DAYS OF ANGER, DAYS OF TEARS

Introduction

My initial research into Rowan County's history during the years 1884-1887; into the events variously entitled the Rowan County War and the Tolliver-Martin or Logan Feud, left me confused and angry. The tale had been told many times before, but, of the numerous articles I discovered, the best was but an outline; the worst, a botched travesty insulting both participants and region.

I next turned to basic materials: original newspaper articles, county and state records, and when available, accounts passed down by the participants to their descendants. When investigation unearthed several versions of an incident, the rendition was based upon the one closest in time and nearest in place to the incident itself. If differing versions appeared equally consistent with proven facts, the one unused is quoted in the footnotes.

To make this tale with all its multitude of actors more easily understood, I have had the privilege of drawing upon the work of my co-author. The family genealogies and other material in the second section of this volume are the result of years of researching census, marriages, births, deaths, circuit and county court records, and cemetery inscriptions. They should aid the reader in keeping relationships among the various families straight.

To the uninitiated, the multitude of spellings of the same surname can prove quite confusing. Tolliver was also spelled Tollivar, Toliver and Tolivar; Goodan was also spelled Goodin and Gooden; Rayburn was also Raybourn, Rayborn, Raburn; Trumbo, Trumboard, Trumbeau; Bolling, Bowling, Bolin; Caudill, Cawdill, Caudel; Humphrey, Humphries, Umphries; Bumgardner, Baumgardner. This is by no means a comprehensive listing. For purposes of clarity I have attempted to standardize surname spelling.

It has been said that the victors write the history books, and truly, the Tollivers have received short shift in most accountings. My efforts have been to render as unbiased a rendition as the material available to me 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."

1Winchester Democrat, 29 June 1887, p3.

The Years Before

During the War Between the States, Eastern Kentucky, like other border regions of mixed sympathies, suffered not only from the movement of Union and Confederate regulars across her soil, but also from the depredations of guerrilla bands loosely - very loosely - allied to both sides. (The courthouse at Morehead was burned on the 21st of March, 1864, by such marauders.) These "night soldiers" were often little more than common thieves and murderers for whose criminal deeds the conflict between North and South served as convenient cover.

Appomattox did not end the violence for these men. Soldiers home from the great battlefields of Shiloh, Gettysburg, and the Wilderness oftimes found themselves stepping out of one fight into another. It was a lawless time; a time of change and disruption. Many old scores were settled; many new ones begun. Partisan neighbor preyed upon partisan neighbor as the entire community suffered.

Politics in the twenty-five year period after the War was a rough and tumble business. The Australian ballot had not yet been instituted; Radical Republicans still waved the Bloody Shirt; feelings ran high on both sides as wartime foes found themselves in peacetime competition. The mountain counties of Kentucky, shaken by the War and its aftermath 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. They made war upon each other in Carter County (the Underwood War, 1877-1879); Perry County (the French-Eversole War,
1887-1894); Pike County (the Hatfield-McCoy Feud, 1882-1887); Bell County (the Johnson-Hoskins Feud, 1882-18__) and a host of others. The Tolliver-Martin Feud (Rowan County, 1884-1887) was perhaps the bloodiest conflict of all.

Many would have it that this particular Feud had its origins in an event that occurred less than eighteen months after Lee surrendered his sword to Grant. On October 21, 1866, Hugh Tolliver, father of Floyd and Craig, was murdered at his home on Grassy Creek in Morgan County.

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

But news of Tolliver's journey and business had carried beyond his sphere of family and friends. Horse's hoofs were heard in the yard at dusk. There was the sound of strange voices. The door suddenly flew inward. The family found themselves staring at the business ends of two Winchesters. The masked men behind the guns ordered Tolliver to turn over his money.

For a moment Hugh considered the desperate possibilities. His gun was out of reach; his sons were away for the evening; the strangers were armed and determined men. What to do, what to do? He never decided.

Caroline, oldest of the Tolliver girls, saw her chance and acted. Snatching the money vest, she sped up the stairway. One of the would be robbers got off a shot at her, but missed. Reaching the second floor, she threw the vest into a maze of rosebushes outside, and escaped down the other stairway to the nearby home of her brother William.

The other stranger turned his fury upon Hugh. As Eleanor Tolliver threw her arms around her husband, a bullet passed through her hand and into his heart.

Help was not long in arriving, although there was little to be done. The desperados had fled — their stolen horses were later found
abandoned near Little Caney Creek — and the misty hills and hollows swallowed up their trail. 5

Hugh Tolliver was laid to rest in the old Salem Cemetery near Buskirk. His wife Eleanor and many others of his family would later follow him there. 6

Hugh was bitterly mourned by his family. As his six sons grew older they never forgot their father. Nor did they forget that his death went unavenged.

