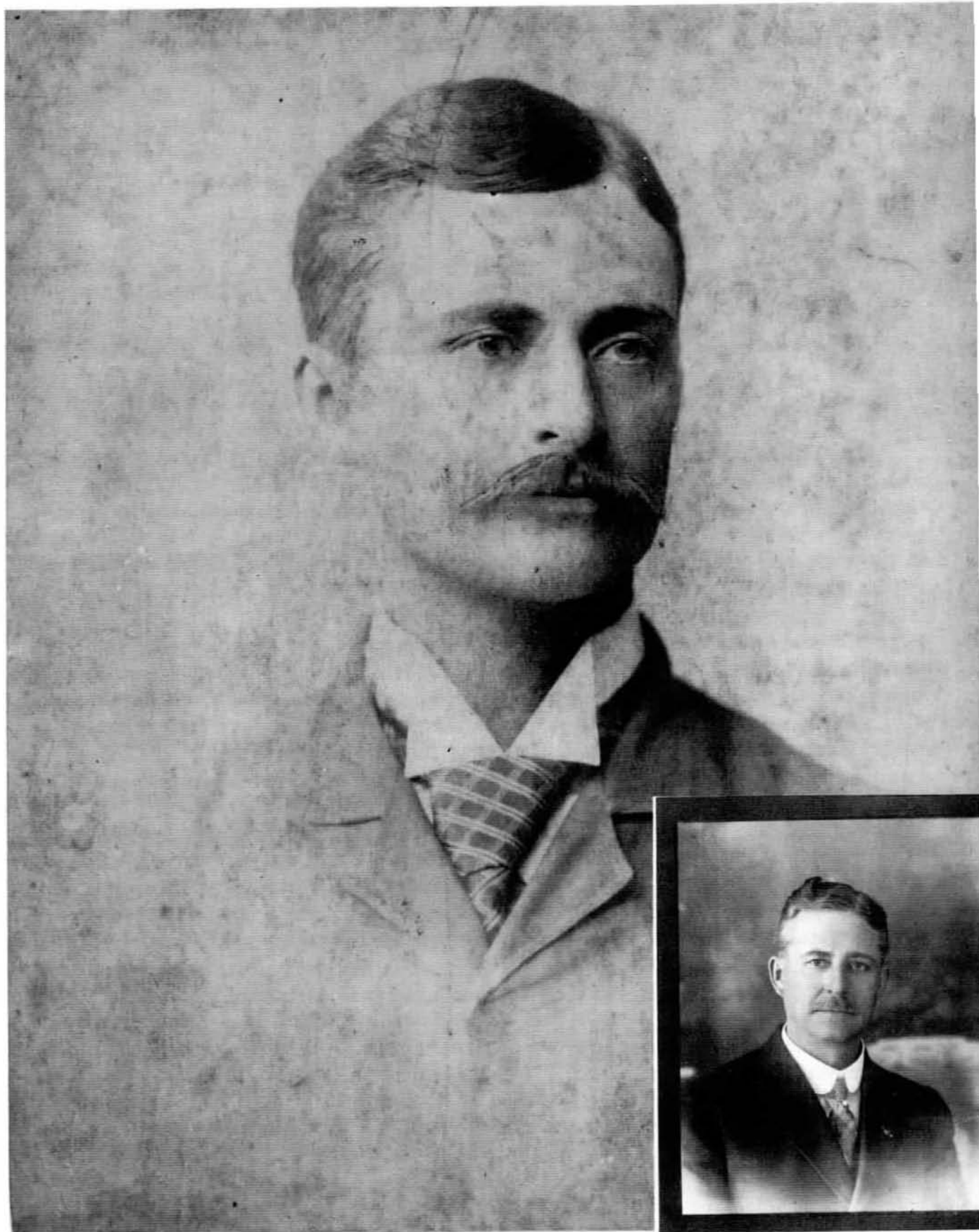
reporters about the Feud and about Hugh's death, so many years before. It was Marion's hope that the violence would now be at an end.⁴⁵⁵

Was it truly over? Had the heart and will of the Tolliver faction expired on the dusty streets of Morehead with Craig Tolliver and his two cousins? Henry Ramey did not think so. Interviewed with his father in Frankfort on June twenty-third, Ramey said "...The end is not yet by any means. More than five hundred men can easily be raised to carry on the fight of the factions. There was a great deal of muttering in the air before we left, and I look for it to develop as soon as the posse leaves the town."⁴⁵⁶

On the very night of the battle the bereaved Tolliver women returned from Morehead to their home at Wyatt in Elliott County to face the daunting prospect of cooking a meal for one hundred men. Talt Hall had gathered a band of Floyd County reinforcements to come to Criag's aid. Arriving the night of the twenty-first and camping in Elliott County, they were one day late. With no commander to turn to they headed south again. One can only imagine the carnage that would have resulted if they had been in town when the Regulators arrived!⁴⁵⁷

The posse disbanded in Morehead, all going home with the exception of fifteen men, who remained behind to patrol the town and quell disturbances. Coffins for the slain arrived at two a.m. on the morning of the twenty-third. Cooper was interred in the Purvis Cemetery on Big Brushy. The Tollivers were buried in a family cemetery on a hillside overlooking Jacob Finley Tolliver's home at Wyatt.





Daniel Boone Logan

A school teacher who obtained his law license during the Feud, Boone Logan relocated to Pineville in Bell County, Kentucky, where he made his fortune in timber and coal.

XVI
June 1887- February 1888
The Reaction
More Guns Come to Morehead - Everyone's Day in Court
The End of Rowan County?

"Who will raise Cain in Rowan County now?" inquired the Columbus, Ohio, *Daily Dispatch*, and answered, "Craig Tolliver's ghost, if it is Abel."⁴⁵⁸ The events of June twenty-second brought national, even international, attention to focus on Rowan's troubles. The *London Times* picked up the story. The commissioner of Swedish immigration proposed that his people buy up the land of those Rowan Countians who wanted to resettle elsewhere. A mixture of Swedes and native Rowan Countians would, he believed, help ease feud tensions.⁴⁵⁹

The factional strife and disharmony did not end with the death of Craig Tolliver. There was yet too much dust in the air; too much fire in the blood of the survivors.

Allie Young and his brother Taylor, Junior were arrested in Mt. Sterling on June twenty-third. Allie was charged with having forced Craig Tolliver to issue warrants for the Logan boys, thereby making him an accessory to murder. Z.T., Jr., was a member of the posse that killed the Logans.⁴⁶⁰ William and Henry Ramey, given some very basic choices, choose to relocate in Wisconsin, and left on the noon train.⁴⁶¹ John Rogers was arrested in Mt. Sterling on the twenty-sixth.⁴⁶² Rogers and the Youngs were released on bail shortly after their arrests.

Like many others of the Martin faction, Dr. Henry S. Logan, who had been pardoned by Governor Knott and released from the Lexington jail the week after his sons' deaths, made plans to return to Morehead. Logan had been living with his son-in-law, John A. Wilson, in Bourbon County.⁴⁶³

Town was far from quiet. On the night of June twenty-eighth, J.W. Anglin, night telegraph operator for the C&O, had a bullet lobbed in his direction.⁴⁶⁴

On June twenty-ninth Sheriff Hogg was allowed twenty men to keep the peace and protect county property from "lawless and armed men". The order was retroactive and to have been in force since June twenty-fifth... one can assume from this that there had been a posse in place since that time. If Sheriff Hogg had been in command of it, or if the after-the-fact order was only a matter of form remains to be discovered. The membership of this body was much more pro-Martin than the guard selected in February, a concession to the winners on the June twenty-second shootout.

The Citizens Protective Association met. There were speeches and a collection was taken up for Dolph Madden that totaled \$20.00.⁴⁶⁵

On July fifth, Craig and Bud Tolliver's widows were named administrators for their respective estates. T.B. Tippet, a neutral respected by both sides, was an appraiser for both estates and a surety for Mary D. Tolliver, Bud's widow. Tippet replaced Craig as Morehead police judge while Ap Perry stepped into the town marshal's office.

On the twenty-ninth, Craig's liquor license was suspended upon evidence presented by A. Perry and Taylor Mockabee. In one of the Feud's many twists of irony, Sheriff Hogg was ordered to obtain additional surety on his bonds due to the death of Bud Tolliver.⁴⁶⁶

Outside Rowan's borders the death of Craig Tolliver met with near universal approval

in the papers of the day, some of which were nearly ghoulish in their applause. Witness the *Stanton Monitor's* response to an erroneous report of the death of Andy Tolliver: "Andy Tolliver, wounded at the time Craig Tolliver was killed, has since died....Let the good work go on."⁴⁶⁷

Z.T. Young, justifiably of the belief that many parties in Morehead had other than good wishes in mind for him and his family, bought one hundred rifles and raised a guard of men from Elliott, Morgan, Bath, Nicholas, Montgomery, Bourbon and Rowan counties to protect him, his sons and his nephew while they were attending the August term of circuit court. His son Allie went to Elliott County to meet the guard.⁴⁶⁸

Sheriff Hogg had telegraphed for troops. Acting Governor Hindman responded by sending Secretary of State McKenzie to investigate the situation.⁴⁶⁹ As Judge Cole's court opened, the state militia returned to Morehead for the third time. Taylor and Allie Young arrived on the August second opening day accompanied by seventy-five men armed with pistols. Taylor stated that there were over fourteen hundred dollars worth of rifles hidden nearby. Denying any wish for further bloodshed, he reaffirmed his determination to protect his family.⁴⁷⁰ Court began.

On August fourth, John Arnold was found not guilty of the murder of Stewart Caudill. The next day James Harris was brought before the court. Because of the threats Harris had allegedly made against his life, Judge Cole refused to preside over his trial. No other qualified judge was available, and on the eighth Harris was remanded to the Montgomery County Jail.⁴⁷¹

As it had several times during the session, a mysterious blood red flag appeared on the top of the nearest mountain. Signal or omen, its meaning was never discovered.⁴⁷² The *Courier Journal* reported a verbal exchange between Boone Logan and Taylor Young that resulted in pistols drawn by partisans on both sides. The Majority and Minority Report gave the same incident a lower profile, explaining that the brief exchange was followed by a comment from Judge Cole that it was a hot day, and they should keep cool. Gunplay on Dry Creek resulted in the wounding of John Taylor, John Vance and Elliott Martin.⁴⁷³

Judge Cole ordered the militia to round up the guns in Morehead. They obeyed, searching the Gault House, the other hotels and various local residences. Their actions left the Logan faction gunless.

On the eleventh, a case of rifles and several thousand rounds of ammunition arrived at the depot addressed to Deputy Sheriff A.J. White. The soldiers discovered and confiscated them. These guns were part of the original cache purchased by Z.T. Young- the express tag bore his name and return address.⁴⁷⁴ Did Young plan to take advantage of the general disarmament among his opponents? The moment and the attendant opportunity passed, leaving us not completely certain of intentions now long forgotten.

The next day found indictments handed down against Ap Perry, Willis Perry, Hiram M. Pigman and Bunk Mannin for willful murder. Charges against Allie and Taylor Young, Jr. were dismissed. Ap Perry and Pigman promptly took advantage of the east bound C&O to escape to Virginia. They were later recaptured in West Virginia.⁴⁷⁵

Willis Perry refused to surrender. As the militia had no legal authority outside the corporate limits of Morehead, it was necessary for Sheriff Hogg to raise a posse to arrest him. Judge Cole ordered Captain McPherson to deliver the rifles that had been shipped to Deputy

White to Hogg, in order that Hogg might arm said posse with them. This McPherson refused to do, citing an order from the governor to bring the guns to Frankfort. As this same order directed the return of the private arms that had been confiscated, the power balance had shifted yet again.

Judge S.B. Dehaven of La Grange was commissioned by the Governor to travel to Rowan County and preside over the Harris case.⁴⁷⁶ Plans in this instance were evidently changed. Circuit court records indicated Harris' trial was presided over by J.R. Morton.⁴⁷⁷

A special term of circuit court was held beginning August sixteenth. Allie Young, Taylor Young, Sr. and Green Mannin were found not guilty of conspiring to kill Howard Logan. John Keeton, accused of being the man who shot Logan, swore the Youngs had attempted to recruit him to do the deed, but that he had declined and John Trumbo was enlisted in his stead. Keeton swore Judge Cole off the bench, claiming he could not receive a just trial with him presiding.⁴⁷⁸

Morehead was in the middle of a Baptist revival, conducted (at the invitation of Craig Tolliver) by George O. Barnes.⁴⁷⁹

The trial of Hiram Pigman and Ap Perry began on August twenty-fourth. They were returned to Morehead from their Huntington, West Virginia, incarceration. Taylor Young was the leading member of the prosecution; Boone Logan served on the defense. After seven days of argument and counter-argument the jury (selected from Fleming County) retired to consider a verdict. When the jury descended the stairs, two hours later, Pigman, stoic throughout the trial, broke down and wept. Tears soon gave way to smiles and hugs of congratulations when Perry and Pigman were declared innocent of the charge of willful murder.⁴⁸⁰ It was the last day of August.

On the second of September, Moses Little and John Trumbo were found not guilty of the charges brought against them.⁴⁸¹ Two days later the troops departed Morehead for the third and last time. Despite threats from Deputies White and George Hogg, the soldiers loaded the guns on the train. At Mt. Sterling another deputation attempted to secure the arms with an order of delivery resulting from a suit filed that very day by Z.T. Young and Jerry Wilson in Montgomery Circuit Court. The soldiers explained that they considered the governors' authority to be paramount- both Knott and Buckner had ordered the guns shipped to Frankfort- and proceeded to continue the journey, with Sheriff Burrows an unwilling passenger as far as Winchester. It was Burrows' fear that the Rowan County troubles would follow Taylor Young to Mt. Sterling and the Feud's violence would spill over into Montgomery County.⁴⁸²

On the thirteenth a group of Tollivers received guns at Farmers, allegedly from Young, and when asked what they intended doing with them replied, "We are going to clean up Morehead." The opposition was warned and ready to receive them, but the Tollivers turned up Dry Creek and proceeded to their Elliott and Morgan County homes without visiting town. Heavy gunfire three nights later turned a jittery population out into the streets, but the source proved to be several rowdy drunks. Craig Tolliver's widow had reopened her bar room and their two sons, James Hugh, and Burton P., stood accused along with Pete Dillon's fifteen year old boy of the shooting of George Walters.⁴⁸³

James A. Harris was found not guilty in a trial conducted in another special term during October and November. Boone Logan was, once again, an attorney for the defense.⁴⁸⁴

In February of 1888, a committee composed of eight members selected from the Kentucky House and Senate met in Morehead and Frankfort to examine charges of misconduct against Judge Cole. Forty-eight witnesses were called. Cole was found not guilty. The county officials were roundly censured, however. The committee found most of them "in the warmest sympathy with crime and criminals."⁴⁸⁵

The state officials were fed up. Justice seemed impossible to come by in Rowan County. Despite the presence thrice of the militia, at the total cost of nearly \$150,000.00, not a single major conviction was obtained in Rowan's courts. A movement arose in the legislature to dissolve the county and throw the pieces back to Fleming and Morgan, from whence they had come. Perhaps this threat, more than all the mayhem that had gone before, had a sobering effect on Rowan's partisans.

In Morehead and Farmers, the two population centers of the county, meetings were called, speeches were given, petitions against dismemberment were circulated and signed. The people vowed that Rowan County "should be henceforth as famous for peace and for preservation of law and order as it had been (for) riot and disorder."⁴⁸⁶ Slowly, like a noxious weed uprooted and baking in the bright summer sun, the Rowan County War came to a long overdue end.



The *Thomas Isaac Trumbo* home burned in the early 1980's. It stood to the west of the current city park, on the south side of Triplett Creek.



The *Raine Hotel* was torn down during the construction of the Morehead bypass in the 1990's. It stood across the bypass from the train depots.



John Anglin (seated) was night telegraph operator during the Feud. Standing is *Tom Hogge*, ticket agent when this photo was taken in May 1930. Photo is of the inside of the passenger depot, which now houses the Morehead Tourism Center.

XVII

The Years and Lives That Followed

So the Feud died, but the county lived on. Many of the descendants of the warring families remain here to this day. They work together, go to school together, marry, and produce children who, for the most part, know little of their ancestors' past. So it has been; so, perhaps, it always will be.

It is for those who wish to remember, for those who would step beyond the many legends and half truths that have grown up around the facts in the last one hundred and ten years, that this volume has been brought together. It would be incomplete without a few words about the survivors.

Apperson (Ap) Perry, co-leader of the posse, was not yet twenty-five at the time of the last battle. He ran a blacksmith shop in Morehead after the turn of the century, became a revenue man during Prohibition, and was killed during the attempted arrest of Melvin Smedley on Nichols Branch. According to Smedley family members, Perry and another officer burst into Smedley's house without a warrant. A shootout ensued, during which a slug from Smedley's rifle neatly clipped off Perry's tie. Perry died from this throat wound, January 19, 1924.⁴⁸⁷

The second leader, Hiram Pigman, lived a little more than a year past the final events of the Feud. He married Howard Logan's daughter, Laura, on September 9, 1888, and died November twenty-seventh of the same year, less than three months past his twenty-eighth birthday. He is buried in the old Town Cemetery, in the shadows of Morehead State University's Reed Hall. His young widow remarried November 18, 1890, to Linsey T. Stewart, in a ceremony witnessed by her father and Daniel Boone Logan. She died the following March.

Daniel Boone Logan, twenty-nine when he stood with Perry and Pigman against the Tollivers, was the only leader of the posse not to come to trial for their deaths. He moved to Bell County, Kentucky, in 1890. There he became a successful lawyer, with substantial interests in real estate, coal, timber and water. At the time of his death he was president of five separate coal companies. A fall from a mule in July, 1918 resulted in internal injuries from which he never fully recovered. He died on April 2, 1919.⁴⁸⁸

J. M. "Matt" Carey followed in the Republican footsteps of his father James, and was elected county judge for two terms, the first beginning in 1894. His brother, Ulysess Grant Carey, twenty years his junior, was briefly married to Cora Wilson, daughter of the Carey's old Feud opponent, Dr. Jerry Wilson. Matt's daughter, Lena's, union to another of Dr. Wilson's children, Homer, would prove more durable.

Tom Allen Day, twenty-two when he killed his cousin John, was elected Morehead Chief of Police in 1893. The 1896 Morehead *Advance* called Captain Day a "first class officer" and spoke of him as prominently mentioned as a candidate for sheriff on the next Democratic ticket.⁴⁸⁹ Day died in March of 1921, at the age of 57.⁴⁹⁰

Jeff Bowling's death sentence was commuted. After seven years in the Ohio state penitentiary, he resettled in Missouri and later, Texas.⁴⁹¹ Alvin Bowling, evidently paroled from prison before the end of his sentence, was remarried November 9, 1896, to Manerva A. Arnold, in Rowan County.⁴⁹²

Dr. Jeremiah Wilson's family was one to make any father proud. His son, Bunyan Spratt Wilson, became a lawyer and served as Morehead's first mayor.⁴⁹³ Another son, Glenmore, also became a lawyer. B. Clifford followed Dr. Wilson into the medical profession. Son Homer, a dentist, served Morehead for thirty-five years. He was also the town's mayor⁴⁹⁴. Undoubtedly the most famous child was Cora Wilson Stewart. Her crusades for adult literacy brought her international fame as the Moonlight Schools she initiated in 1911 in Rowan County served as models for the state, the country, and the world.⁴⁹⁵

Cook Humphrey settled in Memphis, Missouri, in the northeastern portion of the state, where brothers Gabe and Martin lived. Martin, who had settled in Memphis by 1885, had a clothing store and was one of the owners of a monument business called Humphrey Brothers and Mount.⁴⁹⁶ After his 1891 marriage to a young widow, Mary Mullinx Carroll, Cook moved to neighboring Kahoka. He made his living selling tombstones, and became a well known figure in the northern part of the state. He died October 27, 1941, at the age of eighty-five, and was buried in Kahoka the following March.⁴⁹⁷

Dr. Henry Logan survived his wife and sons, and is probably⁴⁹⁸ buried beside them in the Logan Cemetery, where the waters of Triplett Creek occasionally rise to caress their cold stones with flood. His parents, William and Betsy Powers Logan, are buried there also. Henry's younger brother, Howard Monroe Logan, is buried along with his wife, two sons, and two daughters in the Lee Cemetery. He outlived his wife by nearly nine years; his last surviving child, Laura, by nearly thirty-three. Before he died he changed his will with codicils three times, once to eliminate an heir who was suing for their inheritance before his death. He seems to have been a wealthy and unhappy man.