Three years later—March 17, 1869—James Fleming Logan, grandson of James Logan, was shot and wounded by George Underwood and his son Alfred. He died from his wounds on the 18th of November in Greenup County. 8 Daniel Boone Logan, his oldest child, was eleven.

In 1877, another who was to play a prominent part in the Rowan County War entered a bloody line on the pages of Carter County’s history. John P. Martin, arrested with John Richards Tabor for horse theft, resettled with Tabor in Carter County, under the protecting wing of the aforementioned George Underwood. Another horse disappeared, the duo was blamed, and in the resulting three year fracas the Underwood family was well nigh exterminated. 10

The post-War years hurried on. Morehead in 1876 had two stores—one run by Warren Alderson, one by Howard Logan. The one hotel, run by Judge Carey, stood on the present location of Battson Drugs.

The railroad came to Morehead—first train in 1881— and the county began to experience a period of growth. 11 Morehead, Gates Station, Cross Roads and Bristo 12 vied with each other as Rowan’s commercial center. Huge log drives were made down the Licking River. H.G. Price ran his steamboat, the "Gerty", upriver from Farmers to West Liberty. 13

Hogtown began to grow. A post office was established there and called Elliottville. Store owner Charley Ward, first postmaster and town judge, got the town incorporated as Bristo. Jim Click ran the blacksmith shop. There were two other stores, Sud Turner’s and a branch of Warren Alderson’s store managed by H.C. Turner. Alex Fletcher and his son Jerry started a steam mill on Christy Creek which grew into a flourishing business. 14

In March of 1880 the county jail burned; in November the county
clerk's office burned and all records were destroyed. County Attorney Zachariah Taylor 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. It is interesting to note H.M. Logan was listed as surety on his bond.\textsuperscript{15}

May of 1882 found H.M. Logan and Dr. C.P. Martin\textsuperscript{16} opening a drug store near the Doctor's Morehead residence.\textsuperscript{17} That October Warren Alderson and H.M. Logan began building business houses on Main Street.\textsuperscript{18} The next June three hotel owners were listed: Judge James Carey, H.C. Powers and Dr. R.L. Raine.\textsuperscript{19}

Gates Station— which now doesn't even have a highway marker with its name— 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.\textsuperscript{20}

The October 5th, 1882 issue of the Ashland Independent carried a report of the knifeing of James W. Nickell by young Jefferson Bolling.\textsuperscript{21} (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."\textsuperscript{22}

Another item from the Independent\textsuperscript{23} 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 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."

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 Goodin returned from that manhunt empty handed.\textsuperscript{24}

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.\textsuperscript{25} (Tolliver and Brain had a falling out shortly thereafter– the August 1883 grand jury indicted Tolliver for shooting Brain.\textsuperscript{26}) On March 17, 1884, Floyd transferred title to his wife, Mary E. Tolliver.\textsuperscript{27}

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 St. from Main Cross Street, adjoining the Dr. Raine's lot (formerly the Tabor lot), became the sole property of Logan November 15, 1884, when he purchased Humphrey's half interest.\textsuperscript{2}

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.\textsuperscript{29} On the 21st 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.) Goodin (on three committees) and J.C. Day.\textsuperscript{30} 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,\textsuperscript{31} also at Catlettsburg. Among the listed delegates were former Judge James Carey (county court clerk), Howard M. Logan (county receiver), Dr. C.P. Martin, Dr. H.S. Logan and B.L. Tabor (county superintendent of schools).

We see a crazy quilt of three centuries during these years as the nineteenth struggled to become the twentieth and an occasional appliqué from the 1700's popped to the surface. 1883 found H.C. Powers building an opera house below his hotel near the depot;\textsuperscript{32} Morehead cutting timbers for a new high school;\textsuperscript{33} Morehead made a "division" for the railroad.\textsuperscript{34} In 1884 a Pennsylvania and New York company was preparing to drill a one thousand foot oil well within a mile of town.\textsuperscript{35} But papers of the period also make note of a panther seen on Bearskin\textsuperscript{36} 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.\textsuperscript{37}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Morgan County Deed Book I, p273-274.
\item \textsuperscript{2}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.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family.
\end{itemize}
Michele McNabb, descendant of Hugh Tolliver thru his son William, states that, in her family's version of the story, Hugh was shot after the money wallet fell out of his pants into the shadow of the bed as the pants were being handed over to the robbers.


See pictures and cemetery records in Section II of this volume.

Hugh Tolliver and Eleanor Spurlin Tolliver had at least seven male children, however Reed Tolliver, the third son, died in 1864. See Tolliver family records, Section II.


Bracken Record 4Apr1877, reprinted in Rowan County News 29Apr1971, p5. NOTE: John R. Tabor not hung as reported in article.


Gates Station is now Gates; Crossroads is now Farmers; Bristo is now Elliottville.

Ashland Independent, 3Apr1884, p3.

"Vivid Memories of Elliott and Rowan Counties 75 Years Ago", E.S. Montgomery.

Rowan County Court Records.

C.P. Martin married Victoria Logan, daughter of Edward Huston Logan and niece to H.M. Logan. See Section II.

Ashland Independent, 11May1882, p2.


Ibid, 17Apr1884, p2.


Rowan County Deed Book A, p433.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 11Aug1883. It is interesting to note that James Brain's daughter, Permelia, was the wife of Judge James Carey. See Section II.

Rowan County Deed Book B, p60.
II

August 1884 – December 1884

– An Election Killing – Murder and Revenge –

The Tolliver-Martin Feud began with the August, 1884 election, but the ill feeling between county Democrats and Republicans can be traced back eleven years beyond that. The 1874 circuit judge’s contest between Thomas F. Hargis, Democrat, and George M. Thomas, Republican was heated. Accusations were rampant; county records were mutilated and destroyed. Hargis lost the election.

Upon the assassination of Appellate Judge J.M. Elliott in 1879, Hargis once more became a candidate. The opposition again attacked his qualifications. He responded with a denunciation of his accusers, chiefly Maysville Eagle editor Thomas M. Green. Green sued for libel. A long, drawn-out trial ensued which polarized the county. Hargis won both the election and the case. It may be fairly said that Rowan County, through the rift created between its citizens, lost.

As the years passed county elections became ever more hotly contested. The sheriff’s race of August 4, 1884 was no exception. Supporters of the rival candidates hawked their qualifications at the
polling places, each trying to drown out the voices of the opposition.

August in Morehead is a hot, humid affair, a month of much perspiration and little breeze, weather calculated to try the patience of a saint. Nor did the field of candidates for sainthood become any more numerous as Election Day wore on and parched throats partook of cold 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. 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 the election there was a dance at Judge Carey's Gault House. William Trumbo's wife had grown tired and retired upstairs. Inadvertently, she fell asleep on H.G. Price's bed. When Price returned to his room he "woke her and made some indecent remarks to her". Mrs. Trumbo told her husband of the incident.

The Maysville Daily Evening Bulletin credits Wm. Trumboard and H.G. Price with beginning the gunfight at the courthouse polls in Morehead. That seems unlikely. However, it does seem certain that their quarrel, which Trumbo apparently picked over Price's aforementioned remarks, was the spark that caught the tender. John Martin joined the argument on Price's side, quarreling with John Keeton. Morehead Marshal Allen Sutton tried to quiet things down, then became incensed himself at a remark of Keeton's.

The fight continued to spread. By the time County Sheriff John C. Day and Floyd Tolliver arrived a "general row" had ensued. Sheriff Day's command of, "Peace", was greeted with a shower of rocks. Someone pulled a pistol and a fist fight turned into an open gun battle. When the smoke had cleared one man lay dead, another gravely wounded.

The Republican candidate, W. Cook Humphrey, won the election, edging out Deputy Sam Goodin by a mere twelve votes. But the focus had shifted now to another, more vital, matter. Who was responsible for the death of Solomon Bradley, former deputy sheriff?

The August grand jury indicted both Floyd Tolliver and John Martin for manslaughter. No true bill was returned against John C. Day for the Sizemore shooting. (Sizemore would eventually recover.) Both sides retired to tell their stories and await the results of a trial by jury. 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 Farmers.\textsuperscript{11}

There occurred in November one of the few Rowan County murders between 1884 and 1887 not grounded in the Feud. John Gibson Hughes of 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 drug Hughes from his bed with a rope around his neck. He was shot two or three dozen times and left to die in his yard.\textsuperscript{12}

For his part in this murder William Garner was given life in the penitentiary. O'Banion Logan\textsuperscript{13} and William Cornett served one year each. Indictments against the other parties\textsuperscript{14} were eventually dropped.

The years 1883 and 1884 had seen a surge in land ownership in Rowan County. Thousands of vacant acres were laid claim to.\textsuperscript{15} The county was growing - becoming settled in spite of itself. The partisan turmoil that was about to begin would set this back years.

There were several instances of bravado by Sheriff-Elect Cook Humphrey after the August election. Journeying into Morehead on August the 5th, he publicly offered $100.00 to aid in the prosecution of Tolliver. After the indictments were issued, Humphrey, Martin, Stewart Bumgardner and others journeyed to Farmers - allegedly to draw Floyd Tolliver into a fight and kill him. Tolliver remained behind doors until they had departed. Later Humphrey offered Alvin Bowling $250.00 to kill Tolliver. Bowling refused, saying he would not kill a man for money. Although Bowling had had a row with Tolliver, his hatred of Martin was much deeper seated.\textsuperscript{16}

On the Second of December Floyd 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."\textsuperscript{17} John Martin had come to Morehead to pay a small debt he owed John Tippit.\textsuperscript{18} Martin espied Tolliver at the courthouse as he was leaving in the company of John Day and Sam Goodin. There was an argument.