Floyd Tolliver's widow, Mary, married Leondias Polk Oakley, of Pleasant Run in Morgan County. Mary did not forget her first husband, returning each year to the Roberson Cemetery to place flowers upon his grave and the grave of their infant son, Emmett.⁴⁹⁹

Francis Marion Tolliver, Craig and Floyd's younger brother, became a very successful merchant, and a leader in the Christian Church. After being flooded out in Farmers he moved to Morehead and opened the Wholesale Grocery Company on Railroad Street. He borrowed heavily to start a spoke factory. The factory burned down the night the load of spokes paying off his debt was loaded. Flooded out once, burned out twice, F.M. never gave up. He died well to do, in 1936. The Tolliver Addition of Morehead is constructed on the farm that once belonged to him. Of all the stories that his descendants recall, perhaps the most indicative of his personality is this: Two Morehead business partners, longtime friends, had a major row. Things reached such a low point that they decided the only way to settle their dispute was at gunpoint. They went to their homes and procured pistols. While the mute town watched, they faced off on the streets of Morehead, each determined to take the life of the other. Then F.M. stepped between the pistols. "Are you sure this is what you want to do?" he asked. "Why don't you go home and think about it?" They did, tempers cooled, their friendship- and probably their lives- were saved from ruin. Let history remember the courage of the man.⁵⁰⁰

Con Tipton, an Elliott County deputy sheriff, shot and killed Gum Howard while trying to arrest him, and was forced into hiding. The Howard family accused Fin Tolliver of sheltering Tipton. Angry words led to angry deeds, and the surviving members of the Jacob Finley Tolliver family were soon involved in another feud with the Howards.

On October 23, 1892, a gunfight between the two factions resulted in the shootings of

Sambo Howard, Cal Tolliver and Wyley Tolliver at Hogtown. Wyley died two days later. Sambo miraculously recovered from four rifle balls, but Cal, lung shot, died from the effects of the wound some years later in Doanville, Ohio.⁵⁰¹

Leander (Lee) Tolliver and his dog were shot dead from ambush by Henry "Tug" Howard on January 22, 1902. Levi McKenzie, Lee's brother-in-law, witnessed the killing. Howard was convicted of murder, and served several years in prison. But according to family legend, Howard was a hired assassin, and true justice came to him thirty-five years later. As Tug and a friend were driving along, Howard turn deathly white and started shouting that Leander's dog was on the running board of the car. Trying to drive and beat the dog off, he lost control and ran off the road. Howard was killed in the crash; his friend escaped unscratched.⁵⁰²

Finley Tolliver and his family moved to Brushy in Rowan County, where Fin carried the mail to and from Morehead. He had an argument with Howard Moore at the Fourth of July celebration in Morehead in 1901, and stabbed Moore in the abdomen.⁵⁰³ Fin would often take lunch with his daughter, Mary Proctor, who lived in town. On August 19, 1901, he deviated from his habit, and was shot to death by Harve Moore in a downtown restaurant.⁵⁰⁴

Cate Tolliver's life came to an end on the courthouse lawn in Morehead on July 28, 1921. He had an altercation with Alf Fraley, Morehead marshal, earlier in the day, but had gotten the drop on Fraley. Returning later that afternoon, Fraley approached Tolliver from behind and demanded that he surrender. Tolliver tried to escape by dodging away, and Fraley shot him three times. Fraley, wounded himself by a glancing shot from Tolliver's pistol, was taken into custody by Sheriff Norman L. Wells and transported to Mt. Sterling. Cate died in the Good Samaritan Hospital in Lexington.⁵⁰⁵

Thomas Byron Tippet, lumber and stave dealer, represented Rowan County in the state legislature in 1893 and later served as circuit court clerk for twenty-four years, relinquishing the office due to ill health. He passed away May 17, 1925. While a member of the legislature, Tippet made one of the most memorable speeches on record about Rowan County. The governor had called upon the legislators for agricultural reports from their home counties. Many of the scions had proven more than adequate to the task, and the Governor at last felt compelled to call for brevity in the descriptions. The counties were called upon in alphabetical order, and the next in line happened to be Rowan. "We next call upon the Honorable T.B. Tippet - what does Rowan County raise?" Tippet calmly rose to his feet and rocked the house with laughter with his answer: "Your Honor, Rowan County raises hell and Christmas trees."⁵⁰⁶

Andrew Jackson White, Confederate soldier, and deputy sheriff under Squire Hogge, decided to settle down in 1890. At the age of fifty-four he married a young widow, Nancy Carter, twenty-five years his junior. Largely self taught, White obtained sufficient knowledge to teach school for thirty-five years. The couple raised a large family in the hollow that is now commonly known as Andy White Branch. Andy died on February 28, 1921.⁵⁰⁷

Solomon Bradley's family moved closer to Morehead after the Feud. Two sons, Hiram and Samuel McKee Bradley, opened Bradley Brothers & Co., a millinery store, at Brady. In 1898 Hiram was the county superintendent of schools; Sam was the president of the Bank of Morehead, which opened January 3, 1898.⁵⁰⁸ Sam later became a state senator and has the historical distinction of owning the first automobile in Morehead, a chain drive Ford.⁵⁰⁹

Thomas I. Trumbo, who had served as jailor of Rowan County before 1874,⁵¹⁰ is buried on a hillside on his old farm on the south side of Triplett Creek (overlooking the present day Morehead City Park), beside his wife, Celia. At his request, he was buried where the morning sun first struck the hill. Thomas' son William took up the carnival business. William's younger brother, John, was a successful farmer.

Squire Hogg(e) and his wife Marion (Maine) Arnold settled in Morehead and raised a large family. With the exception of Van, who ran a store in Elliottsville, the children lived within walking distance of their parents and were in the habit of visiting their mother, the clan matriarch, on a daily basis. Daughter Lula married Dan Holbrook, a widely known and loved Morehead State educator. Dan served as superintendent of Elliott County schools and several terms as Morehead mayor. Willie ran a store in Morehead; Tom worked at the C&O passenger depot; Lester became a prominent attorney. Arthur served as sheriff of Rowan County and was county judge when Morehead Normal was picked to become a state college in 1922, adding his very considerable efforts to those of Allie Young to assure that Morehead was chosen.⁵¹¹

Squire's brother and deputy, George Hogge, was shot along with his sons Reigh, Charlie and Tilden during another election day altercation at the Pine Grove Precinct in November, 1901. Reigh died on November sixteenth. George lingered until January sixteenth of the following year. Sons Charlie and Tilden survived. Tilden Hogge and his wife Lulie, both schoolteachers, gave the land for the Tilden Hogge School, which opened early in 1964.

Ben Martin's family followed their sire to Kansas, there to settle and raise families of their own. Son in law Richmond Tussey also lived for a time in Kansas, but returned to Rowan County to work in the lumber business. In 1894 he was elected sheriff. Two years later he made an unsuccessful bid for the county judge's office.⁵¹² Lucy Trumbo Martin and her children moved to Ashland, Kentucky. The family became good friends with Jeanette Thomas, a renowned gatherer of mountain folk songs. Several of Thomas' books contain material relating to the Feud.⁵¹³

The Caudill family, never involved in the thick of the feuding, rose to prominence in Morehead after the turn of the century. The head of the family was Abel Caudill, son of Samuel. Abel Caudill, a Confederate soldier, married Mary Ann Hall shortly after the War. The couple made their home at Wagoner, in southeast Rowan County, and raised a family of fifteen children. A successful farmer, mill operator, merchant and postmaster, Abel was one of the co-founders of the Peoples Bank in 1906. This institution stayed in the family for several generations, with Abel and three sons filling the presidency thru 1956. Abel's family followed his example, becoming social and financial leaders in the community. Peoples Bank of Sandy Hook, founded by his son, Rowan County Judge Daniel Boone Caudill, remains in the control of descendants today.⁵¹⁴

The Goodin family had its roots in Carter County. Tom Goodan and Martha Tolliver Goodin are buried in the Jacobs Cemetery there. There are no known photographs of Tom Goodin. According to family tradition, he was wanted for several murders, and rightly thought the lack of a photograph would make him more difficult to apprehend.

Z. T. Young moved to Montgomery County and continued his successful practice of the law. His death, of what seems to have been a cerebral hemorrhage on February 13, 1895, was unexpected and sudden, catching his family all away from home.⁵¹⁵

Z. T. Young, Jr. was admitted to the bar in 1892 and elected Rowan County Attorney in 1901.⁵¹⁶ He later made his home in New York City and died in Los Angeles in 1921.⁵¹⁷

Z.T. Young, Senior's son, Bill, served in the Kentucky state legislature, and became a respected and successful criminal lawyer and judge. He served as chief attorney for Judge James Hargis in the Breathitt feud cases. The automobile in which he was riding was struck by a C&O train at Brighton Station on November 19, 1919.⁵¹⁸ The fine brick home that he constructed on the corner of Main and Carey in Morehead, Fernleigh⁵¹⁹, survived him by sixty-five years, eventually being torn down so that the new Morehead National Bank building could be constructed on the site. Bill's widow, Nell Young, moved to Huntsville, Alabama and taught music there in the public high school for many years.⁵²⁰

Allie Young became a judge and state senator, a powerful political force in eastern Kentucky, and one of the most beloved men. As kingmaker, he became state manager for William Goebel in his 1899 gubernatorial campaign; later he served as Chairman of the Democratic State Central Executive Committee. He was the director of Governor Beckham's successful campaign as well.⁵²¹ After Morehead was chosen as the site of the regional state teachers' college, Young was very instrumental in obtaining funds for the new campus.⁵²² Allie Young Hall is named in his honor. His death on February 18, 1935 was heralded by the Rowan County *News* with a front page containing but his photo. His body lay in state at the Morehead State Teachers College Auditorium as thousands from all over the state, including at least two governors, A.B. "Happy" Chandler and W.J. Fields, passed by to pay their last respects. As his funeral procession proceeded down the Midland Trail⁵²³ thru Bluestone, Farmers and Salt Lick, the entire populations turned out. The mourning train stretched over three miles by the time it reached Young's burial site in Mt. Sterling. Over three thousand attended the funeral.

From the list of accomplishments just recited, it is plain that the Feudists and their descendants wrote the history of Morehead for many years after the Feud's demise. Many of them are writing it still.

Morehead State University traces its roots directly to the school that Frank and Phoebe Button founded in 1887, a school whose avowed purpose was to bring education to the region, thereby eliminating the ignorance that many felt to be the basis of all of the mountain feuds. Thomas F. Hargis, whose political campaigns unintentionally watered the seeds of division and factionalism in Rowan County, was one of the first to support the school. A plaque on the present day campus reads:

In Honor of
Thomas F. Hargis
Giver of the First
House; also the
Grounds.⁵²⁴

1. Winchester Democrat, 29June1887, p.3.
2. Licking Valley Courier, 8August1991, p.3, 12.
3. Morgan County Deed Book I, p.273-274.
4. When Helen Price Stacy wrote "The House of a Forgotten Tragedy", the house was still standing and a bullet hole could be seen by the stairs. The Licking Valley Courier 7Mar1957, p.4.
5. Information passed down through the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family. Michele McNabb, descendant of Hugh through his son William, records a different version, in which Hugh was shot by nervous robbers after the money wallet fell from his pants into the shadow of the bed as the pants were being handed over.
6. Stacy's "The House of a Forgotten Tragedy".
7. Licking Valley Courier, 8Aug1991. p.3,12.
8. Coal was mined twelve inches thick on Old Miner's Fork in southeastern Rowan County, according to Jennings and Shouse.
9. Mr. Jennings was appointed to office in Washington, D.C. Mr. Shouse died during his absence, and the project was never completed. Some of the information that they collected came to me via Mr. Ora Cline, then head of the Chamber of Commerce. Neither Jennings nor Cline knew what happened to the rest. Mr. Cline - at least I assume it was he- had attempted to gather together such history of the county as was available. Among these notes were transcribed portions of Collins' History of Kentucky, which list the number of different kinds of businesses in Morehead and Crossroads. If anyone out there has a clue to the location of the notes that Shouse and Jennings collected, they may bring back to light information that will otherwise be lost for all time.
10. These churches, or at least the church buildings, came after the Feud.
11. Probably a misspelling of cooper- barrel maker.
12. Born 22Dec1842, near Rodburn and raised there. Interviewed 7Apr1931 by Shouse and Jennings.
13. Son of Col. John Hargis and later a prime contributor to what became Morehead State University. According to Daniel Boone Logan's biography in *A History of Kentucky and Kentuckians*, Hargis assumed command of the unit that Logan's father-in-law, Ben Evans, led, after Evans was killed in an engagement near West Liberty. Since the biographical information was supplied by Logan or his family, one can only assume that they felt proud to claim the connection with Hargis.
14. Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, p.116-118.
15. Maysville Republican, 1Aug1874, p.3; Weekly Maysville Eagle, 23Jun1874, p.2. Robert M. Ireland's "The Green-Hargis Affair: Judicial Politics in Nineteenth-Century Kentucky", which appeared in the Filson Club History Quarterly, October 1995, p.366-389, is strongly recommended for an incisive overview of the matter.
16. Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p. 17. John Martin was charged with the theft of Hargis' valise, which contained his law license.
17. Morehead News, 29Apr1971, p.5. Quoted here in its entirety: "Swift Rowan County Justice in Good Old Days"
Mrs. Ray Lytle had the clipping from the April 4, 1877 issue of the *Bracken Record*, Brooksville, which is plenty explanatory.
"On Saturday night last two men left Rowan County with a couple of stolen horses. They came through Flemingsburg on Sunday. Monday night both of them boarded the *Bonanza* at Foster with the stolen animals, on their way to Cincinnati. One of the men was John R. Taber, commonly called "Jack" Taber, and the other John P. Martin. Both reside in Rowan. The wife of Martin took passage on the *Bonanza* at Maysville on Monday evening, having arranged to meet her husband at Foster. Marshal Helfin and the Jailer Weeden were also passengers on the boat, "shading" Mrs. Martin. After the boat left New Richmond, Taber was arrested, and Martin was safely "hailed" at an

early hour Tuesday morning. The prisoners were brought here Tuesday night and on Wednesday they consented to return to Rowan for trial. The horses were recovered. A report has reached Maysville that John Taber was lynched at Morehead Saturday night."

18. Eastern Kentucky References, p. 56.

19. *Days of Anger, Days of Tears* contains a parole issued on Nov. 3, 1862 by G.W. Underwood, Deputy Marshall for Carter, Rowan and Morgan Counties.

20. Galeener-Goleanor-Golenor Underwood and Those They Knew, p. 476-478. Fleming and Carter County court records from 1864 to 1867 show at least three indictments each on Jesse, Alfred and George Underwood for horse stealing. In many local references the Tygart Guards became the "Tiger" Guards.

21. Robert Spencer Cotterill's manuscript "History of Fleming County, Kentucky: The First One Hundred Years, 1780-1880", p.318-319. Copy at University of Kentucky Library. The George mentioned here may have been young George. Flemingsburg Democrat, 23Sept1869. p.3.

22. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p. 26-27; Carter County History, 1838-1976, p. 95.

23. Mount Sterling Sentinel, 29Sep1865, p. 3.

24. Galeener. Etc., p. 300; Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p. 28. It should be noted that this move to the west was far from immediate. Jesse and Alfred were both indicted for stealing horses from James and Ethelbert Plummer in Jan. 1867. Alfred and George W. shot James Fleming Logan in 1869.

25. Coates mistakenly calls him Elvin. See Galeener, Etc., p. 294.

26. Marv Hall states that Martin was tried for killing his wife's brother in law, Press Blair, in Rowan County in 1877 and found not guilty late in the year. Blair, an associate of the Underwood clan, had decided to "come clean" and had written a confession naming several of his criminal associates. (It is possible that Howard and Henry Logan may have been a part of Blair's horse "procurement" ring.) Martin called on Blair and shot him dead, getting off by having a prearranged alibi. See <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Park/5617/thargis.html> page 5-6.

27. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p. 30.

28. Interview with Thurston Stamper, great-grandson of George Washington Stamper, Sr., September 1985.

29. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p. 31.

30. Vanceburg Courier, 20Jun1877, as quoted in Eastern Kentucky References, p. 50-51.

31. Ibid, 27Jun1877, quoted in EKR, p. 52.

32. John Richards Tabor, who opened Pandora's box on the Underwood doorstep, decamped the county when bullets started to fly.

33. Vanceburg Courier, 4Jul1877, quoted in EKR, p. 52-53.

34. Information from Wylie Glover, great-grandson of Thomas Allen Glover. Sugar Camp Branch is now called Greasy Creek. Glover, a Civil War veteran of Company C, 10th Kentucky Cavalry, is buried on property now belonging to Billy Sparks. Glover's son told the story of taking corn to the mill thru the woods after his father's death and repeatedly seeing men stationed behind trees and fallen logs with guns, waiting. Thomas Allen Glover's brother told the family that he later killed the man who killed his brother.

35. Ghost Railroads of Kentucky, p.139-143.

36. Vanceburg Courier, 11Jul1877, quoted in EKR, p. 53; Portsmouth Times, 14Jul1877, p2.

37. Vanceburg Courier, 18Jul1877, quoted in EKR, p.53-54.
38. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.32.
39. The Portsmouth Times, 21Jul1877, p.2.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid, 4Aug1877, p.2.
42. Vanceburg Courier, 25Jul1877, quoted in EKR, p. 54-55.
43. Ibid, 29Aug1877, quoted in EKR, p.55.
44. John Martin's mother.
45. Phebe Underwood Young. See Galeener, Etc., p.303.
46. Most likely Elverton (often called Elvin)'s wife.
47. Life of James Claybourn Jones, p.24-26. According to "The Old Clabe Jones Place" by George L. Moore (which appeared in the Olive Hill Times, 9Jul1970, p. 10) Jones shared the Martin and Underwood fondness for horses freely obtained, and was sentenced to five years in the state pen for his fancies. Jones had a natural fortress of a farm in the area between Clay and Arab Forks of Sinking Creek. Always close to the center of the conflict, Jones continued his feuding ways in Knott County, where he ran afoul of Talt Hall. There Jones had the distinction of being elected jailor while in jail. He was called the "jailed jailor".
48. Eastern Kentucky References, p.56.
49. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.33-34; Galeener, Etc., p.102.
50. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.34.
51. Flemingsburg Democrat, 7Feb1878, p. 3.
52. Ibid, 9Oct1879, p.2.
53. Macbeth, Act 1, Scene 3.
54. Eastern Kentucky References, p.57.
55. Vanceburg Courier, 16Jan1878, quoted in EKR, p.188-191.
56. Ibid, quoted in EKR, p.191.
57. Ibid, 13Feb1878, quoted in EKR, p191-192.
58. Flemingsburg Democrat, 7Feb1878, p.2.
59. Vanceburg Courier, 3Apr1878, quoted in EKR, p.192.
60. This is probably a misspelling of mittimus, a legal document issued from a court or magistrate commanding the sheriff or other officer to convey to prison the person named therein, and directing the jailer to receive and safely keep the prisoner until he shall be delivered in due course of law.
The Portsmouth Times, 26Jan1878, p.3, states that Jesse was found not guilty of the murder of Deputy Sheriff John Rugless. The magistrate found it a case of self defense.
61. Another irony: V.B. Young, attorney for Jesse Underwood, whose father and brother had killed James Fleming Logan, was later the mentor of James Fleming Logan's son, Daniel Boone Logan. But that's another feud.
62. Flemingsburg Democrat, 7Feb1878, p.2.