Morehead was a small town, much too small to prevent two men with guns and a grudge from bumping into one another. Martin and
Tolliver did exactly that around 2:00 P.M. at the Gault House. Both had been drinking.

What words passed between them? Each faction has a different version. Whatever was said, it was sufficient. Pistols flashed. Floyd Tolliver crumpled to the floor, mortally wounded. Gathering around him, 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. It was he who brought Floyd back to Morgan County for burial.

Surrendering to the authorities, John Martin was first lodged in the Rowan County jail, but talk of a "necktie party" in his honor grew so loud that Judge Stewart and County Attorney Z.T. Young soon had him transferred to Winchester for safety. On December Ninth an examining trial, originally scheduled for the next day, was postponed indefinitely to allow hot heads to cool. Unfortunately, the Clark County jailor was not informed of this action.

Tolliver's kinsmen forged a plan for vengeance. John Reid "Bud" Tolliver, a cousin of Floyd's who had studied some law, forged an order directing the Winchester jailor to release John Martin into custody for return to Morehead. Farmers Town Marshall Alvin M. Bowling took the order and the train to Winchester. Accompanying him were four men: a Hall, an Easterlin (Easterling) and Milt and Edward Evans.

John Martin had spent a restless day in his cell. His wife had visited him earlier, carrying information of the inflamed temper of the county and the examining trial's postponement. Needless to say, when he was roused by the jailer and informed that he was to be moved to Rowan County he was extremely suspicious. When he saw the faces of the group awaiting him his suspicions were confirmed for the worst.

Martin pled with the jailor to telegraph Morehead for confirmation of his transfer, insisting that these men were his sworn enemies, that his release into their custody would mean certain death. The jailor had seen too many such scenes. After all, hadn't most of his captives
protested their innocence? The order appeared genuine. Marshall 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 Clark County, pondering their future together. In another coach sat her husband, surrounded by his grim-faced captors, reading his death in their eyes.

The train ground eastward into the autumn night. When it reached the village of Farmers shortly after midnight, a group of masked men sprang aboard. Lee and Marion Tolliver forced the engineer to bring the train to a halt. The conductor and fireman had pistols placed to their heads. John Martin was killed.

Several differing versions of the events of that night exist. The prevailing story is that, when the train reached Farmers, a group of masked men entered Coach Number 38 and riddled Martin with lead. Martin's wife heard the shooting, guessed its nature and ran into the car. She hardly recognized her husband.

John Martin did not die at Farmers. Getting off the train in Morehead, he walked the short distance to the Powers Hotel. There he died at about 9:00 o'clock the next morning. Before he expired he accused Alvin Bowling of initiating the fatal fusillade. Bowling blamed the mob.

Martin's friends and kinsmen blamed County Attorney Z.T. Young for his death. No evidence has been unearthed to support this claim. There had been a tragic omission in not informing the jailor of the cancellation of the examining trial, but this duty fell as much upon Judge Stewart as Young. At the request of Martin's wife and mother, Young had even accompanied Martin as far as Mt. Sterling when he was transferred to Winchester.

Revenge does not feed upon reason.

1 Son of Col. John Hargis, leading Morehead citizen. Plaque on Morehead State University campus reads: In Honor of Thomas F. Hargis Giver of the First House: Also, the Grounds.

2 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p17. John Martin was charged with the theft of Hargis' valise, which contained his law license.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p17.


Although he was Trumbo's brother-in-law. See Section II.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p18.

See testimony concerning the August 1884 Election Day fight, Section III.

Rowan County Court Records, 3July1882.

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.

Rowan County Court Records, 3Nov1884.

Louisville Courier Journal, 24July1886, p1.

Cousin to D.B. Logan, H.M. Logan and H.S. Logan. See Section II.

Thomas Lewis, Lemuel McClerg, Absalom McClerg, Nelson McRoberts, Andrew Cornet(t), John Cornet(t), J.B. Enochs (Enix), Andrew Handshoe (Hanshaw) and Harrison Handshoe (Handshaw).

Rowan County Court Records, 1880-1888.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p17. Bowling and Martin had become enemies during the Hargis/Green Trial.

Rowan County Court Records, 2Dec1884.

Louisville Courier Journal, 23June1887, p1.

Ibid, 3Dec1884, p2.

By Cook Humphrey's pistol, which Martin had borrowed. Louisville Courier Journal, 13Dec1884, p2.

Louisville Courier Journal, 5Apr1885, p4.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p12.

Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family.

Louisville Courier Journal, 14July1886, p4; 22July1886, p5 mention Turner Evans who had two sons with Alvin Bowling at the Martin shooting.

Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family.
Maysville Daily Evening Bulletin, 11Dec1884, pl carried two different versions. One stated that a mob entered the coach and riddled Martin with bullets. One stated that a mob of one hundred took Martin off the train and killed him.

Information from descendants of the Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. family states that Craig Tolliver took Martin off the train and killed him.


Louisville Courier Journal, 13Dec1884, p2.

Ibid, 12Dec1884, pl. Martin was shot seven times.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p12.

III

Bonds of Blood and Honor

At this point the county was girding itself for the very worst. County records reveal some of the ties of blood and friendship among the factions.

Mary E. (Robinson) Tolliver filed as administrator of the estate of her husband Floyd Tolliver on December 30th, 1884. Her bond sureties were F.M. Tolliver (Floyd's brother) and J. Roberson. Appraisers of the estate included Dr. David White, Turner Evans and Dr. J.S. McMillian. In 1883 and 1884 Floyd and F.M. were both listed as sureties on Sheriff John C. Day's tax collection bond. Other sureties on Sheriff Day's bond were (1Jan1883) S.B. Goodin (Day's deputy, 1884 candidate for sheriff) and (4June1883) his brother, Thomas L. Goodin. Tom Goodin later married Martha Tolliver, daughter of Jacob Finley Tolliver and Orlena (Wyatt) Tolliver - a double cousin to Floyd. Another lawman whose bond S.B. Goodin signed was A.M. Bowling.

The two sets of Tollivers 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. Day and Goodin were both Democratic politicians deeply involved with the local party.

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

Only twenty-seven years old⁸ when elected to office, 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,⁹ father of Solomon. It seems likely that Stewart Bumgardner was tied to the Humphrey family by bonds other than friendship, as one of Cook's sisters, Sarah, was married to a Robert Bumgardner.¹⁰

Friendship and common political views joined the Humphreys and Ben Martin's family. Both families were Republican, and Cook Humphrey and his brother Gabe had boarded at the Martin's when they attended school in Morehead.¹¹ Ben Martin lived a mile and a half to the east of Morehead, "near the forks of the road at the mouth of Christy".¹² Nearby lived his son John and son-in-law Richmond Tussey. Another son, Will Martin, resided in Morehead; another, Dave Martin, lived in Carter County.¹³

The Logan families that became embroiled in the conflict were a far flung network of cousins whose common ancestor was James Logan.¹⁴ Most politically active was Howard M. Logan, who was, at one time or another, both county receiver and Morehead city treasurer.¹⁵ His wife, the former Elizabeth Trumbo, was a cousin of 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, who came to prominence in the latter stages of the Feud, was a first cousin once removed of these brothers.¹⁶ His politics, however, like those of his father, were Democratic.

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 House¹⁷ and was the husband of the former Pamela Brain, daughter of James M. Brain of Farmers. It will be recalled that James Brain sold Floyd Tolliver a lot in 1883.

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 eldest son, Allie W. Democrats, and 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 voluminately denied this, 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.

1 See endnote 24, part II.
2 Rowan County Court Records
3 Rowan County Court Records 4Jun1883, 8Jan1884.
4 Orlena Wyatt and Eleanor Spurlin were cousins. Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. and Hugh Tolliver were cousins.
5 Rowan County Court Records, 22Aug1882. Bowling was the marshall of Licking City at the time.
6 Craig, Floyd, F.M. and Andy were sons and grandsons of Hugh Tolliver. Jay, Bud, Cal, Cate, Lee and W. Wiley were sons of Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. There was a third set, L.H.B. Tolliver's children, but they mostly stayed clear of the conflict. See Section II.
7 1870 Rowan County Census, Morehead Prec., Family 91.
8 1880 Rowan County Census, Prec. 6, Brushy Fork, Family 293.
9 Rowan County Court Records, 5Jan1885.
10 1880 Rowan County Census, Prec. 6, Brushy Fork, Family 293.
11 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, pl.
12 Rowan County Court Records, 31Aug1886. See map, Section III.
13 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, pl. It is one of life's ironys that Richmond Tussey's sister married Alvin Bowling. See Section II.
14 James Logan, born 1767, York Co., PA, died ca1838, Lewis Co., KY. Revolutionary War Veteran. See Section II.
15 Rowan County Court Records. Logan was county receiver 20ct1883; city treasurer 4May1885.
16 See Section II.
17 See photos, Section III.
18 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, pl-2.
January 1885 - March 1885

- A Morehead Robbery - Shootout in Mt. Sterling -
- On the Road to Elliottville -

In the best of times the office of Sheriff during the late nineteenth century was not an easy position to hold. Duties included law officer and tax collector; bookkeeper and peacemaker. A sheriff’s job was many jobs and he could easily leave office poorer in friends and wealthier in enemies. Young Cook Humphrey soon found himself rich in enemies indeed.