63. The Portsmouth Times, 9Feb1878, p.2.
64. Bath County Reporter, 21Feb1878, p.2.
65. Galeener, Etc., p.490-491.
66. Ibid, p.492 quotes 13Sep1878 Bath Circuit Court Records.
67. Flemingsburg Democrat, 21Nov1878, p.2.
68. Galeener, Etc., p.493.
69. Flemingsburg Democrat, 5Dec1878, p.2, called for the Governor to offer a reward for Jesse's recapture and accused the Bath County Jailor of acting very carelessly in the discharge of his duties.
70. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.36-37.
71. Flemingsburg Democrat, 17Apr1879, p.4.
72. Ibid, 29May1879, p.2.
73. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.37-38; EKR, p.59.
74. Flemingsburg Democrat, 9Oct1879, p.2.
75. Galeener, Etc., p.295.
76. Headstone in Lee Cemetery in Morehead reads, G.L. Underwood, Dec. 23, 1836- August 27, 1879, Eastern Kentucky References, p.59, states that he died in September.
77. Flemingsburg Democrat, 9Oct1879, p.2.
78. Weekly Maysville Eagle, 17Sep1879, p. 2, states that Holbrook's son recognized Jesse as the assassin. The Kentucky Explorer, January 1999, p.30, reprints an article from the Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph, 28Oct1879, that dates Holbrook's demise as Sept. 5, 1879, and indicates that his son Millard, with him at the time, escaped unscathed.
79. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.38-39. Weekly Maysville Eagle 22Oct1879, p.2, seems the source for George's speech as retold in Stories of Kentucky Feuds.
80. According to Judy Martt, David Wilson's descendant, Wilson was shot, hung and left to die sometime during the conflict. Cut down and nursed back to health, he looked up the leader of the offending party and took his vengeance. A land dispute was at the center of Wilson's near demise. Wilson died July 18, 1885, and is buried in an unmarked grave in the Wilson Cemetery.
81. Weekly Maysville Eagle, 8Oct1879, p.3; 15Oct1879, p.3. George's remarks may have been for the benefit of his enemies. According to eyewitness Floyd Hall, George asked him to talk to his "body guards" after Bill's death and ask them to return. They refused, stating that "the last time we were there, we had to crawl out on our hands and knees." "I'm a dead man then," said George when he received the news. From Floyd's gggson Marv Hall's web site <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Park/5617/undholw.html>.
82. A final twist of irony- the Flemingsburg Democrat, 16Oct1879, p.2, reports both Jesse's demise and Thomas Hargis' assumption of his duties as Judge on the Court of Appeals in Frankfort.
83. Ibid, p.39-41.
84. Flemingsburg Democrat, 23Oct1879, p.2. Floyd Hall (John Martin's first cousin) was courting one of old George's daughters when George was murdered. He reports George's eyes were shot out. See his gg grandson Marv Hall's web site at <http://www.geocities.com/Heartland/Park/5617/undholw.html>.

85. It is believed that the Underwoods were laid to rest in unmarked graves in the McFerren family cemetery, possibly to prevent the bodies from being disinterred. The cemetery is currently surrounded by a rock quarry just to the east of Olive Hill on US 60. The Philadelphia Daily Evening Telegraph, Oct. 28, 1879, indicates that Frank McFarran and his daughter Agnes assisted the Underwood women in the burial of George and Jesse.
86. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, p.40-45. Eastern Kentucky References, p.59, gives this list, where Elverton is spelled Everton.
87. Galeener, Etc., p.291, speculates this is Silas Underwood, son of James Mansfield Underwood, George W.'s brother.
88. Eastern Kentucky References, p.59.
89. Flemingsburg Democrat, 16Oct1879, p.3. The Weekly Maysville Eagle, 15Oct1879, p.3, lists the man's name as Sammonds, and states that he left a wife and six children. He was shot thru the forehead while trying to knife Bowling in Bowling's bar.
90. "Judge Lynch": The Regulator Uprising of 1879, by James M. Prichard, published in the History of Elliott County, Volume II, p.6-10.
91. Letter from Cora Wilson Stewart to her brother, Homer, 12Feb1940. C.W. Stewart goes on to state that her family lived in Farmers from about 1879 to 1881, moved to Elliottville for a year, then to a farm in Elliott County, then back to Farmers from 1886-1889. Dr. Wilson practiced medicine and ran a general store, with plenty of help from his wife Annie. In Elliott County they started on their farm a post office called Per-Cal. It later became the Wyatt post office, named, according to Maxine Tolliver Evans, for Orlena Wyatt Tolliver.
- Homer married Lena Carey, granddaughter of James Carey.
92. Morehead Independent, Historical and Progress Edition, Oct1934, p.16, "Vivid Memories of Elliott and Rowan Counties 75 years Ago", E.S. Montgomery.
93. Ashland Independent, 11May1882, p.2.
94. Ibid, 11May1882, p.2; 1June1882, p.1.
95. Morehead Independent, Oct1934, p.16.
96. Ashland Independent, 19Jan1882, p.2; 5Jan1882, p.4.
97. Ibid, 5Feb1882, p.4.
98. Rowan County Court Records.
99. C.P. Martin married Victoria Logan, daughter of Edward Houston Logan, H.M. Logan's brother.
100. Ashland Independent, 11May1882, p.2.
101. Ibid, 21June1883, p.2.
102. Ibid, 25Oct1883, p.4.
103. Ibid, 9Feb1882, p.4; 16Feb1882, p.2.
104. Ibid, 5Oct1882, p.2.
105. Ibid, 16Aug1883, p.2.
106. Ibid, 15Apr1884, p.2.
107. Ibid, 13Sept1883, p.2; 27Sept1883, p.4.
108. Rowan County Deed Book A, p.433.

109. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 11Aug1883. It is interesting to note that James Brain's daughter, Permelia, was the wife of hotel keeper Judge James Carey.
110. Rowan County Deed Book B, p.60.
111. Rowan County Deed Book B, p.236, details original purchase; p.281 shows Logan buying other half interest. Deed Book 4, p.521 shows D.B. and Lizzie Logan of Bell County selling property to James G. Whitt on 29Dec1895. At that time the adjoining Raine lot was the property of Mrs. James E. (Mary) Clark.
112. Ashland Independent, 27Sept1883, p.4.
113. Maysville Eagle, 3Sept1884, p.3.
114. Ashland Independent, 17Apr1884, p.2.
115. Ibid, 30Aug1883, p.2.
116. Ibid, 11Oct1883, p.2.
117. Ibid, 4Oct1883, p.2.
118. Ibid, 17Apr1884, p.2.
119. Ibid, 27Sept1883, p.4.
120. Ibid, 8May1884, p.2.
121. Little Kingdoms: The Counties of Kentucky, 1850-1891, p.51. The price went up in close elections towards poll closing time.
122. Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p.19.
123. Maysville Daily Evening Bulletin, 6Aug1884, p.1. Trumbo was the spelling that the paper gave for Trumbo.
124. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.19. Also, Ethel Jones passed along to me a story she heard from Corene Bradley Castle, a cousin of Solomon Bradley. According to Castle, Solomon, a resident of the head of Clear Fork, near Sardis, had come to Morehead seeking medicine for a sick baby. He was not involved in the fight, but merely riding his mule between the courthouse and the Gault House when a stray bullet singled him out. Descendant Martha Heinemann also points out that sons Sam and Hiram "were with their horses in front of the courthouse and saw their father fall when he was shot."
125. Goodin was incumbent Sheriff John C. Day's deputy. It was common practice in Kentucky for the "chief" deputy sheriff to run for sheriff and appoint the outgoing sheriff his "chief" deputy, a *de facto* method of evading the constitutional requirement that the sheriff serve only two consecutive terms. See Little Kingdoms, p.27.
126. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 8Aug1884. Floyd Tolliver's bondsmen were S. B. Gooden, (Dr.) Jerry Wilson, C (raig?) Tolliver, John Robinson, William Day, F.M. Tolliver. John Martin's bondsmen were James Carey, Benjamin Martin, James A. Thomas. On 9Aug1884 the jury examined the case of John C. Day shooting Adam Sizemore. No true bill was returned and Day was released from custody.
127. Rowan County Court Records, 3Nov1884.
128. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jul1886, p.1.
129. Cousin to Daniel Boone Logan, Howard Monroe Logan and Dr. Henry S. Logan.
130. Thomas Lewis, Lemuel McClerg, Absalom McClerg, Nelson McRoberts, Andrew Cornet(t), John Cornet(t), J.B. Enochs (Enix), Andrew and Harrison Handshoe (Hanshaw/Handshaw).
131. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.19-20.

132. Rowan County Court Records, 2Dec1884.
133. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1. In "Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky", p.15-23, Jean Thomas tells the story of John Martin coming to town in December of 1884, gives a brief summary of the War, and prints lyrics and music to the song "Rowan County Troubles".
134. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc. p.20.
135. Louisville Courier Journal, 3Dec1884, p.2.
136. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.20-21. Tolliver died by Cook Humphrey's pistol, which Martin had borrowed. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Dec1884, p.2.
137. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Apr1885, p.4.
138. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.14; "Floyd Tolliver Buried at Pleasant Run, Not Buskirk", Licking Valley Courier, 15Nov1990, p.3.
139. Ibid, p.20-21.
140. Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family.
141. Louisville Courier Journal, 14Jul1886, p.4; 22July1886, p.5 mention Turner Evans who had two sons with Alvin Bowling at the Martin shooting. Owingsville Outlook, 16Mar1899, p.4, states that Milt Evans, son of John Evans, returned to Kentucky for his father's funeral. John, who was 79 years old, was buried at the Alfrey Cemetery near Cogswell. Neither Turner, John, Milt, nor Ed Evans are mentioned on the 1880 Rowan County Census. The 1860 census lists (family 272) a John and Milt who fit the Outlook's description. There is another son, John T. (Turner?) listed with this family.
142. Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family.
143. Stories of Kentucky Feuds, "The Man Unafraid", Harold Wilson Coates, p.170.
144. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Dec1884, p.2.
145. Ibid, 12Dec1884, p.1. Martin was shot seven times.
146. Rowan County Court Records.
147. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Jun1883; 8Jan1884.
148. Orlena Wyatt and Eleanor Spurlin were cousins. Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. and Hugh Tolliver were cousins.
149. Rowan County Court Records, 22Aug1882. Bowling was marshal of Licking City at the time.
150. Craig, Floyd, F.M. and Andy were sons or grandsons of Hugh Tolliver. Jay, Bud, Cal, Cate, Lee and W. Wiley were sons of Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. A third set, L.H.B. Tolliver's children, mostly steered clear of the conflict.
151. 1870 Rowan County Census, Morehead Prec., Family 91.
152. 1880 Rowan County Census, Prec. 6, Brushy Fork, Family 293.
153. Rowan County Court Records, 5Jan1885.
154. 1880 Rowan County Census, Prec. 6, Brushy Fork, Family 293.
155. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.
156. Rowan County Court Records, 31Aug1886.
157. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1. Ironically, Richmond Tussey's sister married Alvin Bowling.

158. James Logan, born 1767, York County, PA, died ca1838, Lewis County, Kentucky, was a Revolutionary War veteran.
159. Rowan County Court Records. Logan was county receiver 2Oct1883; city treasurer 4May1885.
160. Logan's letters are collected in "Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat", a volume Z.T. Young published after the Feud to defend his name. It is one of the few on site documentations of events found during the research for this volume, and as such is quoted extensively here. A copy is now (1997) on file at the Rowan County Public Library.
161. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.20.
162. Ibid, p.20. Logan accuses the Republican leaders of the county, James and Matt Carey and H.M. Logan, of telling Humphrey that Bradley and Sizemore were shot because they supported him for Sheriff, and that those shootings should be revenged. John Martin also encouraged Humphrey to believe this.
163. Ibid, p.21-22. A warning was issued to County Attorney Taylor Young that his neck would pay if Martin came to harm.
164. Louisville Courier Journal, 31Jan1885, p.2.
165. The index to Rowan County Deeds does not list this property transfer. Perhaps Martin mortgaged the property to Hargis?
166. Louisville Courier Journal, 11Feb1885, p.1.
167. Rowan County Court Records. Muse appointed 5Jan1885; Gabrail Humphrey 19Jan1885.
168. Boone Logan's Letters. Etc., p.22.
169. According to the Courier Journal article dated 24Feb1885, p.5., Bowling was married with two children.
The west bound train was searched at Farmers- the lovers escaped by hiding in a water closet.
Various papers published during the Feud period are contained in a file labeled Rowan County History in the Morehead State University Archives Room. On page 14 of this file the following additional information appears: Mr. Boyd, whose first name was Thomas, was originally arrested for being drunk and drawing a pistol on Dan Chenault at Chenault's diner. Miss "Mattie" Martha Scott's father was John Scott. Alvin Bowling was married with five children.
Chenault's restaurant was destroyed in a January 18, 1887 fire that demolished five Mt. Sterling buildings, according to the Louisville Courier Journal, 19Jan1887, p.4.
170. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Feb1885, p.5.
171. Ibid, 25Feb1885, p.3.
172. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.22, detail Humphrey's threats against Young for too vigorous a prosecution of Martin in the Tolliver case; p.14 states that, despite Young accompanying Martin as far as Mt. Sterling on his ride to the Winchester jail for safe keeping, the general feeling was, "Young is casting pearls before swine. If any harm comes to Martin, they will blame Taylor the first thing."
173. Ibid, p.23.
174. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Apr1885, p.3.
175. Ibid, 17Mar1885, p.2.
176. Different references give different distances and days. The Courier Journal of 17Mar1885 says four miles from Morehead, March 16. Boone Logan's Letters (p.23) say one mile below Hogtown, March 17. (This date has to be in error as the Courier Journal article appeared that day.) Louisville Courier Journal 23Jun1887, p.1, says only March1885. No tombstone for Bumgardner has been found.

177. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1. Researcher and historian Juanita Blair believes that the Blair boys mentioned here were actually Bear boys, as the former family had no members in the area at the time, and the latter did.
178. Ibid, 17Mar1885, p.4.
179. Hazel Green Herald, 8Apr1885, p.1.
180. Louisville Courier Journal, 30Mar1885, p.3.
181. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p.2.; 4Apr1885, p.2.
182. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p.2; Hazel Green Herald, 8Apr1885, p.1.
183. Rowan County Court Records.
184. Louisville Courier Journal, 2Apr1885, p.4.
185. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.23.
186. Hazel Green Herald, 8Apr1885, p.1.
187. Locations of respective buildings taken from Ashland Daily Independent, 4Oct1883, p.2. The Raine Hotel stood until the 1990's, when it was torn down during the construction of the Morehead Bypass. The C&O passenger depot on the other side of the new road was saved, and currently houses the Economic Development Center. During the Feud there was only one depot, the current home of Freight Station Liquors.
188. Ibid..
189. Louisville Courier Journal, 2Apr1885, p.4.; 6Apr1885, p.2. Hazel Green Herald, 8Apr1885, p.1. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.24, state that Young stepped from his office to see what the shooting was about and was fired upon by Pearce from the Gault House.
190. Louisville Courier Journal, 2Apr1885, p.4.
191. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.24.
192. Ibid.
193. Louisville Courier Journal, 3Apr1885, p.4.
194. Ibid, 4Apr1885, p.2.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid, p.3.
197. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p.2.
198. Ibid, 4Apr1885, p.2.
199. Ibid.
200. The Martin Faction was also referred to as the Carey and/or Logan faction. The Tolliver faction was sometimes called the Young faction.
201. D.M. Dillon's first wife, Elizabeth Logan, who died in 1866, was H.M. Logan's niece. She was the daughter of Tobias Simpson Logan.
202. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Apr1885, p.2.
203. Ibid, p.3.

204. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p.4.
205. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p.2.
206. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p.4.
207. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p.4; 6Apr1885, p.2.
208. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p.2.
209. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p.4; 8Apr1885, p.4.
210. Ibid, 12Apr1885, p.4.
211. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.24.
212. Louisville Courier Journal, 15Apr1885, p.1.
213. Ibid, 17Apr1885, p.7. The signers were: T.K. Bates, A.W. Vinton, Joda Havens, Lafayette Wadle, L.R. Lane, Zara Daniels, John Strider, B. F. Alley, Sam Smedley, Andrew Nickell, J. L. McClellon, Jake Cohen, Warren Alderson, D. B. Logan, J.M. Carey, Amos Walker, John Medlin, W. D. Munrich (Mennick?), J. W. Webster, Mack Oxley, M.S. Johnson, H.M. Keeton, R. L. Raine, D.B. Smedley, P. Dillon, H. B. Mason, W.A. Gilkerson, C.S. Harlow, James J. Brady, W.S. Thompson, John Pelfrey, A. G. Alderson, Geo. A. Nickell, H.C. Powers, J.M. Hargis, Wm. Trumbo, Marwin Pegman (Marion Pigman?), James Oxley, H. M. Pegman (Pigman?), John H. Day, C.W. Collins, Thomas Trumbo, Jesse B. Coldiron, Wm. Nickell, James H. Hargis, J.A. Nickell, J.W. Keeton, W.J. Rice, Jackson Carter, Lee Marckum, H. G. Burns, J.R. Tyree, E. W. Hamilton, C.A. Black, Riley Chanler, Wm. D. Easterling, Col. John Hargis, C.P. Martin, M.D., J. R. Powers, Richmond Tussey, Jerry Fletcher, W. C. Humphrey, T. W. Banfield, Cyrus Alley.
214. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.24.
215. Rowan Court Records.
216. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p. 24. Spectators at the trial included Mrs. Ben Martin, H. M. Logan, James Carey, H. C. Powers, W. Cook Humphrey, and E. Bradley. After Sutton's conviction the jury was labeled biased and the prosecution witnesses perjurers.
 Will Martin remained out of state, effectively beyond the arm of the law.
217. Louisville Courier Journal, 25May1885, p.1. Fifteen of Kentucky's counties were formed between the years of 1856 and 1884. Three of these, Knott, Bell and Rowan, were embroiled in feuds in the year 1885.
218. Hazel Green Herald, 3Jun1885, p.2. \$25.00 each were offered for the other murders. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.9, state that Pearce and Ben Rayburn watched the Morehead-Queen City road for two days for Jeff Bowling, but he failed to come along. They were noticed but not identified there on March third and fourth by Dr. C.A. Black and the railroad ticket agent. (p. 23, same reference.)
219. Louisville Courier Journal, 1Jun1885, p.1.
220. Ibid, 11Jun1885, p.1.
221. Ibid, 14Jun1885, p.4.
222. Ibid, 20Jun1885, p.3.
223. Rowan County Court Records.
224. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.25.
225. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.

226. Rowan County Court Records, 31Aug1886, record that the Martin house was located "near forks of the road at the mouth of Christy."
227. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.25.
228. Ibid.
229. Ibid.
230. Ibid; Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.
231. The very proper papers of the time refer to her as "enceinte". Louisville Courier Journal, 12Jul1885, p.3.
232. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1, contains an interview with Mrs. Vina Martin.
233. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.25-26.
234. Ibid, p.25.
235. Louisville Courier Journal, 10Jul1885, p.2.
236. Ibid.
237. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.25-26. Tolliver suspected that Sue was in town to raise a force of men to prevent the arrest of Humphrey.
238. Ibid, p.26. Note that the newspaper left the last "e" off of Boone Day's name.
239. Annie Martin said that Humphrey was alone. Mrs. Martin said several times that Humphrey was alone. Rayburn, although prominent in Pearce's confession, was unknown to the Tolliver faction right up thru the time that they killed him. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.25-26.
240. Louisville Courier Journal, 11Jul1885, p.1.
241. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.26.
242. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.
243. Ibid, 15Jul1885, p.2.
244. Ibid, 11Jul1885, p.1.
245. Ibid, 12Jul1885, p.3.
246. Ibid, 30Jun1885, p.1. This was probably the residence of Mrs. Tussey- which was previously described as being a "few hundred yards off."
247. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.26. Logan points the finger at the posse for this crime, for which six of the faction were later indicted.
248. Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1885, p.1.
249. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.26. Rowan County Court Records, 5Oct1885, record Wm. A. Caudill allowed \$6.00 for inquest on Ben Rabourn.
250. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p. 27, Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1885, p.1.
251. Louisville Courier Journal, 3Jul1885, p.2.
252. Ibid, 2Jul1885, p.2.
253. Ibid, 3Jul1885, p.2.

254. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Jul1885, p.5.
255. Hazel Green Herald, 8Jul1885, p.3.
256. The Best of "Hillbilly", by Jim Comstock, Otto Whittaker, Editor, p.160.
257. This was the second time Oxley was listed as being arrested.
258. According to Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., the following Days were in the two sets of guards: Boon, Bill, "Mick" and Thomas A. Arrested later, according to the Courier Journal, were Boone (Boon), Tom Allen (Thomas A.), Nick (Mick?) And G.P./P.G. (Bill?). Vina Martin also implicated former sheriff John C. Day in the arson of her home.
259. Louisville Courier Journal, 7Jul1885, p.2.
260. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.27.
261. Ibid.
262. Louisville Courier Journal, 8Jul1885, p.2.
263. Ibid, 10Jul1885, p.2.
264. Ibid, 11Jul1885, p.1.
265. Ibid, 12Jul1885, p.3.
266. Lucy Martin was the illegitimate daughter of Celia Oxley. She was raised as the child of Celia and T. I. Trumbo. John Trumbo, a member of Tolliver's original posse, was Lucy's half brother.
267. Louisville Courier Journal, 15Jul1885, p.2.
268. Ibid, 17Jul1885, p.2. The proper time would have been 3 a.m.
269. Ibid, 21Jul1885, p.1. Hiram Pigman later (1888) married H.M. Logan's daughter, Laura.
270. Ibid, 22Jul1885, p.5. This reference states that Dr. Jeremiah Wilson had earlier indicated that there was no cause for uneasiness, as Uncle Billy Phillips' mind was made up. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.15, call Phillips "a just Christian gentleman" "above suspicion" and state that he "bravely and manfully went on and did his duty" despite threats of death if he voted to acquit the defendants.
271. Hazel Green Herald, 29Jul1885, p.2. According to the article, Craig originally fled to Cincinnati in 1876 to escape a Rowan County indictment for cattle theft. He married in Cincinnati and did not return to Kentucky until his mother-in-law troubles.
- Morgan County deeds show that Craig made some land transactions during this time (Deed Book 6, p.385-386; Book 9, p.4; Book 9, p.30-31, 15Jul1880, 11Feb1884, 13Feb1884, respectively). Did Craig return to the state to complete these transactions?
- The Herald article also characterizes Craig as "decidedly an unmarried man" at Morehead, while later accounts call him a loving father- two not incompatible statements. Another Herald article (12Aug1885, p.2.) reported that Craig's wife filed for a divorce on grounds of failure to provide for his family since he was taken to Ohio- which would suggest that she was residing in Kentucky. Craig's domestic arrangements seem rather rocky.
272. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jul1885, p.4.
273. Ibid, 26Jul1885, p.2.
274. Ibid, 28Jul1885, p.1; 30Jul1885, p.2.
275. Ibid, 27Jul1885, p.4.
276. Ibid, 29Jul1885, p.3. Also see Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.1-4.

277. Hazel Green Herald, 12Aug1885, p.2. According to Harry Eugene Rose's 1965 doctoral dissertation entitled "The Historical Development of a State College: Morehead Kentucky State College, 1887-1964", p. 24, the two religious groups in Morehead, the Methodist Episcopal South and Reformed, used the courthouse on alternate Sundays as a place of worship.
278. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Aug1885, p.5.
279. Actually only one of the prisoners, James Oxley, was on the grand jury. The other man referred to, Thomas Trumbo, was the father of one of the prisoners, John Trumbo. The grand jury had been selected months before the Martin home incident. See Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.17.
280. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1885, p.2.
281. Ibid, 6Aug1885, p.4.
282. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.17.
283. Louisville Courier Journal, 6Aug1885, p.4.
284. Ibid, 7Aug1885, p.1; Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.17. Oxley and Trumbo were replaced by Samuel B. Caudill and Charles R. Foreman, 6Aug1885, Rowan Circuit Court Records.
285. Louisville Courier Journal, 9Aug1885, p.3. Evans lived twelve miles out of town. His wife was in bad health and he refused to leave her. When Sheriff McKenzie came after him he escaped into the bush.
286. Ibid, 12Aug1885, p.4. Tolliver's Cincinnati trial was postponed until September due to gangrene in his arm.
287. Ibid, 9Aug1885, p.3; 12Aug1885, p.4; 13Aug1885, p.1.
288. Ibid, 18Aug1885, p.2.
289. Ibid, 19Aug1885, p.1; 20Aug1885, p.1.
290. Rowan County Court Records. Pigman resigned September 12. What was his relationship to his future father-in-law at the time? H.M. Logan could surely have stood as his surety if he so choose.
291. Louisville Courier Journal, 12Oct1885, p.8; 22Oct1885, p.4.
292. Ibid, 13Oct1885, p.4.
293. Kentucky: Decades of Discord, 1865-1900, is an excellent reference on the subject.
294. Rowan County Court Records. Sureties were: Abner W. Royse, Wm. D. Royse, Able Caudill, John M. Caudill, James M. Caudill, B. L. Tabor, D.P. Short, John B. Christian, James Moore and B.F. Lee.
295. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Oct1885, p.5; 22Oct1885, p.1.
296. Hazel Green Herald, 28Oct1885, p.2.
297. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.1-10. In fairness it should be noted that these particular excerpts were chosen by Young himself after the termination of the conflict.
298. Excerpt from an upcoming book by Olyve Hallmark Abbott, Fort Worth, Texas, a Nickell descendant. Robert is a brother to Jim Nickell, stabbed by Jeff Bowling in 1882. The case was still being held over- i.e. had not come to trial- three years later. Clay is probably H.C. Powers, hotel owner.
299. Hazel Green Herald, 23Sep1885, p.2.
300. Louisville Courier Journal, 22Dec1885, p.2.
301. Hazel Green Herald, 18Nov1885, p.2.

302. Excerpt from an upcoming book by Olyve Hallmark Abbott.
303. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Dec1885, p.4.
304. Hazel Green Herald, 13Jan1886, p.3.
305. Louisville Courier Journal, 21Jan1886, p.3.
306. Ibid, 5Jan1886, p.2.
307. Ibid, 3Feb1886, p.5.
308. Ibid, 21Jan1886, p.3. Humphrey was working in Nicholas County. Jeff Bowling (apparently recaptured) was on trial in Ohio.
309. Ibid, 23Jan1886, p.12.
310. Ibid, 3Feb1886, p.5.
311. Rowan Circuit Court Records, February 1886 term.
312. Ibid, 13Feb1886, p.365.
313. Louisville Courier Journal, 16Feb1886, p.4. The motive for the murder was evidently Bowling's father-in-law's avowed intention of ejecting him from the household, combined with broad hints from the family that Mr. Douglass was in the way. The Hazel Green Herald, 24Feb1886, p.3, lists Mrs. Douglass as an accomplice in the murder.
314. Ibid, 1Mar1886, p.4.
315. At or near Elliottsville?
316. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jul1886, p.1; 9Mar1886, p.5; Pelfrey family information.
317. Ibid, 7Apr1886, p.8; Hazel Green Herald, 7Apr1886, p.3. Hargis was the father of Judge Thomas Hargis. Col. Hargis' eulogy was delivered by Elder Henry F. Martin. Pallbearers were E.H. Hamilton, George A. Nickell, Joseph L. McClellan, H.M. Pigman, William H. Daniels and D. B. Logan. On April twelfth, Rowan County Court Records show James W. Johnson named administrator of the estate.
- Our historical research has yielded no record of any monument being erected to Col. Hargis in Rowan County, nor have the "family burying grounds at Morehead", where the Courier Journal indicates he was interred, been located. Perhaps the best clue to the location of his grave comes from a 1906 Morehead and North Fork Railroad map, which shows the Hargis Graveyard across the railroad tracks from the Morehead Grocery Company (now the Kentucky Folk Art Center). When Juanita Blair and I recorded this cemetery in the 1980's, the only marked graves belonged to either Cassitys or Ringos. Hargis descendant and researcher Susan Caudill Abner relates that the railroad didn't want the cemetery there, and threw a number of the stones in freight cars and hauled them off.
318. Rowan County Court Records.
319. Louisville Courier Journal, 21May1886, p.2. Ibid, 7Jul1886, p.4, states that Carter was acquitted of killing Eiga Roe.
320. Ibid, 2Jun1886, p.4.
321. Ibid, 23Jun1886, p.3.
322. Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1886, p.1.
323. Ibid, 11Jul1886, p.4.
324. Ibid, 3Jul1886, p.4.

325. Ibid, 4Jul1886, p.4.
326. Ibid, 11Jul1886, p.4.
327. Ibid, 6Jul1886, p. 1 lists Humphrey fighting beside the Logans. It also states the prisoner Bailey was a deputy sheriff and was wounded as well.
328. Ibid, 11Jul1886, p.4.
329. Ibid, 12Jul1886, p.5.
330. Ibid. This reference states Coldiron was appointed Morehead town marshall last July to work off an \$8.00 fine.
331. Ibid.
332. Ibid, 13Jul1886, p.2.
333. A Window to the Past, Vol. II, p.162.
334. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Jul1886, p.2.
335. Ibid, p.3. Morehead News, 27Feb1998, p.B-5, contains a full retelling of the story by Warren Alderson's great-greatgrandson, Dr. Jack Ellis, and a reproduction of the map.
336. Ibid, 14Jul1886, p.4.
337. Ibid, 22Jul1886, p.5.
338. Ibid, 23Jul1886, p.5; 24Jul1886, p.1; 22Jul1886, p.5.
339. Ibid, 24Jul1886, p. 1; Rowan County Circuit Court Records 23Jul1886.
340. Louisville Courier Journal, 25Jul1886, p.5; 26Jul1886, p.1.
341. Ibid, 25Jul1886, p.5.
342. Ibid, 27Jul1886, p.1.
343. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 27Jul1886. Louisville Courier Journal, 28Jul1886, p.2, states Humphrey indicted for shooting at Sheriff Ramey with intent to kill.
344. Louisville Courier Journal, 29Jul1886, p.5.
345. Ibid, 28Jul1886, p.2; 25Jul1886, p.5.
346. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 27Jul1886.
347. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Jul1886, p.2.
348. Ibid, 28Jul1886, p.2.
349. Ibid, 30Jul1886, p.2. Caruth mentions several felony indictments, among which were Marion Caudel for murder (whose the author doesn't know) and Lee Tolliver (along with John C. Day and Tom Allen Day) for burning the Martin house- the only time Lee's name was mentioned in connection with this incident.
350. Ibid, 31Jul1886, p.2.
351. Ibid, 5Aug1886, p.2. Rowan County Court Records, 7Apr1884, list Wm. M. Fouch as town marshall of Elliottville.
352. Louisville Courier Journal, 6Aug1886, p.8.

353. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 6Aug1886. Rowan County Court Records, 3Aug1886, show Logan seeking a law license. He was certified as a person of honesty, probity and good demeanor.
354. Louisville Courier Journal, 10Aug1886, p.4; 18Aug1886, p.6. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 9Aug1886. The text of the agreements appears on p.446. The first reads: Asher G. Caruth, Commonwealth's Attorney Pro Tempore, 14th Judicial District. I request you to suspend any further proceedings in the cases now pending in the Rowan Circuit Court against me and promise that I will remain away from the county of Rowan permanently - Should I ever return to said county, I am willing that the cases shall be redocked & the trials pursued. I will leave said county on or before the 8th day of August A.D. 1886. In this agreement I reserve the right in the case of the death of any of my immediate relatives to return to attend their burial- but I must immediately thereafter leave the county to permanently remain away. Craig Tolliver Attest D. B. Logan. The text signed by Cook Humphrey, although reworded, states the same conditions. It was attested by G.A. Cassidy.
355. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 9Aug1886.
356. Ibid, 11Aug1886.
357. Rowan County Court Records: 10Aug1886- A.W. Young's sureties were Z.T. Young and Warren Alderson; 27Aug1886 - George Johnston's surety was Allen G. Alderson; 31Aug1886- James Johnson's sureties include Z. T. Young; 10Aug1886- W.L. Parker, County School Supt. sureties include A.W. Young.
358. Brother to Whit Pelfrey whom Goodan killed at Hogtown. Jim Pelfrey had previously burned the Rowan County jail. Maysville Bulletin, 16Mar1876, p.2. See MSU Archives File, p.21.
359. Dr. Henry Logan was the older brother of H.M. Logan; Lewis Napoleon Rayburn's mother, Martha Amanda Johnson Rayburn, was a sister of Zachariah Phelps Johnson and Eliza Jane Johnson Logan, spouses of Lucretia Logan and William H. Neville Logan, brother and sister to Henry and H. M. Lewis married Alice Mary Stamper, second cousin to H.M. and Henry.
360. Boone Logan's Letters, Etc. p.10-12. Logan states "Dr. Henry Logan and Louis Rayburn are only tools of iniquity" and "there is a mainspring that moves this machine". The mainspring he refers to was H.M. Logan. See Majority & Minority Report p.247.
361. Louisville Courier Journal, 19Aug1886, p.3, 5.
362. Ibid, 24Aug1886, p.1. Bowling's sentence was reduced to life imprisonment. He served seven long years, was paroled and migrated to Texas, according to The Tolliver-Martin-Logan Vendetta. Rowan County Deed Book 4, p.402, 13Dec1894 lists transfer of property on North Fork of Triplett from D.J. Bowling and wife Queen of Comanche County, Texas to James Tolliver. Olyve Hallmark Abbott states that Bowling came to Brownwood, not far from Ft. Worth.
363. The hotel was sold at auction Feb. 25, 1984 for \$10,000. Used for storage for several years, it was demolished during the construction of the Morehead Bypass.
364. Louisville Courier Journal, 29Aug1886, p.3; 1Sept1886, p.4.
365. Ibid, 15Sept1886, p.2.
366. Ibid, 29Sept1886, p.5.
367. Ibid, 30Sept1886, p.4.
368. Ibid, 4Oct1886, p.1.
369. Rowan County Court Records.
370. Louisville Courier Journal, 25Oct1886, p.1.
371. Hazel Green Herald, 3Nov1886, p.1. Jedediah Day was the father of John C. Day.

372. Louisville Courier Journal, 7Nov1886, p.5.
373. Ibid, 11Nov1886, p.4. Note that Young had relocated for the time being.
374. Ibid, 30Nov1886, p.2; 20Nov1886, p.5.
375. Ibid, 25Nov1886, p.1; 30Nov1886, p.2.
376. Rowan County Court Records. Perhaps Mrs. Raine was only trying to retain the tavern license. Her husband had passed away- his will was probated 7Feb1887.
377. Louisville Courier Journal, 14Dec1886, p.4. Did Van B. Young and Z.T. Young share a common ancestor?
378. Ibid, 15Dec1886, p.1.
379. Ibid, 23Dec1886, p.2.
380. Ibid, 4Jan1887, p.5.
381. Ibid, 5Jan1887, p.1, 3. Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, p. 160, states that Bud Tolliver shot Keeton. Descendant Ollie Keeton states his ancestor, whose full name was Hobert Miller Keeton, was killed by Craig Tolliver.
382. Rowan County Court Records, 3Jan1887.
383. Son of L.H.B. Tolliver.
384. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Jan1887, p.3.
385. Ibid, 16Jan1887, p.5.
386. Hazel Green Herald, 2Feb1887, p.4 (Wednesday) gives the date as "last Tuesday". They picked the story up from the West Liberty Gem, however, and it is unknown if they revised the date.
387. Rowan County Court Records.
388. Rowan County Circuit Court Records.
389. Day shot John C. Day; Bentley knifed Wiley V. Tolliver; Arnold killed Stuart Caudill.
390. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, p.533.
391. Louisville Courier Journal, 15Feb1887, p.3; Boone Logan's Letters, Etc., p.12; Hazel Green Herald, 2Mar1887, p.4.
392. Louisville Courier Journal, 17Feb1887, p.2.
393. Hazel Green Herald, 9Mar1887, p.4.
394. Louisville Courier Journal, 1Mar1887, p.8.
395. Rowan County Court Records.
396. Hazel Green Herald, 9Mar1887, p.1.
397. Ibid. Abel Caudill was one of the co-founders of the Peoples Bank of Morehead, owning twenty per cent of the original stock. Rowan County Clerk, Deed Book D, p.473. 25Sep1906.
398. Hazel Green Herald, 9Mar1887, p.4.
399. Louisville Courier Journal, 15Mar1887, p.5; 16Mar1887, p.1; Hazel Green Herald, 23Mar1887, p.4. The Majority and Minority Report and Testimony Taken by the Rowan County Investigating Committee, p.197, states Witcher and Jay Tolliver were partners in an unlicensed saloon. Craig Tolliver, Witcher and Trumbo were practicing with their pistols at Jay's saloon when Witcher was shot in the head. Was the shooting truly accidental? Did Trumbo's story only serve to

cover for the elimination of an unhandy business partner? The truth here could aptly be called, as Humphrey was, "the great mysterious".

400. Hazel Green Herald, 30Mar1887, p.4.

401. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p.1. Caudill was killed by John Arnold at Hoggtown in 1885. Why, how, and exactly when remain unknown.

402. Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p.1.

403. Louisville Courier Journal, 1May1887, p.2.

404. Hazel Green Herald, 15Jun1887, p.1; Rowan County Court Records. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1. stated that Tolliver's announcement for police judge in March caused all other candidates for the position to withdraw.

405. Hazel Green Herald, 25May1887, p.1.

406. Craig B., Burton Craig, B.C. Tolliver were all the same- see Rowan County Court Records.

407. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.

408. Alfred E. "Coon" Logan was Daniel Boone Logan's brother. W.H.W. Logan had ran against James W. Johnson in the August 1886 circuit court clerk's election. See Majority and Minority report, p.453.

409. MSU Archives file, p.15, 18.

410. Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.55.

411. According to information given by Jack McBrayer to the author. The spring near the old house seat still flows. The Logan family cemetery, where the boys were buried, lies on the banks of the North Fork of Triplett Creek, perhaps a mile away from the house site, close to a creek called Logan Branch.

412. Hazel Green Herald, 15Jun1887, p.1. MSU Archives file, p.15; Louisville Courier Journal, 9Jun1887, p.2, both place the Logans in the house when the posse arrived. Courier Journal also mentions an old lady in the house. The Archive file states John Logan fired the shot that wounded Mannin.

413. MSU Archives file, p.16, Harry Clark gave this eyewitness testimony. Hazel Green Herald, 15Jun1887, p.1, says the Logans attempted to escape from the house. Frenchburg Advertiser, 4Jul1887, p.2, gives both versions.

414. Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.56.

415. The boys' father was still in a Lexington cell; their uncle H.M. Logan had relocated to Ashland.

416. MSU Archives file, p.16, Harry Clark stated that Craig Tolliver had placed his Winchester rifle against the chest of John Logan after Logan had fallen and shot him. Pigman dug the ball out of the ground. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1, states that Hugh Clark and wife took the bodies to their house where they were kept overnight; that the boys were shot repeatedly (twenty buckshot and pieces of slugs were found in each body) and their faces were mutilated by kicking; that the murders took place over (Deputy) Sheriff Hogg's objections.

417. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1.

418. Frenchburg Advertiser, 4Jul1887, p.2. Logan family information lists Alfred E. "Coon" Logan as the man behind the sights of the Winchester.

419. Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p.1; Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, p.157.

420. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1: "...Craig Tolliver succeeded in having himself elected police judge of Morehead and at once began to use his official position against his enemies." Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, p.154-155 states that Craig Tolliver sent written notices to those he wanted rid of that, unless they departed the county shortly, their own funerals would be held on a certain day thereafter. The Majority and Minority Report, p.276, gives

Boone Logan testifying that no written threats were received by him, but practically every other source indicates that Logan's involvement in the final posse was partly as the result of Tolliver's direct threats against him and his family. Perhaps the threats were verbal?

421. Maysville Bulletin, 23Jun1887, p.4.

422. If there is any truth to this it would seem strange that the Tolliver party would number less than a dozen on the day of the final battle.

423. The reader must remember that the same Underwoods that Martin had fought with during the Underwood War had been responsible for the death of Logan's father.

424. Cincinnati Enquirer, picked up by the Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887 and the Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p.1.

425. Ibid.

426. In the Majority and Minority Report, p.500-501, Sheriff Hogg says he summoned no posse, only told Logan that he would go to town the next morning and see if the Tollivers would surrender. Hogg was detained outside the town by armed men until after the Tollivers were killed. It is possible that the posse thought Hogg would warn or aid the Tollivers- after all, they were among his sureties on his bond.

427. The number of individuals in the posse is open to some dispute- Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1, says one hundred men were recruited from Rowan and another hundred from Carter and Morgan Counties. To these Boone Logan distributed sixty Winchester rifles. One hundred thirteen men arrived in detachments at Morehead. The Maysville Daily Evening Bulletin, 24Jun1887, p.3, says "a crowd of men chiefly from Rowan County but some being from Elliott, Morgan and Carter... variously estimated at from 150 to 300 men". The Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887, said the posse numbered about two hundred. MSU Archives file, p.24, states Boone Logan testified on the stand that there were fifty to sixty men in the final battle.

428. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.

429. Majority and Minority Report, p. 275. Logan states his part of the posse gathered at Gates Station the night before.

430. Maysville Daily Evening Bulletin, 24Jun1887, p.3.

431. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.

432. Family information from Ethel Jones. Hardin was her husband's grandfather.

433. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1. Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, p.174, lists his name as William Bryant. Hazel Green Herald, 6Jul1887, p.1, Boone Logan states Craig Tolliver fired the first shot at Bryant near the stock pen south of town.

434. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.

435. Ibid, 23Jun1887, p.1, reports Hogg asked Tolliver to surrender and he refused. The next day's issue, p.1, makes no mention of this. In the present author's opinion, the action started before Hogg had a chance to speak with Tolliver. If he spoke to him after the lead began flying and his blood was up his chances for negotiation were greatly diminished.

436. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.

437. Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887; Winchester Democrat, 29Jun1887, p.3. Pelfrey family information says Cal was hidden under Tom Goodan's house on Porter Creek where they fed him through the cracks in the floor. Lexington Daily Press, 29Jun1887, p? state imprint of Cal's body could be seen the next day in the dust beneath the house.

As of this writing, the author has been unable to locate copies of the Lexington Daily Press. References are quoted from Rose's doctoral thesis.

438. Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887, states the Tollivers were told if they surrendered they would not be harmed. When they refused, the order was given to burn the building. They then decided to make their break.
439. Hazel Green Herald, 6Jul1887, p.1.
440. Ibid.
441. Ibid; Majority and Minority Report, p.208.
442. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.
443. Hazel Green Herald, 6Jul1887, p.1; Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.62.
444. Maysville Bulletin, 30Jun1887, p.3; Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1; Majority and Minority Report, p.358; Hazel Green Herald, 6Jul1887, p.1.
445. Louisville Courier Journal, 25Jun1887, p.2. The Lexington Daily Press article on 29Jun1887, which reports his death while a guard was transporting him from Elliottsville, appears to be somewhat in conflict with his tombstone, which records his death in 1949.
- Andy evidently gave a first hand account of that final shootout to Mat J. Long, whose letter to the Courier Journal in 1918 was reprinted in The Kentucky Explorer, Feb. 1990, p.58-59. According to Mr. Long, Andy's "clothing was literally cut into shreds with bullets and small shot. However, he made his escape, running a mile or two. When he met a man on horseback he commandeered his horse, riding that night to West Liberty...."
446. Rowan County News, 16May1956, p.10. Article by Leora B. (Tippett) Hurt. Aunt Sylvia Hargis (d. 1891), was buried in the Hargis Cemetery, located on the south side of the railroad tracks across from the depot in Morehead. According to Samuel Ralph Powers (in a letter to the Kentucky Historical Society) many of the stones in the cemetery disappeared one night into a railroad boxcar, possibly to make room for a siding.
447. Louisville Courier Journal, 25Jun1887, p.2.
448. Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887.
449. Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.63-64.
450. Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887; Louisville Courier Journal, 25Jun1887, p.2. Tolliver should not have been that hard to find, as he was in Morehead the evening after the shoot out.
451. Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p.1. Conductor ran the train off on Martin's switch- 21/2 miles east of Morehead.
452. Winchester Democrat, 29Jun1887, p.3.
453. Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887; Maysville Bulletin, 30Jun1887, p.3; Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.
454. Cincinnati Enquirer article reprinted in The Kentucky Explorer, October 1992, p.14.
455. Winchester Democrat, 29Jun1887, p.3; Lexington Daily Press, 23Jun1887; 24Jun1887, p?; Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p.1.
456. Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p.1.
457. Tolliver family information from Maxine Tolliver Evans, Cate's daughter. Talt Hall, who cut his own wide swath in the feud counties southeast of Rowan, is a book in himself.
458. Louisville Courier Journal, 27Jun1887, p.5.
459. Ibid, 2Aug1887, p.2. This rather interesting development did not, alas, come to pass.

460. Ibid, 24Jun1887, p.1; 25Jun1887, p.2. According to the Lexington Morning Transcript, 23Jun1887, p.1, Allie Young forced Craig Tolliver to issue a writ for the arrest of John Logan under threat of a \$500.00 fine. The warrant was issued because Hiram Cooper complained to Young about an unknown party posting a notice for Cooper to either get a job or leave the county.
461. Ibid, 24Jun1887, p.1.
462. Ibid, 27Jun1887, p.1.
463. Ibid, 23Jun1887, p.1.; 28Jun1887, p.1.
464. Hazel Green Herald, 5Aug1887, p.8.
465. Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1887, p.1. Was Dolph Madden the same man as Bud Madden, posse member shot during the final battle?
466. Rowan County Court Records, 29Jul1887. Note that D.B. Logan stated Craig Tolliver ran an unlicensed saloon. Apparently he obtained the license he sought June 6.
467. Hazel Green Herald, 20Jul1887, p.8.
468. Majority and Minority Report, p.458; Hazel Green Herald, 5Aug1887, p.5.
469. Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p.1.
470. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p.2.
471. Rowan County Circuit Court Records.
472. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p.2.
473. Rowan County Circuit Court Records; Majority and Minority Report p. 402; Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p.1; 6Aug1887, p.5.
474. Majority and Minority Report, p.419-422; Louisville Courier Journal, 12Aug1887, p.5; Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.68. (The last reference quotes McPherson's Report, Kentucky Documents, No. 23, 1887.)
475. Rowan County Circuit Court Records; Majority and Minority Report, p. 534.
476. MSU Archives File, p.20.
477. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 13Oct1887.
478. Hazel Green Herald, 26Aug1887, p.1, 5; Majority and Minority Report, p.338; MSU Archives File, p.20.
479. Lexington Daily Press, 20Aug1887, p? Quoted from The Historical Development of a State College: Morehead Kentucky State College, 1887-1964 by Harry Eugene Rose.
480. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 31Aug1887; Hazel Green Herald, 9Sept1887, p.1.
481. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 2Sept1887.
482. Two Famous Kentucky Feuds and Their Causes, p.69, quoted once again from McPherson's report; Hazel Green Herald, 9Sept1887, p.1.
483. Fleming True Blue Democrat, 22Sept1887, p.4. Craig's sons were twelve and ten, respectively. It was alleged that the shooting of Walters was an act of revenge for his father's helping to clear Hiram Pigman.
484. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 2Nov1887.
485. Majority and Minority Report, p.6.

486. Ibid, p. 91; MSU Archives File, p.28. Rose's "Historical Development, Etc." states on p.27-28 that the Morehead city charter was revoked and a new one designed on April 10, 1888 by the General Assembly (Legislative documents of Kentucky 1888, No. 7, p.7). Both the City and the Secretary of State's office show Morehead operating under the original charter issued in 1869.

487. Information from Roy Foster.

488. From obituary of Daniel Boone Logan, reprinted in James Logan Family, 1767-1992, by Eugene Logan.

489. Morehead Advance, 29Jul1896.

490. Owingsville Outlook, 7Apr1921, p.4.

491. According to Mary Wallace, relation of Jeff's wife Queen Victoria Haney via the Johnsons. Jeff and his family first moved to Missouri, close to his wife's uncle and aunt, Zachariah Phelps Johnson and Lucretia Logan Johnson. (Lucretia was a sister to Howard and Dr. Henry Logan.) The Bowlings later moved to Texas, where other Johnson relatives lived and Jeff's father resettled.

492. A letter reprinted in the Kentucky Explorer (November 1995, p.58-59) may shed some light on Alvin's fate. In a letter written about 1901 F.W. Schaefer states "about four years ago Adam Bowling, one of the men said to have been concerned in the assassination of John Martin, went out into the woods to work on some logs. He was found dead, with several bullets in his body, but no one inquired as to his slayers."

This "Adam" Bowling sounds suspiciously like Alvin. Confirmation, via a marker or a newspaper report of his demise, remains to be found. He was alive on June 6, 1897, when he served as a witness at the wedding of E.E. Watkins and Robbie Oxley.

493. Rowan County News Centennial Edition, May 10, 1956, p.6, 16. B. S. served as mayor from 1901 to 1903.

494. Ibid, p. 6, 64, 98. It was under Homer's administration that the City Hall Building on East Main was constructed.

495. Ibid, p.16. For further information see the Grit 2Feb1913, p.1; the Louisville Courier Journal, 26Jan1913, p.1; Journal of Education, 6Mar1913, or the Cora Wilson Stewart Collection at the University of Kentucky Library Archives which contains the last three references, along with hundreds of photos and thousands of newspaper clippings, letters, notebooks, etc. that Mrs. Stewart collected over the course of a long and very busy life.

496. Information courtesy of Joanne Aylward, professional researcher in Arbela, Missouri. The family relationships are stated in the Memphis Reveille, 10July1890, p.3. Another Humphrey, William I., whom I believe to be a cousin, participated in numerous real estate transactions with Gabe. Who the other Humphrey partners of Humphrey Brothers were, I do not know.

497. Information courtesy of Joanne Aylward. Cook is buried in the City Cemetery in Kahoka. His obit appeared in the Clark County Courier, 13Mar1942.

498. No death date is recorded on his marker.

499. "Floyd Tolliver Buried At Pleasant Run, Not Buskirk", by Florine Lewis Ball, Licking Valley Courier, 15Nov1990, p. 3.

500. Family information. The Wholesale Grocery was renovated, and became the home of the Kentucky Folk Art Museum in 1997.

501. Information collected by Maxine Evans, Charles "Cate" Tolliver's daughter; Louisville Courier Journal, 25Oct1892, p.1; 27Oct1892, p.2. The Courier Journal labels Tipton a "noted outlaw", and mentions that the Tolliver Howard Feud had already resulted in more than fifty deaths.

502. Taliaferro-Toliver Family Records, Nell Watson Sherman, p.184. Copy at Margaret I. King Library, University of Kentucky; Maxine Evans information.

503. Owingsville Outlook, 11Jul1901, p.1; Louisville Courier Journal, 5Jul1901, p.5.
504. Maxine Evans information. Death date on Finley's monument is 1899, but several dates in the Tolliver Cemetery are wrong. Louisville Courier Journal, 20Aug1901, p.2 states Harvey Moore, former Morehead marshal, was Howard Moore's brother.
505. Mount Sterling Advocate, 2Aug1921, p.3; Owingsville Outlook, 4Aug1921, p.1; Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jul1921, p.2. Fraley was the former sheriff of Rowan County. If he served any time for Cate's killing, it was minimal, for he was the other officer involved with Ap Perry in the attempted arrest of Smedley in 1924. Cate Tolliver was a farmer and, reportedly, a bootlegger. He was also a non-commissioned officer in the Kentucky National Guard, Company B, commanded by his nephews, Ezra and Bert Proctor. Cate's family was of the opinion that Fraley was hired by Wells to kill Tolliver. One of the witnesses to the killing, according to Rowan's Progress, was young Claire Louise Caudill. Louise was Cate's great-niece.
506. Rowan County News Centennial Edition, May 10, 1956, p.10, 43.
507. Ibid, p.13.
508. The Morehead Advance, Extra, Commercial Club's Edition, July, 1898, p.5.
509. Rowan County News Centennial Edition, May 10, 1956, p. 66.
510. Flemingsburg Democrat 14May1874, p.1, states Thomas I. Trumbo is the former jailor of Rowan County.
511. Information from Jean Hill, granddaughter of Arthur Hogge.
512. The Morehead Advance, 29July1896. Bath County Democrat, 21Nov1901, p.3, reports Tussey elected (or re-elected) judge. Court records of 1896, however, indicate that Matt Carey was serving as judge.
513. Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky is a prime example. Miss Thomas was a great show woman as well as a gatherer of folklore. Her numerous protests that all was forgiven and forgotten among the descendants of the feudists, are, unfortunately, not confirmed by the present authors.
514. Rowan County News Centennial Edition, 10May1956, p. 12, 19. Daniel Boone Caudill's remarkable daughters, Claire Louise Caudill, founding spirit of St. Claire Medical Center, and Lucille Caudill Little, whose philanthropy in the fields of art and education is local legend, are the great-granddaughters of Jacob Finley Tolliver.
515. Mount Sterling Advocate, 19Feb1895, p.1.
516. Bath County Democrat, 21Nov1901, p3.
517. Owingsville Outlook, 14Jul1921, p.1.
518. The Lexington Leader, 19Nov1919, p.1; 20Nov1919, p.1. J.A. Richards, in his History of Bath County, p.308-309, gives an enlightening story on the relationship between the two brothers, paraphrased in the following:
 William was appearing as an attorney in his brother's courtroom. Interpreting a remark of W.A.'s to be discourteous, Judge Allie Young said to the Clerk:
 "Mr. Clerk fine Mr. Young \$5.00."
 "Make it \$10.00," spoke up Mr. William Young.
 "Make it \$15.00, Mr. Clerk," said the Judge.
 "Make it \$20.00," William suggested.
 "Make it \$25.00, Mr. Clerk," responded the Court.
 The sparring was renewed in the afternoon session of court, and Judge Young sentenced his brother to two hours in jail.
 "Make it twelve hours," William said.
 "I will do better than that," Allie responded. "Twenty four hours, and Sheriff, execute the sentence of the Court."
 Intersession by other members of the bar saw the jail sentence suspended, but William Young drew a stern rebuke from his sibling. "...My brother must know that when he appears before me while I am on the bench he stands on the same

ground as any other attorney, and should conduct himself accordingly."

519. Rowan County News Centennial Edition, 10May1956, p.40. The Youngs celebrated their fifteenth wedding anniversary at the estate in 1908. William Young's second wife, Nell, twenty-three years his junior, survived him by fifty-three years, and is buried beside him in the Lee Cemetery. See photo of the building, which later became the Lane Funeral Home, on p.35 of same paper. Same reference, p.22, lists the house as the oldest brick home in Morehead. Truman Dehner's law office, the former Norman Wells property on the corner of Main and Bridge Street, currently holds that distinction.

520. Rowan County News, 2Jun1938, p.1.

521. History of Bath County, p. 308.

522. The Historical Development of a State College: Morehead Kentucky State College, 1887-1964, p.146, sheds some interesting light on Young's role in the College's history.

523. Now US 60.

524. Morehead News, 1Jul1997, p.A-9. See this article for a brief overview of Hargis' Confederate service and importance to Morehead State University. The Morehead Advance Extra, Commercial Club Edition, July 1898, p. 21, indicates an 1898 purchase added fifty-three acres to the campus. The school's 1901-1902 catalog listed a local advisory board chaired by Solomon Bradley's son Hiram and a membership that included J.M. Carey, W.A. Young, and T.B. Tippet.

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DELANEY SQUIRE BOLLING/BOWLING FAMILY

DELANEY SQUIRE BOLLING/BOWLING- December 25, 1824, Russell County, Virginia- died ? Son of Jeremiah Bolling and Sarah "Sally" Ward. Married Rebecca Matilda Brooks on 15Feb1843, Letcher County, Kentucky. Rebecca born ca1824, North Carolina. Daughter of Patence Brooks. Rebecca and Delany probably died in Texas.

CHILDREN:

REBECCA - March 24, 1845- April 26, 1887. Married John Henderson Mullins ca1864/65. John- March 12, 1838-October 23, 1906. Buried in old cemetery off Cranston Road.

DIANA- born ca1848- died before 1870. Born Russell County, Virginia.

ANNA VIOLA- Married Porter Maycumber. A stone in Lee Cemetery records the dates July 29, 1853- June 27, 1912 for Anna Viola Barndollar. Unless this is a second marriage for both Anna V. and William Theo. Barndollar, this stone may not mark the grave of Delany's daughter. The Barndollars came to Rowan County around 1900/1910.

ALVIN M.- born ca1857, Wise County, Virginia. Married first, Anna Tussy on 13Dec1877; divorced 16Nov1892. Married second, Manerva Arnold on 9Nov1896.

LOUISA - born ca1860, Wise County, Virginia- August 21, 1860.

JEFFERSON DAVIS- born ca1864, Kentucky- probably died in Texas. Married first, Nora Haney 11Feb1885, Rowan County, Kentucky. They were divorced May 14, 1892. He then married Queen V. Haney, sister to Nora. After Jeff moved to Texas he changed his name to Delaney J.

Note: First three children were born in Russell County, Virginia. According to letters written in the 1930's, Delany shot and killed a preacher, Bill Adams, at Flat Gap on the Pound, Virginia.

**The old Christian Church was
Morehead's first, constructed
during the height of the Feud.**



***Jeff Bowling and his first
wife, Nora Haney. Bowling
was a staunch Tolliver ally
until being jailed for his wife's
stepfather's murder.***

JAMES M. BRAIN FAMILY

JAMES M. BRAIN- December 5, 1809-July 18, 1886. Married Nancy Green on 6Dec1832. Nancy- April 11, 1814-December 21, 1894. Both are buried in the Carey Cemetery on Kentucky 801 near Cave Run Lake.

CHILDREN:

PAMELIA A.- November 26, 1833, Bath County- February 19, 1913. Married James Carey on 3Mar1859. James- November 23, 1825- March 4, 1906. Both are buried in the Lee Cemetery in Morehead.

MARY D.- December 10, 1835, Bath County- death date unknown.

ELIZABETH F.- December 16, 1837, Bath County- death date unknown. Married John Scott. No other information.

JOHN W.- October 9, 1840, Bath County-July 27, 1876. Married Mary P. Calvert- October 25, 1852-August 23, 1921, daughter of James Calvert and Jenetta Razor. Mary lived for a while with John's parents after his death. She later married Henry Myers. Both John and Mary are buried in the Siloam Cemetery in western Rowan County.

HIRAM G.- September 6, 1843, Bath County- September 11, 1904.

LOUISA C.- April 1, 1846, Bath County- November 23, 1897. Married J.W. Tabor- June 26, 1841- August 22, 1914. Both are buried in the Carey Cemetery.

ANDREW M.- November 28, 1848, Bath County-death date unknown. Married Frankie Lewis on 2Apr1879.

WILLIAM F.- September 8, 1851, Bath County- death date unknown. Married Alice Carey on 29Aug1873.

JAMES M.- March 10, 1854, Bath County- death date unknown. Married Sue Martin on 23Aug1887 at Benjamin Martin's. L.R. Laine officiating. James and Sue moved to Kansas.

FRANK- December 28, 1855, Bath County. No other information.

(Information from Carey Family Bible, marriage and cemetery records.)



Howard M. Logan and Elizabeth Trumbo Logan are the couple seated on the front row of this photo. Others on the front include, L to R, Queen Logan Clark, Minnie Hughes and Mrs. Trumbo. The back row, L to R, are Mrs. Lester Hogge, Mrs. Margaret Cooper, John L. Cooper, Dee Clark Sims and Blanche Martin.



James Brain married ***Sue Martin*** several months after the Feud. Shown with them are their children, tentatively identified as Lester, Juanita, Frank and Lillian. The Brain family settled in Kansas.

JAMES CAREY FAMILY

JAMES CAREY- November 23, 1825, Fleming County- March 4, 1906. Married first, Eliza Jane Cassity, 9May1850, Fleming County. D.S. Barksdale officiating. Married second, Pamela A. Brain, 3Mar1859. Pamela- November 26, 1833, Bath County- February 13, 1913. Both James and Pamela are buried in the Lee Cemetery.

CHILDREN- FIRST FAMILY:

STILLBORN FEMALE- March 19, 1853, Fleming County.

JOHN W. N.- March 6, 1854, Fleming County.

MARY M. A.(ALICE?)- July 26, 1856, Fleming County.

No other information on first family.

CHILDREN-SECOND FAMILY:

JAMES MADISON- December 23, 1859- November 29, 1921. Married Mary E. Medlin Dingus on 6July1884, daughter of John L. Medlin and Mary _____. Mary Medlin Dingus Carey- May 31, 1863- February 7, 1948. James and his wife are buried in the Lee Cemetery.

NANNIE M.- March 6, 1861- January 9, 1929. Married John Rector Powers on 6June1883. James E. Clark officiating. John- August 11, 1854, Fleming County- January 29, 1895. Nannie is buried in the Lee Cemetery. John may be also, but no marker exists to confirm it.

SARAH- October 4, 1865- death date unknown. Married W.J. Rice on 1March1885. W.J.- July 3, 1864- death date unknown. They may have moved to Missouri.

GEORGE M.- March 26, 1867- May 5, 1896. Buried in Lee Cemetery.