Tension between the rival factions was rapidly increasing. About 11:00 p.m. on the 30th of January, 1885, the back door of one of Morehead's wealthiest citizens was battered open with an axe. Three masked men carrying pistols forced the master of the house, Col. Warren Alderson, to open his safe. They then relieved him of $400.00. Resistance on Alderson's part brought him a round cursing and a lump on the head from a pistol butt. The robbers said that they would prefer to kill him anyway, as he was a friend of Floyd Tolliver. He was further warned not to say a word against John Martin.¹

On the other side, Ben and Will Martin were notified that their continued good health would require a change of scenery. That they took their notification to heart is evidenced by the fact that Will sold a house and lot valued at $300.00 to Col. John Hargis for only $180.00.² Ben and Will then moved to Kansas. The object of their forced removal was thought to have been prevention of their testimony before a grand jury inquiring into the murder of John Martin.³

On the twenty-third of February what began as a minor altercation with Mt. Sterling law officers mushroomed into a confrontation that removed Alvin M. Bowling from the Rowan County conflict permanently.

Around 1:00 A.M. on the morning of the twenty-third, Bowling abducted Miss Mattie Scott, nineteen, from her Mt. Sterling home. They took the train to Olive Hill, where they spent the night together. The morning west bound brought them back to Mt. Sterling. There they took a room at the Turner Hotel, registering as man and wife.⁴ Miss Scott remained at the hotel; Bowling went out for a drink. One drink turned
into several drinks. Soon he was boasting openly on the streets of shooting John Martin.

At the railroad station Mr. Boyd, a Rowan County merchant from Freestone, was arrested for public intoxication. Despite some resistance, he was being dragged to jail when Bowling confronted the arresting officers and demanded his release. Bowling was initially ignored but when he leveled his gun at the deputies his sincerity was no longer in doubt. Boyd was released to him.

Bowling and Boyd returned to the station. Deputy Marshalls J.D. Wyatt and John Gill followed, summoning a posse to assist in the arrest. Bowling was attempting to board the train when he was seized by Gill and others. He wheeled around and began shooting.

Bowling's first blast mortally wounded Deputy Gill. Another shot hit Howard Wilson's hand. Two bullets meant for Lindsey Anderson missed their mark. Bowling surrendered only when Anderson leveled Gill's pistol in his face.

Unarmed, Boyd was not charged as an accessory. Miss Scott returned home after it became apparent Bowling would not accompany her on the afternoon express to Cincinnati. Deputy Gill died, leaving a wife and four children. Farmers Marshal Alvin M. Bowling sobered up in the local jail. His defense would be insanity.

As has been said, County Attorney Z.T. Young's attempt to hold himself aloof from Rowan's factional strife was doomed to failure. Few in the county were able to straddle the fence in the conflict, and it is not surprising that a man's political enemies should become his personal enemies also.

It may be safely assumed that the bushwhackers who lay concealed by the Elliottville-Morehead road on March the seventh were Martin adherents. About three o'clock that evening Young approached, returning to Morehead after a business trip up Christy Creek. He was in no hurry on this snowy winter day; his would-be murderers had plenty of time to take aim and snap off two shots, one of which entered Young's right shoulder and came out his right breast.

Keeping a cool head, Young whipped his horse into a gallop and escaped. Although suffering a good deal of pain from the rough three miles of road leading back to Morehead, he recovered fully. His glimpse
of his assailants was too brief to allow him to identify them.

Young blamed his recent prosecution of Gibson Hughes' killers and indictments brought against Allen Sutton, William Martin and Harrison Tinsley for the bitterness against him.8

After assuming office, Sheriff Humphrey had appointed the following deputy sheriffs: Fantly R. Muse (appointed 5Jan1885), Gabrail Humphrey (Cook's brother, appointed 19Jan1885) and Stewart Bumgardner (appointed 14Feb1885).9 It was Bumgardner who was to become the next victim of the Feud.

Deputy Bumgardner had accompanied Z.T. Young to Elliottville on the day of Young's shooting, both of them being involved, in one capacity or another, in a forceable entry case. Bumgardner did not return to Morehead with Young, saying he had "urgent business at Hog Town that he must attend to".10 About ten days later, Bumgardner, like Young before him, was riding alone on the road between Morehead and Elliottville in the late afternoon11 when he was shot from ambush. Bumgardner's assassins were considerably more efficient than Young's.

Stewart Bumgardner's body was discovered by the mail carrier from Martinsburg (Sandy Hook) to Morehead. "Literally torn to pieces" with bullets and buckshot, the corpse was found lying in the road about six miles12 from Morehead, near the headwaters of Christy Creek. Two Blair boys assisted the mail carrier in removing the body to the house of a neighbor for burial.13 Rowan County Court Records reveal that on October 5, 1885, James A. Caudill was allowed three dollars for an inquest on S. Bumgardner.

Ironically, Z.T. Young, interviewed in Mt. Sterling on March Sixteenth, stated that a number of his friends had banded together for revenge on his suspected attacker but he had counseled peace and expected no action.14

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 self-defense or cold-blooded murder, depending on the story accepted. Martin's death was a calculated act of vengeance. But Bumgardner did not die in a brawl, in a face-to-face showdown, or as the result of a murder he had committed. His death, like Young's
shooting, was 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 as sword nor shield. Twenty men would die in Rowan County from August 4, 1884 to June 22, 1887. In only one instance was a murderer successfully prosecuted for his crime.

The end of March 1885 found only one county official still at his post. County Clerk Carey alone remained in Morehead. He had received two or three warnings to go.\(^{15}\)

The Courier Journal of 30 March 1885 carried an interview with Mr. Charles L. Gray, a Louisville drummer who plied his trade in Rowan County from March Sixteenth thru the Twentieth. In Morehead he found: Not much business. Men with rifles and several revolvers standing on the street corners. County judge, sheriff, marshall and deputies all gone.

Having business with a tobacco man at Elliottville, Gray pled with the mail carrier to allow him to ride there with him. Reluctantly the carrier agreed.

On the trail Gray's curiosity and incessant questions soon proved too much for the postman, who ordered Gray to shut up and stay at least ten feet behind him. When Gray began to object, the carrier pointed to a patch of blood on the roadside. "That's where they killed Bungardner", 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 rode in silence for the remainder 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 went on to describe the origins of the trouble, managing to confuse characters and events completely. He also mentioned that, during his stay, rumor had it a mob was being got up to go to Lexington to hang Alvin Bowling. Some people, among them his brother-in-law, say Bowling ought to be hung.....Gray reported.\(^{16}\)
1. According to the Courier Journal article dated 24Feb1885, p5, Bowling was married with two children. However, his first wife, Anna Tussey Bowling, died 22Dec1883. (Refer to A Window To the Past, Vol. I, p17, by Juanita Blair.) No records have yet been found to indicate that Bowling had remarried by 1885.

2. The west bound train was searched at Farmers- the couple escaped detection by hiding in the water closet.

3. There is a file labeled Rowan County History in the Morehead State University Archives Room- hereinafter refered to as the MSU Archives File. Contained in this file are excerpts from various papers published during the Feud period. On p16 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's name was John Scott. Alvin Bowling was married with five children.

4. Sutton, Martin and Tinsley were indicted for the Alderson robbery. Sutton was the former Morehead marshall; Martin was John Martin's brother.

5. Different references give different distances and times. The Courier Journal of 17Mar1885 says 4 miles from Morehead, March 16. Boone Logan's Letters say 1 mile below Hog Town, March 17. Present reference (Louisville Courier Journal 23Jun1887, pl1) says only March 1885. No tombstone for Bumgardner has been found.

6. It is the belief of Juanita Blair, my co-author, that the Blair boys mentioned here were actually Bear boys. Blairs did not live in the area at that time.
April 1885 - mid-June 1885

The April Fool's Day Battle - The Feudists Seek State Intervention
A Peace Treaty - A Confession in Owingsville

After the death of Bumgardner, Sheriff Humphrey took up company with Ed Pearce, alias Murrel, a small, red-bearded man whose insignificant appearance masked iron nerve. Just who was this Pearce? Various sources 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 robber of Joe Haggerman's store in Bath County a few years back. Whatever Pearce was, whatever he had done, his arrival on the scene boded ill for both sides. In Morehead Pearce's mission was quite simple. He was a hired gun.

On March 31st D.M. Dillon was appointed Deputy Sheriff. That night Cook Humphrey and five men from Carter County arrived in Morehead on the through freight from Olive Hill.

Early the next 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. Pearce drew on Bowling. Day quickly covered Pearce with his pistol. Humphrey pulled his gun on Day; Bowling covered Humphrey. The four combatants briefly surveyed the situation, holstered their guns and departed the premises.

Day and Bowling headed toward R.L. Raine's Cottage Hotel to retrieve their rifles. Humphrey and Pearce stepped across the street to Judge Carey's Gault House, secured their Winchesters and followed, opening fire when they got within range. Day and Bowling returned the fire with their pistols. The fusillade continued until Humphrey and Pearce began to run low on ammunition. They then retreated to the Gault House.

Z.T. Young's son Allie had the misfortune to be standing across
the street from the Carey House as Pearce and Humphrey returned. Pearce recognized the form lounging in front of the old Taber House and sent a round in his direction. "Git you ___ of a ____! Git!"

Young took Pearce's advice. After he had dodged fifteen to twenty more slugs he caught the next train to Mt. Sterling, nursing a grazed hand. Asked later why he fired upon the unarmed young man, Pearce replied, "Oh, well, he's a d____d Young, an' ought to be killed."

Nor were Day and Bowling to be outdone. Tolliver reinforcements arrived from Mt. Sterling that afternoon and the Martin faction was besieged in the Gault House. Shooting continued all through the night with pistols, shotguns and Winchesters.