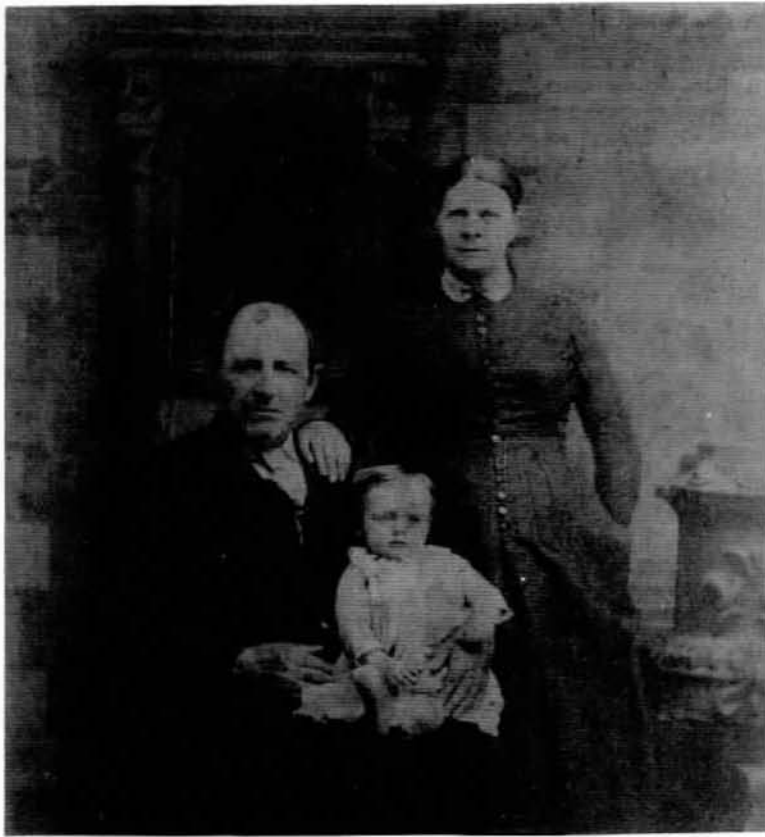
ULYSSES GRANT- March 30, 1869-1947. Married first, Dale Clark on 10Oct1888, F.C. Button officiating. Married second, Cora Wilson on 4Jun1895, Ralph Julian officiating. Married third, Elizabeth "Lizzie" Smith on 22Dec1906. Ulysses is buried in the Lee Cemetery.

(Information from Family Bible in possession of Harlan Powers (son of Nannie and John R.) at one time.)

Thomas Byron Tippet moved to Morehead in 1882. There he made his living in lumber and staves. A witness to John Martin's shooting of Floyd Tolliver, Tippet managed to steer a neutral course during the conflict and later went into politics.



Union veteran, county judge, county court clerk, ***James Carey*** is shown seated here with his wife ***Pamelia Brain Carey***. Standing, left to right, are ***James Madison (Matt) Carey***, ***Sally Carey Rice***, ***Nannie Moreland Carey Powers***, and ***Ulysses Grant Carey***.



James Carey and his wife
Pamelia Brain Carey
are shown here with their
grandson, Harlin Powers.
The Careys ran the Gault
House, a hotel right across
the street from the county
courthouse.

App Perry
was one of the leaders of the posse in the final
confrontation with
Craig Tolliver.



Dawson Manchester Dillon
served as deputy sheriff
under Cook Humphrey.



JAMES LOGAN FAMILY

JAMES LOGAN was captured by Indians on the Pennsylvania frontier during his youth. After regaining his freedom he settled in Lewis County, Kentucky. His first wife was Caroline Elizabeth Hughes; his second, Mary Sabina Pendland. He is buried in the Ball Point Cemetery on Laurel Fork in Lewis County.

CHILDREN- FIRST FAMILY:

WILLIAM S.- October 13, 1791- January 10, 1873. Married Elizabeth R. Powers 24Aug1815, in Fleming County. Elizabeth- May 7, 1798- July 19, 1869. Both buried in the Logan Family Cemetery on the banks of the North Fork of Triplett across from the mouth of Logan Branch, land that was part of Fleming County at the time of their marriage.

SARA- ca.1792- death date unknown. Married Gabriel Lewis on 1Nov1809, Fleming County.

JOHN M.- 1793- death date unknown. Married Eleanor Parker on 27Dec1821, Lewis County. William J. Simpson, officiating.

JULIA HANNAH- 1794- death date unknown. Married Abraham Enix on 23Aug1810, Fleming County. Chas. Harper, officiating.

TOBIAS- 1796-1870. Married Mary Ann Tabor- 1794-1871. Both are buried in the Logan Cemetery on Reaves Branch in Carter County.

LYDIA- 1799- death date unknown. Married Hiram Day in 1822, Lewis County.

ELIZABETH- 1804- death date unknown. Married Francis Marion Dyer on 24May1821, Floyd County.

EDWARD- November 5, 1806-August 18, 1885. Married Minerva Thomas on 8Jan1827, Lewis County. Minerva- May 28, 1810- June 28, 1894.

MARY- birth and death date unknown. Married first, William J. Simpson on 29Oct1817, Lewis County. Married second, William Taylor.

CHILDREN- SECOND FAMILY:

SUSAN-1809-March 26, 1876. Married George Pendland. License dated 2Mar1827, Lewis County.

ABRAHAM-1813-1898. Married first, Julian Choat, 27Oct1832, Lewis County. John Johnson

officiating. Married second, Martha J. Brammer Densmore on 7 June 1861, Carter County. Married third, Annie Boston.

MOSES- 1817-January 24, 1870/February 2, 1870. Married Ester Gorman on 22 May 1834, Lewis County.

The families of William and Tobias were more closely connected with the Rowan County War. Their records follow. One should bear in mind, however, that the Underwood War involved several other of James' descendants, among whom were George Washington Stamper via daughter Elizabeth, Alex Pendland via daughter Susan, Moses' son O'Banion and Julia's grandson J.B. Enix figured in the Hughes murder.

WILLIAM LOGAN FAMILY

WILLIAM LOGAN-October 13, 1791-January 10, 1873, son of James Logan and Caroline Elizabeth Hughes. Married Elizabeth R. Powers, daughter of Jacob Powers and Ann Shelton, on 24 Aug 1815, Fleming County. Elizabeth-May 7, 1798-July 19, 1869. Both William and Elizabeth are buried in the Logan Family Cemetery on the North Fork of Triplett in Rowan County.

CHILDREN:

EDWARD HUSTON LOGAN-July 9, 1817, Fleming County-killed Oct. 26, 1863 by "Sid Cook" Algeron Sidney Lee. Edward was the first Clerk of Rowan County. Married Fairlena Wells on 19 Jun 1845, Fleming County. Peter Cassity officiating. Fairlena born 1823- death date unknown.

HENRY SIMPSON-March 3, 1818, Fleming County- still living 1900 census; marker has no death date. Married first, Lucinda F. Grey on 14 Mar 1843, Fleming County. Married second, Emily _____, Lucinda- February 3, 1825, Fleming County-January 21, 1882. Henry was a medical doctor.

TOBIAS SIMPSON-July 12, 1819, Fleming County-July 24, 1898. Married Eliza Jane Christy on 13 Apr 1843, Fleming County. Eliza-April 16, 1820, Fleming County-December 25, 1894. Both died in Browning, Missouri.

LYDIA ANN-July 13, 1821, Fleming County-October 26, 1888. Married first, Matthew Lee on 27 Dec 1837, Fleming County; second, Charles B. Purdin on 11 Feb 1857. Matthew -August 28, 1817-September 29, 1851. Charles July 22, 1796- death date unknown.

ELIZA JANE-February 12, 1824, Fleming County-April 28, 1900, Warrensburg, Missouri. Married Ambrose Barnett Christy on 9 Mar 1847, Fleming County. Ambrose -April 14, 1825-May 22, 1877.

LUCY ANN- December 28, 1826, Fleming County-March 30, 1885, Peabody, Kansas. Married William H. Norris on 20 Feb 1845, Fleming County. William-April 4, 1822-March 12, 1909.

ELIZABETH- September 22, 1828, Fleming County-October 15, 1910. Married Hiram Lee on 7Oct1849, Fleming County. Hiram-December 4, 1824-March7, 1895.

SARAH AMANDA-1830, Fleming County-death date unknown.

MARY D.-1832, Fleming County-death date unknown.

WILLIAM H. NEVILLE-1834, Fleming County-death date unknown. Married Eliza Jane Johnson on 5Oct1856, Fleming County. Eliza-April 5, 1835-1876.

FRANCES LUCRETIA-1836, Fleming County-August 4, 1903, Linn County, Missouri/Kansas. Married Zachariah Phelps Johnson on 23Jul1853, Fleming County. Zachariah 1842-February 14, 1896.

HOWARD MONROE- December 2, 1839, Fleming County-February 12, 1924. Married Elizabeth A. Trumbo on 1May 1862. Elizabeth November 20, 1845-March 8, 1915. Both are buried in the Lee Cemetery at Morehead, Kentucky.

Dr. Henry Logan and his youngest brother Howard both lost sons in the Feud. William H. Neville moved to Missouri. Several of his children turned outlaw. The most famous was Harvey Logan, better known to history as Kid Curry. He rode with the Wild Bunch.

DR. HENRY SIMPSON LOGAN FAMILY

HENRY SIMPSON LOGAN-March 2, 1818-died after 1900 census. Monument in Logan Cemetery with no death date. Son of William Logan and Elizabeth R. "Betsy" Powers. Married Lucinda Grey, 14Mar1843. Lucinda-February 3, 1825-January 21, 1882. Buried Logan Cemetery on North Fork of Triplett.

CHILDREN:

MARY FIELDING ANN- August 25, 1844-June 2, 1915. Married first, Samuel McRoberts(?), and second, John Adams Wilson.

ELIZA JANE "LIZZIE"-ca1846- death date unknown. Married Robert Dryden.

FRANCES A.-ca1848-death date unknown. Married Henry Cooper.

AMANDA SUSAN-February 25, 1850-July 27, 1853. Buried in Logan Cemetery.

LEANDER MONROE-January 1, 1852- August 18, 1853. Buried in Logan Cemetery.

SIMPSON R.-ca1855-death date unknown. Married Malinda Meade, 12Nov1878.

WILLIAM-born and died April 5, 1855.

Still born male- born and died October 6, 1857.

LUCINDA ADELINE "ADDY"-ca1861-death date unknown. Married James McRoberts, 13Nov1884.

WILLIAM H. WADSWORTH-November 7,1862-murdered June 7, 1887. Buried in Logan Cemetery.

LENORA E. "NORA"-ca1866-death date unknown. Married Nelson Evans(?).

JOHN B. HUSTON-March 10, 1869- murdered June 7, 1887. Buried in Logan Cemetery.

HOWARD MONROE LOGAN FAMILY

HOWARD MONROE LOGAN-December 2, 1839-February 12, 1924. Son on William Logan and Elizabeth R. "Betsy" Powers. Married Elizabeth A. Trumbo on 1May1862. Elizabeth-November 20, 1845-March 8, 1915. Howard, his wife and all their children are buried in the Lee Cemetery in Morehead.

CHILDREN:

LAURA A.-June 12, 1863-March 3, 1891. Married first, H.M. Pigman, 9Sept1888. Married second, Lindsey Stewart, 18Nov1890. Both marriages in Morehead.

IDA F.-January 3, 1865-October 15, 1885.

WILLIAM O.-February 17, 1867-July 24, 1886.

HENRY BARKLEY-died November 1, 1881. Age 2 years, 2 months.

TOBIAS LOGAN FAMILY

TOBIAS LOGAN- 1796-1870, son of James Logan and Caroline Elizabeth Hughes. Married Mary Ann Tabor- 1794-1871. Both are buried in the Logan Cemetery on Reaves Branch in Carter County.

CHILDREN:

JAMES FLEMING- September 20, 1822, Fleming County- November 18, 1869, Greenup County. Buried with parents in Logan Cemetery. Married Nancy McGlone on 28May1857, Carter County.

WILLIAM WASHINGTON-1823, Fleming County- death date unknown. Married Elizabeth Goodan on 28Dec1844, Fleming County. E. Bradley, minister.

DIANA-1825, Fleming County- death date unknown. Married Landy Markwell on 8Oct 1840. Peter Cassity officiating.

ROBERT RILEY- born Fleming County. Birth and death dates unknown. Married Mary A. Mayfield.

ELIZABETH-1827, Fleming County- death date unknown. Married Benjamin Harget on 5Apr1846, Fleming County. J.G. Williams officiating.

FRANCIS MARION- 1831, Fleming County- death date unknown. Married Caroline Plummer on 6Apr1854, Carter County. Caroline -April 6, 1836-August 16, 1884.

MOSES GRANT- September 5, 1833, Fleming County-August 18, 1899. Married Melinda E. Lansdown. License issued 24Jan1857, Carter County.

MADISON C./J.-1836, Fleming County- death date unknown. Married Charlotte Logan-1840, Lewis County-death date unknown.

WILLIAM HENRY- 1841, Carter County- death date unknown. Married Melinda Jane Pendland on 28Mar1863, Carter County. Melinda born 1835, Fleming County- death date unknown.

This leaves much to be desired as to information on this family. We would appreciate any help readers might be able to lend.

BENJAMIN MARTIN FAMILY

BEN MARTIN-July 13, 1823-April 11, 1888, Holton, Kansas. Son of David Martin and Fannie Rose. Married Malvina Hagins/Higgins on 18Jan1844. Malvina-January 26, 1826-January 23, 1898, Holton, Kansas.

CHILDREN:

JOHN P.-September 8, 1846, Letcher County-December 11, 1884, Morehead. Married Lucy Trumbo ca1870. Both are buried in the Lee Cemetery, Morehead.

ELIZABETH-March 1, 1847, Letcher County-November 4, 1868. Never married. Buried on the Birchfield Farm, US 60 East, Morehead.

WILLIAM-November 1, 1848, Letcher County-1930, age 81, Fallensbee, West Virginia.

DAVID-January 28, 1850, Letcher County-April 26, 1931, Grayson, Kentucky. Married Mary Frances Scott.

LOURANE 'LOU'-January 14, 1855-1886, age 31, Colyer, Kansas. Married William Morris.

FANNIE-1857-1915. Buried at Salt Lick, Kentucky. Married John Dickerson on 10Apr1878, Rowan County.

SUSAN 'SUE'- March 15, 1861- death date unknown. Married James M. Brain on August 23, 1887, Rowan County. They moved to Kansas.

HARRIETT- August 12, 1862-1940, Huntington, West Virginia. Married Richmond Tussey on 20Dec1880, Rowan County.

ANNA LAURA 'ANNIE'-January 3, 1864-December 29, 1945, Holton, Kansas (?). Married Eugene Gantz.

DELLIE-March 22, 1866-1939, Holton, Kansas. Married Bige Newman.

ERNEST ALEXANDER- September 4, 1868-death date unknown. Married Mary Sandusky.

IRENE-November 27, 1871-March 21, 1956, Kansas. Married John Boise.

ANDREW- drowned at age 3.

2 un-named infants- no dates.



***John Martin and his wife, Lucy Trumbo Martin.
His luck ran out at Farmers Station.***



***John Martin's parents,
Ben and Malvina
Hagans Martin,
resettled in Holton, Kansas
after John's murder.***

HUGH TOLLIVER FAMILY

HUGH TOLLIVER- Mar. 14, 1815, North Carolina- Nov. 14, 1866 in Morgan County, s/o William Tolliver and Betsy Long. Hugh is buried in the old Salem Cemetery at Buskirk, Morgan County. Married 30Jun1841 in NC to Eleanor Spurling/Sperling

CHILDREN:

WILLIAM- April 8, 1842, North Carolina-Sept.5, 1917 Oklahoma. Married first Lydia Robinson, 21Oct1863, Morgan County. After her death he then married Hilda B. Auston, 14Jan1886, Morgan County. She was raised by Phelps family.

WESLEY BOYDEN- July 12, 1843, North Carolina- April 23, 1885, buried in the Salem Cemetery. Married Elizabeth Greer, 7Sep1875, Morgan County.

REID/REED- March 12, 1845, North Carolina - August 14, 1864, buried in the old Salem Cemetery. Never married.

NANCY CAROLINE- Jan. 10, 1847, North Carolina- died 1930, Fleming County (?) Married Andrew J. Amyx in Morgan County.

ELIZABETH EMALINE- March 25, 1849- no other information.

BURTON CRAIG- April 1, 1851, North Carolina- June 22, 1887, buried in the Tolliver Cemetery, Elliott County. Married Amanda Buxton in Ohio.

DANIEL BOONE- April 24, 1853, North Carolina- 1910, buried in the Lee Cemetery, Morehead, Kentucky. Married Victory Robinson, 15Dec1870, Morgan County.

FLOYD- Feb. 8, 1855, North Carolina- December 3, 1884, buried in the Robinson Cemetery, Upper Pleasant Run, Morgan County. Married Mary Robinson, 23Mar1876, Morgan County.

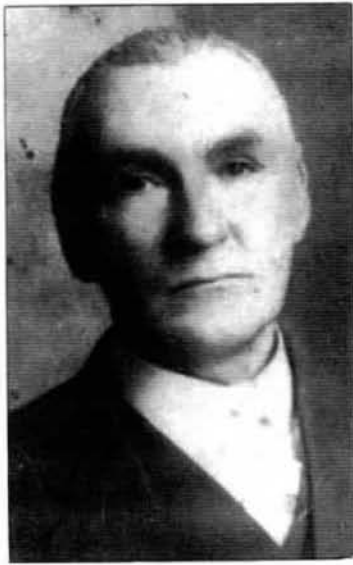
FRANCIS MARION- April 17, 1857, North Carolina- July 5, 1936, buried in the Lee Cemetery, Morehead, Kentucky. Married first, Emaline C. Lewis, 19Apr1877, Morgan County. Second marriage to Eliza A. Lane, 10Mar1883, Rowan County. Married a third time to Anna J. Adams.

SARAH E.- died Feb. 12, 1861, age 1 year.

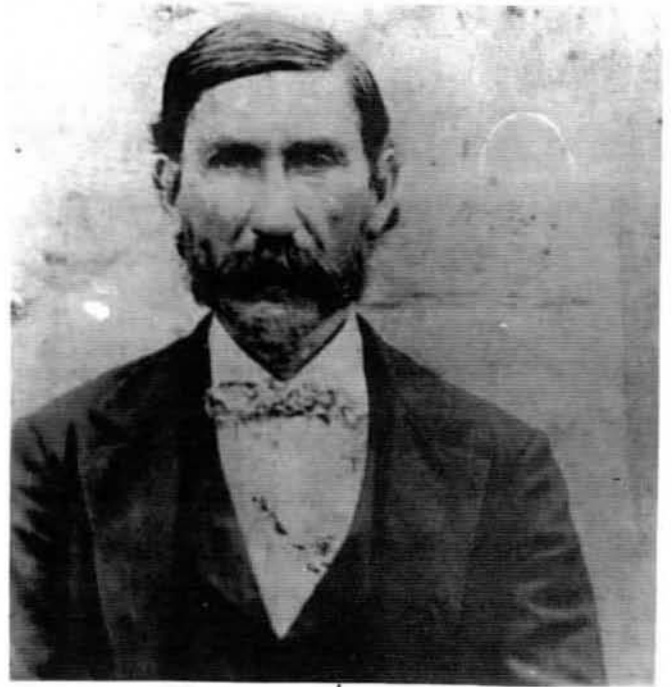


Burton Craig Tolliver

Craig Tolliver's career as a merchant and politician came to an abrupt and leaden end on a bloody June morning in Morehead. Both he and Finley's death dates are incorrect on the family monument.



Francis Marion Tolliver



William Tolliver

These two brothers of Craig Tolliver both pursued careers as merchants, F.M. in Morehead, William in Morgan County.



Squire Hogge, Rowan's sheriff during the last days of the Feud, raised a prominent family with his wife, *Marian Arnold*.

JAMES TOLLIVER FAMILY

JAMES TOLLIVER-ca1795, Ashe County, NC-ca1861, Alleghany County, NC, son of John Tolliver and Tabitha Howell. Married Mary "Polly" Baldwin, 18Feb1821, Lawrence County, IN

CHILDREN:

LIGHTWELL B.-April 15, 1827-November 14, 1883. Married Nancy Privitt, 1846, VA

TABITHA-ca1831, Ashe County, NC-February 23, 1916. Buried in family cemetery, Johnson County. Never married.

JACOB FINLEY-October 1830-1902. Buried Tolliver Family Cemetery, Wyatt, Elliott County. Married Orlena Wyatt, 10Apr1853.

WILEY G.-ca1834, Ashe County, NC. Married Mary Richardson, 16Oct1853.

DRURY S.-ca1841, Ashe County, NC. Married Mahala Sayler, 14Jun1866, Lawrence County, KY.

EVALINE-ca1843, Ashe County, NC-August 31, 1886. Buried Richardson Cemetery, Ashe County. Married Mathew Johnson.

JUSTINE-ca1844, Ashe County, NC. Married John Caldwell.

EMILY J.-ca1846, Ashe County, NC- before 1869. Married _____ Caldwell.

NOAH B.-October 13, 1848, Ashe County, NC-March 12, 1923. Buried Greenlawn Cemetery, Doanville, OH. Married Mary Elizabeth Chandler.

JACOB FINLEY TOLLIVER FAMILY

JACOB FINLEY TOLLIVER-October 1830-1902. Buried in the Tolliver Cemetery, Wyatt, Elliott County. Son of James Tolliver and Mary "Polly" Baldwin. Married Orlena Wyatt 10Apr1853. Orlena-July 2, 1836, Piney Creek, NC-January 30, 1925. Buried in Lee Cemetery in Morehead. Daughter of Zebidee Wyatt and Mary Jones.

CHILDREN:

MARY ANGELINE-December 22, 1854, Ashe County, NC-August 8, 1934. Married Charles Proctor-February 18, 1846, Carter County(?) -October 15, 1935. Both are buried in the Caudill Cemetery in Morehead. During the Civil War, at age 15, Charles shot Major John Shawhan from his horse, a severe loss for the Rebels.

JOHN REID "BUD"-June 28, 1857, Ashe County, NC-June 22, 1887. Buried in the Tolliver Cemetery at Wyatt. Married Mary E. Layne, daughter of Thomas Layne and Angeline _____. Mary and Bud had two children: Clinton "Clint"-March 14, 1881-April 8, 1960, and William, murdered July 29, 1899.

LEE ANDREW (LEANDER)-February 15, 1860, Alleghany County, NC- murdered January 22, 1902 by "Tug" Howard. Married Margaret McKenzie, ca1885, Elliott County. Murtie Whitt officiating. Margaret-June 22, 1866-August 24, 1936. Both are buried in the Tolliver Cemetery at Wyatt.

JACOB FINLEY, JR. "JAY"-ca1862, Alleghany County, NC-June 22, 1887. Buried in the Tolliver Cemetery at Wyatt.

WILLIAM W. (WILEY)-ca1864- murdered by Wes Howard in 1892. Married Margaret Epperhart. She remarried, 16Jun1894, Green B. Wilson.

MARTHA-April 5, 1866, Alleghany County, NC(?) -October 29, 1923. Married Thomas Goodan-1853-1921.

JAMES CALVIN "CAL"-ca1870, Floyd County, Kentucky- shot by Sambo Howard in Elliott County, moved to Doanville, Ohio where he died from the effects of the wound. Married Margaret Gayhart. One child.

CHARLES W. "KATE"-March 26, 1873-killed by Alfred Fraley, July 29, 1921. Married Ethel Price, 17Jul1900, Rowan County. John Kelly officiating. Ethel was the daughter of Hiram Price and Zerilda Gray. Both Kate and Ethel are buried in the Lee Cemetery at Morehead.

Note: Wiley V. Tolliver-ca1857-January 10, 1887, married Mary Elizabeth Hammons, 1Aug1882. She later married Andrew J. Landreth/Lambert. Wiley was the son of Lightwell B. Tolliver, Jacob Finley Tolliver's brother.

JEREMIAH WILSON FAMILY

DR. JEREMIAH "JERRY" WILSON-June 30, 1853, Morgan County(?)-April 24, 1917. Son of Isiah Wilson and Sarah Wilson. Married Annie Eliza Halley, 11Dec1870. Annie- February 12,1849, Montgomery County(?)-September 10,1900. Daughter of Uriah Halley and Sarah Davis. Dr. Wilson buried in Pine Hill Cemetery, Morehead. Annie Wilson buried in Town Cemetery, Morehead.

CHILDREN:

EVERETT-October 25, 1871-April 5, 1892. Buried in Town Cemetery. Died of self-inflicted gunshot.

VIOLA-1873-September 11, 1878.

CORA-1875- Married first, Ulysess Grant Carey, 4June1895. Married second and third, Alex T. Stewart, 24September1902 and 22June1904. Cora Wilson Stewart had one child, William Halley Stewart-July 18, 1907-June 7, 1908, who is buried in the Lee Cemetery.

BURWELL CLIFFORD-1876-February 22, 1946. Married Lula Nelson.

BUNYON SPRATT-1878- (?). Married first, Harriet Caywood-May 8, 1875-June 1, 1906. Buried in Lee Cemetery. Married second, Mary Coffey.

HOMER LEE-February 14, 1880-August 22, 1940. Married Lena Blaine Carey, 20Nov1906. Lena May 5, 1885-1961. Both are buried in the Lee Cemetery.

STELLA-April 22, 1882- (?) Married E. Boone McGlone, 23Dec1905.

PRESTON TAULBEE- April 22, 1882-May 27, 1887. Buried Town Cemetery.

CLEVELAND-October 2, 1884- died in infancy.

HENDRICKS-October 2, 1884- December 22, 1896. Buried Town Cemetery.

FLORA- no information. Married Jesse B. Peers.

GLENMORE COMBS- no information. Married first, Pearl Powers. Married second, Mary Lou Buford.

ZACHARIAH TAYLOR YOUNG FAMILY

ZACHARIAH TAYLOR YOUNG-1848, Nicholas County-February 13, 1895, Mt. Sterling. Son of Whittington Young and Sally _____. Married ca1863/1864 Amelia A. Obanion. Amelia-1845, Fleming County-1914, daughter of A.J. and Eliza Obanion. Both Zachariah and Amelia are buried in the Machpelah Cemetery in Mt. Sterling.

CHILDREN:

ALLIE W.-December 19,1865-February 18,1935. Married first, Eliza Florence Johnson, 9Nov1885. Eliza-1867-1886. Married second, Mary Foley,15Mar1901. Mary-September 8, 1885-December 24, 1953. All are buried in the Machpelah Cemetery in Mt. Sterling.

WILLIAM A.-November 14, 1868-November 19, 1919. Married first, Arka Clay. Divorced? Married second, Nell Miller-August 31,1891-December 21, 1972. William and Nell are buried in the Lee Cemetery in Morehead. Their monuments read: "Here Lies A Man" and "And Here Beside Him Rests His Gracious Lady".

ZACHARIAH TAYLOR, JR.-November 16, 1871, Fleming County-1921, Los Angeles, CA. Married Elizabeth A. Gatewood, daughter of J.B. Gatewood, Mt. Sterling. Lizzie shot herself with a .38 revolver.

CLAUDE B.-1877-1881. Buried in the Machpelah Cemetery.

LIZZIE BELLE-1882-1886. Buried in the Machpelah Cemetery.

Information is from census, family, marriage and cemetery records. All counties are in Kentucky unless noted.



Zachariah Taylor Young

County attorney during the beginning of the Feud, Taylor Young's congressional aspirations sank in Rowan's violent waters. He relocated his practice to Mount Sterling.



Allie W. Young

A Democratic politician of the first water, Judge Young put the flotsam of Rowan's troubles behind him. His legal talents were sought out by national corporations; his political abilities by gubernatorial candidates.

Oldest Sons of Z.T. & Amelia O'Bannon Young

William A. Young

Bill Young was a brilliant defense lawyer and a noted judge. His career was brought to a premature and tragic end in an automobile accident.



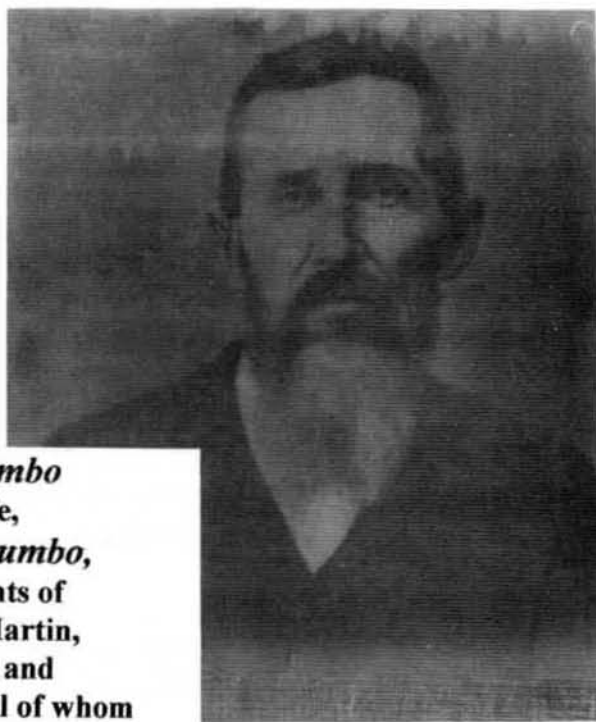
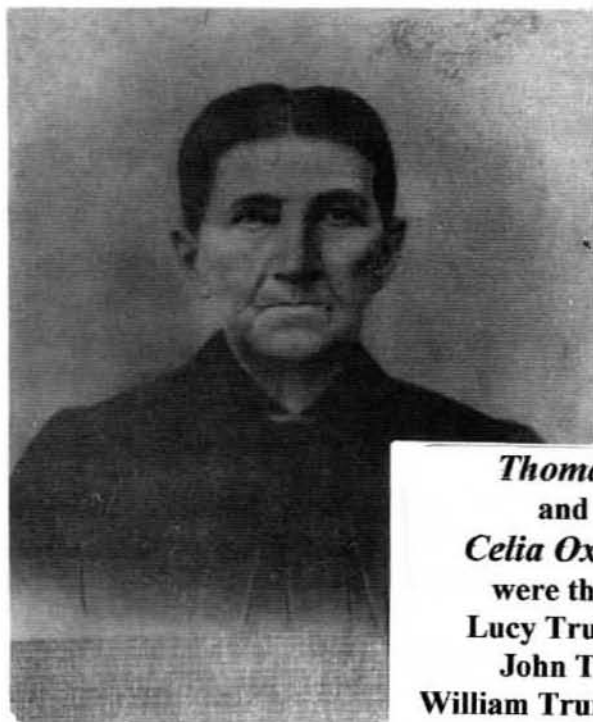
Birth/Death	Name	Parents	County of Birth/Death
B15Oct1878	Alderson, Sarah	Harvey Alderson; Abby Bragg	Rowan
D24Aug1880	Alderson, Sarah	Harvey Alderson; Abby Bragg	Rowan age 1y1m11d
B10Mar1854	Brain, James M.	James M. Brain; Nancy Green	Bath
B21Oct1859	Bradley, Alexander	Elias Bradley; Luana Prater	Floyd
B26Jul1856	Carey, Mary A.M.	James Carey; Eliza J. Cassity	Bath
B8Nov1861	J.C. (male)	George Carey; Sarah Jennings	Rowan
D19Mar1853	stillborn female	James Carey; Eliza J. Cassity	Fleming
D9Aug1852	Clack, Mrs. Sarah	Jacob Trumbo; Elizabeth	Fleming
B22Mar1875	Cooper, Della	Ephriam Cooper; Clarinda Purvis	Rowan
B27Feb1861	Christian, W.T.	J.B. Christian, Eliza Brammer	Rowan
B6Oct1856	Day, Eli	Jedidiah Day, Synthia Fannin	Rowan
B13Feb1852	Day, Christine	James Day, Margaret Epperhart	Morgan
B22Feb1852	Day, Daniel	Jedidiah Day, Synthia Fannin	Morgan
B4May1852	Day, George W.	Eli Day, Elizabeth Goodan	Carter
B20Mar1874	Dryden, female un-named	Robert Dryden, Eliza J. Logan	Fleming
B15Mar1893	Dillon, Lulie B.	D.M. Dillon, Elizabeth Heflin	Rowan
B2Apr1878	Epperhart, William L.	H.J. Epperhart, Martha J. Stamper	Rowan
D24Aug1858	Epperhart, James G.	David Epperhart, Rutha Nickell	Rowan age 8m, 3d
B8Mar1859	Epperhart, John H.	D.D. Epperhart, Rutha Nickell	Rowan
D11Sept1857	Evans, Isaac	John Evans	Rowan age 76y
B Jan1856	Evans, William R.	R.M. Evans, Martha F. Pierce	Rowan
B17Jun1859	Evans, Elias & Eli	John A. Evans, Elizabeth Myers	Rowan
B18Jun1859	Evans, S.A. (female)	W.W. Evans, Melissa Stapleton	Rowan
B5Dec1859	Evans, John E.	R.M. Evans, Martha F. Pierce	Rowan
B19Jul1861	Evans, Jeff D.	John Evans, Elizabeth Myers	Rowan
B9Jan1858	Fletcher, Sarah Jane	Alexander Fletcher, Jane Day	Morgan
D2Dec1859	Fletcher, Sarah Jane	Alexander Fletcher, Jane Day	Morgan age 2y
B15Dec1853	Fletcher, Lucinda	Alexander Fletcher, Jane Day	Morgan
D20Jun1856	Fletcher, Lucinda J.	Alexander Fletcher, Jane Day	Morgan
B4Mar1856	Fletcher, David D.	Alexander Fletcher, Jane Day	Morgan
B6Sep1856	Fouch, Millard	William A. Fouch, Evaline Thomas	Rowan
B17May1861	J. (male)	William Fouch, Evaline Thomas	Rowan
B17Mar1859	Fouch, Saphrona	William A. Fouch, Evaline Thomas	Rowan
B19Oct1861	Goodan, Coralise	T. A. Goodan, M.E. Logan	Rowan
B6Mar1875	Goodan, Viola	Phillip Gooden, Elizabeth Hamilton	Rowan
B5Dec1875	Goodan, Levi	Samuel Goodan, Sarah Proctor	Rowan
B9Jan1852	Goodan, John Mason	Levi Goodan, Catherine Brammer	Carter
D17Oct1855	Gray, Sarah B.	Barnett Seamonds, Frances	Fleming age 49y
B27Jun1856	Humphrey, Wesley C.	Rufus Humphrey, Catherine Fraley	Morgan
B8Nov1876	Hogg, Louisa	Squire Hogg, Marian Arnold	Rowan
B11Mar1852	Hawkins, Henry	James A. Hawkins, Susan Logan	Fleming
B18Sep1878	Hall, Wiley V.	Benjamin F. Hall, Mary C. Tolliver	Rowan
B19Dec1853	Johnson, Benjamin	Z.P. Johnson, Frances L. Logan	Fleming
D16Oct1861	Keeton, un-named male	Allen Keeton, Mary Jane Oxley	Rowan
B26Sep1856	Keeton, Amanda E.	Allen Keeton, Mary J. Tabor	Rowan
D29Sep1859	Kendall, C. (female)	Jesse Kendall, Elizabeth Epperhart	Rowan age 9y
B Feb1852	Lee, Cassander A.	Hiram Lee, Elizabeth Logan	Fleming
B5Oct1852	Lee, Joyce Abigail	Mathias Lee, Margaret Hawkins	Bath
B28Aug1853	Logan, Thompson	William Logan, Elizabeth Goodan	Fleming

B4Apr1855	Logan, William	Henry Logan, Lucinda F. Gray	Fleming
B20Nov1855	Un-named male	Tobias Logan, Eliza Jane Christy	Fleming
B29Jan1856	Logan, Martha Ann	E.H. Logan, Fairlena Wells	Rowan
B16Jan1857	Logan, un-named male	Tobias Logan, Eliza Jane Christy	Rowan
B20Nov1859	Logan, Jesse (m)	E. Logan, Eliza J. Pearce	Fleming
B20Oct1876	Logan, Miney F. (f)	Obanion Logan, Mary McClerg	Rowan
B7Feb1858	Logan, Victory	E.H. Logan, Fairlena Wells	Rowan
D18Oct1859	Logan, Delilah	Tobias Logan, Eliza Christy	Carter age 9y
D26Apr1859	Logan, Samuel	William Logan, Louisa	Rowan age 1y
D6Oct1857	Logan, stillborn male	Henry S. Logan, Lucinda F. Gray	Rowan
D20Nov1855	Logan, un-named male	Tobias Logan, Eliza J. Christy	Fleming age 6w
D8Jul1877	Logan, Dr. E.	none given	Fleming
D11May1883	Logan, Mrs. Eliza (Dr. E.)	none given	Fleming
D27Jul1852	Logan, female	E.E., E.A. Logan	Fleming age 5m
B5Feb1852	Logan, un-named female	E.E., E.A. Logan	Fleming
B6Mar1893	Logan, Thomas W.	William Logan, Zettia Ham	Rowan
B28Oct1853	Markwell, America C.	Landy Markwell, Diana Logan	Fleming
B29Aug1861	Madden, un-named male, female	James Madden, Mary Trumbo	Rowan- twins
B26Aug1875	Martin, William B.	John Martin, Lucy Trumbo	Rowan
B19Jul1878	Martin, Neva Delila	John Martin, Lucy Trumbo	Rowan
B6Apr1876	Martin, James	William Martin, Elizabeth Blair	Rowan
B12Jun1875	McKenzie, James J.	A.J. McKenzie, Louisa Alfrey	Rowan
D28Mar1861	McKenzie, un-named male	A.J.McKenzie, Louisa Alfrey	Rowan
D18Aug1852	McKenzie, Harrison	John Clark McKenzie	Morgan age 39y
D7Aug1852	McKenzie, William Harrison	Harrison McKenzie, Garner Ramey	Morgan age 9y
D9Aug1852	McKenzie, Francis Lewis (m)	Harrison McKenzie, Garner Ramey	Morgan age 5y
D10Aug1852	McKenzie, John M.	Harrison McKenzie, Garner Ramey	Morgan age 3y
B22Aug1878	McKenzie, Osker	A.J. McKenzie, Louisa Alfrey	Rowan
B21May1859	McKenzie, W. (male)	A.J. McKenzie, Louisa Alfrey	Rowan
B12Feb1852	Norris, George M.	W.H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Fleming
B6Apr1853	Norris, James H.	W.H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Fleming
B10Jun1855	Norris, Harvey Saunders	W.H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Fleming
B6Jan1859	Norris, Manerva (Amanda?)	W.H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Rowan
B4Dec1861	Norris, un-named male	William H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Rowan
B1Apr1858	Norris, un-named male	William H. Norris, Lucy Logan	Rowan
B16May1856	Nickell, Mary C.	Robert Nickell, Rachel Cogswell	Rowan
D Apr1852	Nickell, John	A. & H. Nickell	Fleming
B27Mar1853	Nickell, Elizabeth	Robert Nickell, Rachel Cogswell	Fleming
D2Sep1858	Nickell, J.R. (male)	A. & H. Nickell	Rowan age 6y5m2d
D8Feb1861	Nickell, un-named male	W. & L. Nickell	Rowan
D13Sep1858	Nickell, Eunice	A.& H. Nickell	Rowan age8y8m10d
D18Sep1858	Nickell, Jewel	Andrew Nickell & Henrietta Oxley	Rowan age14y11m
B Jul1853	Nickell, Greenup	William Nickell, Lucinda Pierce	Fleming
D Aug1852	Nickell, Elizabeth	A. & H. Nickell	Fleming
B9Sep1852	Oxley, Lucy Ann (illegitimate)	Celia Ann Oxley	Fleming
B14Nov1875	Oxley, Kate	Thomas Oxley, Cassender Nickel	Rowan
D Aug1928	Oakley, Mary Ellen	John D. Robinson, Elender P. Lewis	Morgan
B26Sep1874	Powers, Margaret H.	Henry C. Powers, Margaret J. Hawkins	Rowan
B16Feb1878	Powers, Annie Mary	Geo. W. Powers, Hannah F. Cogswell	Rowan
D31Dec1875	Powers, Clearsa	Geo. W. Powers, Hannah F. Cogswell	Rowan
D9Aug1853	Powers, Nancy	John & Sarah Powers	Fleming

B16Apr1856	Penland, Kinis Farro (female)	Geo. Penland, Susannah Logan	Carter
B9Feb1861	Patterson, Ann A.	J.B. Patterson, Sarah Powers	Rowan
B13Sep1878	Patton, Margaret	Littleton Patton, Lucinda Trumbo	Rowan
B2Apr1856	Purvis, Francis J. (male)	G.W. Purvis, Margaret Swim	Rowan
D11Feb1858	Purvis, William	Francis Purvis & Anna	Rowan age27y
B28Dec1875	Purvis, William S.	Isaac Purvis, Sarone Cooper	Rowan
B6Jan1878	Purvis, Franklin	Hiram Purvis, Sarah R. Lee	Rowan
B18Nov1857	Purvis, America Tennessee	Geo. Purvis, Margaret Swim	Rowan
B8Dec1859	Purvis, Martha H.	Geo. Purvis, Margaret Swim	Rowan
D17Apr1877	Purvis, Anna	Cooper	Rowan
B5Jul1893	Pigman, Hiram	William Pigman, Darcus Cornette	Rowan
B10Oct1852	Ross, John W.	George W. Ross, Nancy Powers	Fleming
B27Apr1857	Ross, Gillian (female)	Joseph Ross, Lucy Tolliver	Morgan
B21Mar1852	Ramey, Sarah L.	Thomas Ramey, Malinda Murphy	Morgan
B20Apr1859	Ramey, James Thomas & Robert Franklin (twins)	E.P. Ramey, Evaline Hughes	Morgan
D20Sep1857	Ramey, Mahala	Thomas Ramey	Rowan age 2y
B19Jul1875	Ramey, Willis A.	William Ramey, Mary A. McKenzie	Rowan
B18Jun1859	Ramey, Andrew	Jeremiah Ramey, Eunice Manley	Rowan
B26Nov1852	Smedley, Aaron	Samuel Smedley, Jr., Delila Brown	Morgan
B21Jul1856	Smedley, Sara L.	Samuel Smedley, Jr., Delila Brown	Rowan
B8Aug1858	Smedley, Samuel B.	Samuel Smedley, Jr., Delila Brown	Rowan
B3Dec1861	Smedley, J. B. (male)	Samuel Smedley, Jr., Delila Brown	Rowan
B2Oct1878	Tolliver, Nancy C.	Floyd Tolliver, Mary E. Robinson	Elliott
B13Dec1876	Tolliver, Robert C.	Wesley B Tolliver, Elizabeth Greer	Morgan
B7Feb1878	Tolliver, William T.	Marion Tolliver, Emaline C. Lewis	Morgan
D12Feb1861	Tolliver, Sarah E.	Hugh Tolliver, Ellen Sperlin	Morgan age 1y
D5Oct1955	Tolliver, Leonard	James Tolliver, Emma Riddle	Ohio(state) age 65y
B4Apr1856	Trumbo, Isaac	Thomas Trumbo, Celia Oxley	Rowan
B23Oct1858	Trumbo, W. A. (male)	Thomas Trumbo, Celia Oxley	Rowan
B28Apr1858	Trumbo, Potticia (female)	O.H. Trumbo, Nancy Manley	Rowan
D15Sep1858	Trumbo, Molinda	O.H. Trumbo, Nancy Manley	Rowan age 2y3m15d
D24Sep1858	Trumbo, William	O.H. Trumbo, Nancy Manley	Rowan age 5y1m3d
B4Apr1856	Trumbo, Isabell	Thomas Trumbo, Celia Oxley	Rowan
D30Mar1856	Trumbo, John	Andrew Trumbo,	Bath
B1Sep1854	Trumbo, Nancy	Adam Trumbo, Hannah Allen	Bath
B18Jun1854	Trumbo, John L.	D.S. Trumbo, Catherine M. Bryan	Bath
B3Feb1856	Trumbo, Alfred F.	David Trumbo, Catherine M. Bryan	Bath
B16Apr1858	Trumbo, Sally Ann	David Trumbo, Catherine M. Bryan	Bath
D Dec1854	Trumbo, J.	Jacob Trumbo, Mary	Bath
D31May1852	Trumbo, Clay	Adam Trumbo, Hannah Allen	Bath
B24Feb1874	Tussy, Alcie B. (female)	Caleb B. Tussy, Manerva J. Bradley	Rowan
B19Aug1876	Tussey, Jonathon C.	C. B. Tussey, Manerva J. Bradley	Rowan
B15May 1878	Tussey Caleb, Jr.	C.B. Tussey, Manerva J. Bradley	Rowan
B12Nov1856	Tussey, Jonathan	Jonathan Tussey, Mary Bradley	Floyd
D13Feb1859	Tussey, stillborn un-named	Jonathan C. Tussey, Mary Bradley	Floyd
D11May1855	Tussey, Jonathan	Jacob Tussey, Jane	Floyd
B6Mar1878	Wilson, Geoge H.	John Wilson, Mary F. A. Logan	Rowan
B30June1852	Wilson, Jeremiah	Isiah Wilson, Sarah Wilson	Morgan



Col. Warren Alderson and his wife,
Rachel Smith Alderson
were reputed to be the most well to do
couple in Morehead during the Feud years.



Thomas Trumbo
and his wife,
Celia Oxley Trumbo,
were the parents of
Lucy Trumbo Martin,
John Trumbo and
William Trumbo, all of whom
played a roll in the
Rowan County
"festivities."

Rowan County Deeds

Although Rowan County was formed in 1856, the burning of the courthouse in 1863 and the county court clerk's office in 1884 resulted in the destruction of most early records. Many residents had their deeds rerecorded after the fire- the reason the early deeds weren't in strict chronological order.

February 27, 1866- J.M. Lewis, Grantor- James Underwood, Grantee. Lewis sold to Underwood, for \$78.00, a tract of land in Rowan County, Kentucky, on the Little Perry Branch. Book 1, page 473.

December 10, 1869- Stephen Underwood, Grantor- F.C. Nickell, Grantee. For \$100.00, a tract of land in Rowan County, Kentucky, on the Meadow Fork of Tygart Creek. Witness: Stephen Underwood and Eady Underwood. Book 1, page 533. *Note: the tributaries of Tygarts Creek are today part of Carter County.*

February 11, 1870- Delaney Bowling and Rebecca Matilda, his wife, Grantors- Mary F. Grigory, Grantee. A parcel of land lying and being in Rowan County on North Fork of Triplett Creek.

November 23, 1874- S.B. Johnson, Grantor- J.W. Nickell, Grantee. For \$195.00, a tract of land in Rowan County, Kentucky, on the waters of the North Fork of Triplett Creek. Witness: S.B. Johnson and Rebecca Jane Johnson. Book 1, page 290.

March 8, 1876- Z.P. Johnson and H.M. Logan, executors of William Logan, deceased, Grantors- M.F. Grigory, Grantee- North Fork of Triplett Creek, all the balance of the landed estate of William Logan, except one-half acre reserved as burial place.

August 17, 1878- Alexander Hall, Grantor- Ben Martin, Grantee. Hall sold to Martin a tract of land lying in Rowan County, Kentucky, on the waters of the North Fork of Triplett Creek. Witness: Alexander Hall and Clarinda Hall. Book 1, page 361.

June 14, 1880- A.J. McKenzie, Sheriff, Grantor- W.H. Baldwin, Grantee. For \$90.28, a tract of land lying and being in Rowan County, Kentucky. Book 1, page 117. *This was probably a tax sale.*

June 18, 1883- Jno. Hargis, Grantor- G. A. Nickell, Grantee. For \$150.00, a tract of land in Morehead, Rowan County, Kentucky. Witness: Jno. Hargis and Sarah Hargis. Book B, page 393.

October 3, 1883- H.M. Logan, Grantor- G.A. Nickell, Grantee. For \$275.00, a house and lot in Morehead, Rowan County, Kentucky, on the east side of Main Street. Witness: H.M. Logan and Elizabeth Logan. Book B, page 391.

October 13, 1883- Geo. A. Nickel, Grantor- Z.T. Young, Grantee. For \$475.00, a lot in Morehead, Rowan County, Kentucky. Witness: Geo. A. Nickell, Delia Nickell, Andrew Nickell, Henrietta Nickell. Book A, page 551.

April 23, 1884- Thomas J. Oxley, Grantor- W.A. Nickell, Grantee. For \$55.00, a tract of land in Morehead, Rowan County, Kentucky. Witness: Thos. J. Oxley and Cassie Oxley. Book B, page 143.

February 23, 1885- James W. Nickell, Grantor- Richard Yazel, Grantee. For \$100.00, a tract of land in Rowan County, Kentucky. Witness, J.W. Nickell and Sarah Nickell. *Is this the James W. Nickell who sold out and went to Texas?*

April 27, 1885- G.A. Nickell, Grantor- Z.T. Young, Grantee. For \$1750.00, a tract of land in Rowan County. Witness: Geo. A. Nickell and Delia Nickell. Book B, page 394.

October 20, 1887- Annie E. Wilson and J. Wilson, her husband, Grantors- Mary D. Tolliver, Elliott County, Grantee. One storehouse and lot in Farmers, Kentucky.

May 31, 1888- W.W. Tolliver, Grantor- Mary D. Tolliver (both of Elliott County), Grantee. One town lot in Farmers, Kentucky.

July 12, 1888- W.H. Johnson, Grantor- A.W. Logan, Grantee- A parcel of land on the head waters of Triplett Creek. Book 1.

April 29, 1889- C.P. Martin and Victoria, his wife, H.S. Logan and H.M. Logan Grantors- William Cooper, Grantee. Victoria Martin's part of the estate of E.H. and Fairlena Logan, both deceased.

December 12, 1889- Mary D. Tolliver, Grantor- Alexander Tolliver (both of Elliott County), Grantee. One town lot in Farmers, Kentucky.

February 11, 1890- Mary D. Tolliver, Grantor- Alexander Tolliver, Grantee. One store and lot in Farmers, Kentucky.

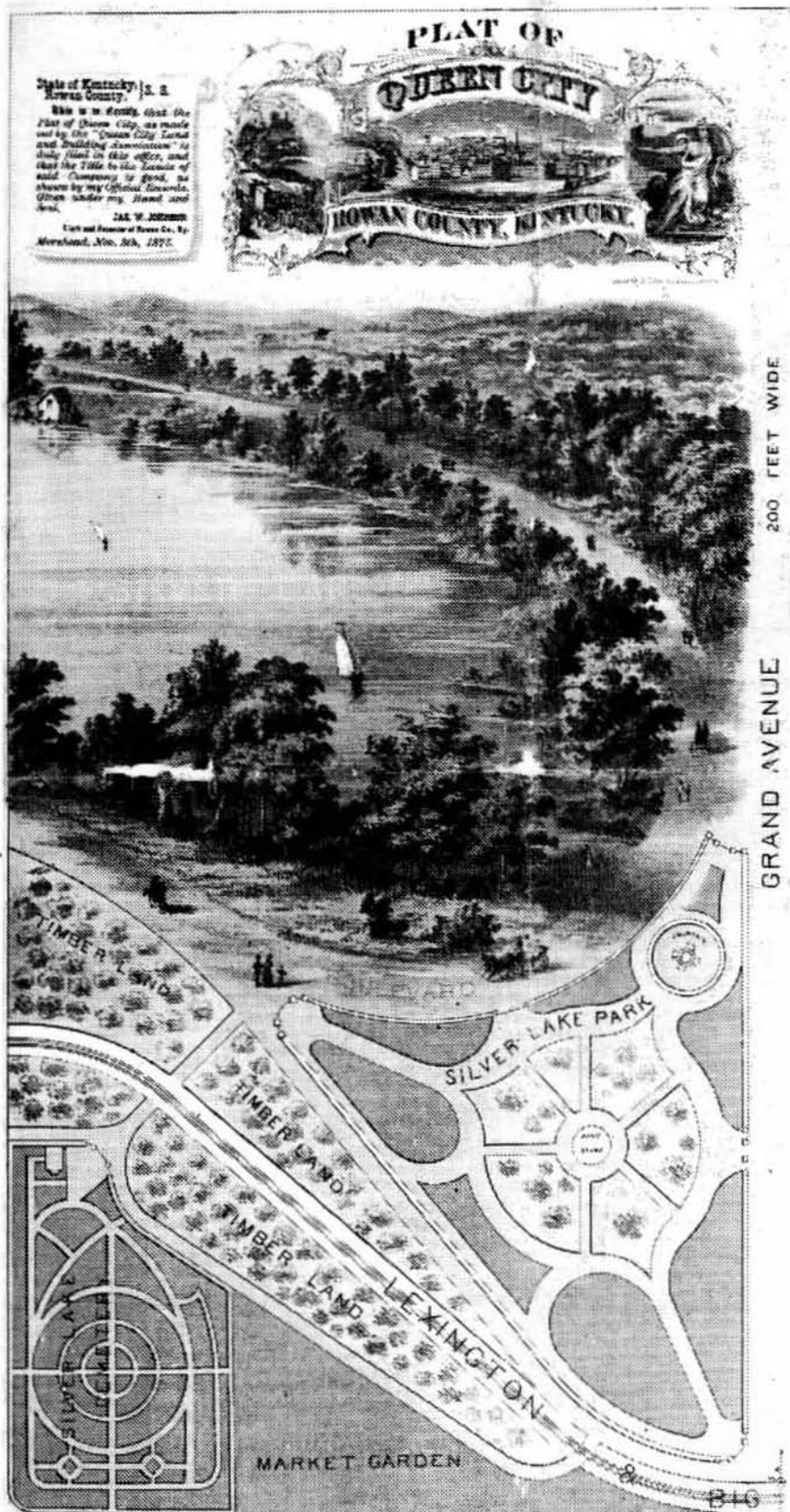
October 16, 1890- Hugh Clark and Queen A. Clark, his wife, Grantors- John M. Logan, Grantee. All of the interest of Queen A. Clark set aside part of the dower of Mrs. Fairlena Logan, widow of E. H. Logan (both deceased) in the corporate limits, town of Morehead.

May 25, 1891- Z. T. Young, Grantor- Stephen Bishop, Grantee. For \$300.00, a tract of land in Rowan County, Kentucky. Witness: Z.T. Young and Amelia A. Young.

October 1, 1892- Matilda Bowling and Sarah Waddle, Grantors- J.B. Coldiron, Grantee. All of right title, interest as heirs at law of Caroline Short, deceased, parcel of land in town of Morehead.'

January 2, 1894- Z.T. Young and A.W. Young, Grantors- A.S. Nickell, Grantee. For \$1.00 in hand, a house and lot in Morehead, Kentucky, known as the Central Hotel lot. Witness: Z.T. Young and Allie W. Young. Book 4, page 281.

'Queen City'



Queen City-
The Town that Never Was. Like Oz or Wonderland, Queen City exerted a powerful hold upon the imaginations of those who believed. Unfortunately, only the map was real. Unwary investors in this woodland utopia soon found themselves richer in experience than in cash.

(The Morehead News, February 27, 1998, page B-5, shows the entire plat, too large to reproduce here, accompanied by an excellent article by Dr. Jack Ellis.)



James William Day
aka
Jilson Setters
with young child,
possibly granddaughter.

Born in Rowan County ca1861, James William Day was the son of Jilson L. Day and Elizabeth Setter. He spent his childhood in Nicholas County (see 1880 census) and died in Ashland, Kentucky on May 6, 1942. James William has also been called Blind Bill, Blind Jim and Jilson Setters. An itinerant fiddler, he played his ballads and hill-country ditties on street corners for people who wanted to listen.

Jean Thomas discovered him in the late 1920's and gave him the name Jilson Setters. Several years latter she took him and several others to England, where he played his ballads for the queen. He was the main character in her book *The Singing Fiddler of Lost Hope Hollow*.

Jilson played the fiddle and sang in the American Folk Song Festival for years and appeared several times in radio broadcasts, one of which was a coast to coast hookup. He wrote numerous ballads. His last was written in 1941 and dealt with the life of Sgt. Alvin C. York.

In a news article in the Ashland paper, he told a reporter he was never actually blind, but his sight was failing in later years and he had surgery to correct it.

Jilson had a first cousin, Dave Day, who played the fiddle in Rowan County and passed away in 1903. Dave's father, Jedediah, and brother, William, were also blind, according to census. Jedediah and Jilson L. Day were brothers.

Jilson Setters is credited by most with writing the song about the Rowan County Feud.

Jean Thomas,
"The Traipsin' Woman", founded
the American Folk Song Festival
at Little Perry School.
Jilson Setters was her protege.



THE FEUD SONG

In her *Ballad Makin' in the Mountains of Kentucky*, Jean Thomas states that the best known song about the Rowan County War was composed by James William Day, a witness to the 1884 fight on the Courthouse lawn, present in Morehead also when Floyd Tolliver was killed four months later. The original handwritten manuscript was in Thomas' possession in 1939. Day sang the song on the Courthouse lawn in 1936, to a peaceful audience composed of members representing both sides of the conflict. He called it:

ROWAN COUNTY TROUBLES

Come on young men and ladies, mothers and fathers too,
I'll relate to you the history of the Rowan County crew.
Concerning bloody Rowan and her many heinous deeds
Now friends please give attention, remember how it reads.

It was in the month of August, upon election day,
John Martin he was wounded, they say by Johnny Day,
Martin would not believe it, he could not think it so;
He thought it was Floyd Tolliver that struck the fatal blow.

They shot and killed Sol Bradley, a sober innocent man,
He left his wife and loving children to do the best they can.
They wounded young Ad Sizemore; although his life was saved
He seemed to shun the grog shops since he stood so near the grave.

Martin did recover, some months had come and passed,
In the town of Morehead both men did meet at last;
Tolliver and a friend or two about the streets did walk,
He seemed to be uneasy and with no one wished to talk.

He walked to Judge Carey's grocery and stepped up to the bar,
And little did he think, dear friends, that he met the fatal hour;
The sting of death was near him, Martin rushed in at the door,
A few words passed between them concerning a row before.

The people soon were frightened began to rush out of the room,
A ball from Martin's pistol laid Tolliver in the tomb.
His friends soon gathered round him, his wife to weep and wail;
Martin was arrested and soon confined to jail.

He was put in the jail of Rowan there to remain a while,
In the hands of law and justice to bravely stand his trial.
The people all talked of lynching him, at present though they failed,
The prisoner's friends soon moved him into the Winchester jail.

Some persons forged an order, their names I do not know,
The plan was soon agreed on, for Martin they did go;
Martin seemed discouraged, he seemed to be in dread,
"They have sought a plan to kill me," to the jailer Martin said.

They put the handcuffs on him, his heart was in distress,
They hurried to the station, stepped on the night express.
Along the line she lumbered at her usual speed;
They were only two in numbers to commit the dreadful deed.

Martin was in the smoking car accompanied by his wife,
They did not want her present when they took her husband's life;
When they arrived at Farmers they had no time to lose,
A band approached the engineer and bid him not to move.

They stepped up to the prisoner with pistols in their hands,
In death he soon was sinking, he died in iron bands.
His wife soon heard the horrid sound; she was in another car,
She cried, "Oh Lord! they've killed him!" when she heard the pistol fire.

The death of these two men has caused great trouble in our land,
Caused men to leave their families and take the parting hand.
Relations, still at war they may never, never cease,
I would that I could only see my land once more at peace.

They killed the deputy sheriff, Baumgartner was his name,
They shot him from the bushes after taking deliberate aim;
The death of him was dreadful, it may never be forgot,
His body pierced and torn with thirty-three buckshot.

I compose this as a warning. Oh! beware, young man!
Your pistols may cause trouble, on this you may depend;
In the bottom of a whiskey glass the lurking devils dwell,
It burns the breast of those who drink, it sends their souls to hell.

Nov. The 3^d 1862.
Robert P. Christian is this day
Paroled by me he promises on honor
to never take up arms against
the United States, or to give aid
or comfort to its Enemies under the
Penalty of Death J. W. Underwood Deputy
Marshal for Carter Rowan & Morgan

This is ^{to} forewarn all persons
from visiting Robert P. Christian
or molesting him in anywise
as I have permitted him ~~to~~
to give Bond this January the
1863 J. W. Underwood
Deputy Marshal for Carter Morgan
and Rowan Counties

Three intriguing scraps of
history that survived.

THE TOLIVER HOTEL,
FARMERS, KY.

H. KNOWLES, Proprietor.

Farmers, Ky., Oct 22 1887

Recd of Squire Hogg
warrant five dollars on
vouchd at Coatty for
1887.

A. W. Young