About ten o'clock the next morning the Tollivers rushed the Gault House and found it deserted. The doors were riddled but the old log walls stood firm. Incredibly, the only recorded fatalities of this twenty four hour fire fight were two dogs. Humphrey and Pearce disappeared and the Tolliver faction took complete possession of the town.

County officials on both sides of the conflict journeyed to Frankfort to seek 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.

While Col. Young was counseling, "It is as much as your life is worth to visit Morehead, for you will be shot down like a dog" while Judge James Carey told of fleeing Morehead at midnight, walking twelve miles before catching a wagon ride to Flemingsburg, thence a train to Frankfort - two drummers decided to visit Morehead for sport. Conditions there were not at all to their liking. Forced by the train schedule to stay the night, they decided their safety would be enhanced by telling one small white lie. They simply told everyone they were outlaws. That night they drank with the boys; Craig Tolliver dubbed them "Little Fatty" and "Big Fatty" and gave each a cartridge from his pistols.

The salesmen caught the morning freight. They did not bother to show their samples.

Nor did one have to visit Morehead to feel the lightning in the
air, as Mr. Carlton of the Carlton Opera Troupe found. A passenger on the C & O, he was seated in the same car with a traveling salesman. At Farmers Station two or three heavily armed members of the Tolliver faction came aboard.

At this juncture fate took a hand, dealing out the kind of coincidence that gets innocent men killed. Carlton reached deep into his pocket for a whiskey flask. The drummer, obviously ignorant of recent events, inquired of the Tolliverites what the devil they wanted with so many guns. His question was promptly answered.

Mr. Carlton and the drummer spent the longest minutes of their lives under the guns of their fellow passengers. It took a spell of begging, and Carlton had to throw his flask out of the window, before they were uncovered. When the guns came off them they were two of the world's happiest men. 16

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

At Lexington the travelers encountered Judge Carey, his son Matt and Howard Logan waiting for the train to Frankfort. Logan asked Young if he had gone to have the troops brought up. Young declined to answer. Logan said, "I asked for information." Young replied, "...I did, but I don't think they'll come." Logan then accused Young of being the cause of all the trouble in Rowan County. Young answered that he had left to avoid the fuss and had not been to blame. "You are a d___d liar," Logan responded. Young said that he was not a fighting man and wanted no trouble. He retired to his coach in an excited state. 17

When the eastbound train reached Mt. Sterling it was learned that the Tolliver and Carey 18 factions had both left Morehead. Dr. R.L. Raine decided to return.

Arriving in Morehead around three in the afternoon, the reporter found the town deserted-looking under drizzling rain. Adjutant General Castleman and his party had just departed after their probe into the state of affairs in Rowan County. Mountaineers at the station asked
for newspapers and wanted to know if there were troops coming. Inquiry into the events of the last few weeks brought the following tale to light: After the murder of Bumgardner, Dawson Manchester (D.M.) Dillon, a neutral, was sworn in as deputy sheriff to make peace between the warring parties. The Republican faction, composed of 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 shoot-out the Tolliver faction was in force at Farmers. Craig Tolliver and Jeff Bowling rode into Morehead; the Courier Journal 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 22. 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.

In Frankfort the Careys, H.M. Logan and Logan's son William O. Logan talked with the governor and heard the adjutant general's report on the state of Rowan County. At Gov. Knott's urging, the leaders of both factions later assembled at Louisville to work out a peaceful solution to Rowan's problems. County Court Clerk Carey, described as tall, broad-shouldered, burley, possessed of an ample expanse of stomach and reddish whiskers profusely sprinkled with gray and H.M. Logan met with Z.T. Young, John C. Day, Dr. Jeremiah Wilson and S. B. Goodin. The initial mistrust was overcome and a six point agreement was hammered out.

Under this arrangement the county remained fairly quiet for almost three months. Briefly, the points were: (1) All citizens will aid one another in upholding the law; (2) Deputy Sheriff D.M. Dillon
and three disinterested citizens will help enforce point one; (3) all participants in the past violence will post bond on May 1st; (4) no hotel in Morehead will be used as a factional headquarters; (5) if the peace does not hold, troops will be sent to Morehead; (6) peace and unity were urged by all. 23


The townspeople were in general good spirits. Young Jeff. Bowling, married only a few weeks, sat picking the banjo and thinking about his Ohio wife. 24

Easter Sunday, April the Fifth, seemed to herald a return to more peaceful times for 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, first Republican leader to return to Morehead, was met at the depot by the Tollivers, who were very friendly. In Louisville Judge Carey joked with S.B. Goodin, once described as the most reckless looking of the negotiators. Carey looked over Goodin, smoking a nickel cigar and wearing an old black slouch hat pulled far down over his eyes, and said, "We have a scheme to put you on exhibition during our stay in Louisville. 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 leading attraction—the wild warrior of Rowan..." 25

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 Squire Bowling (Jeff's father) about ten o'clock on Easter morning. In an interview before they left, 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."

In Craig Tolliver's words there is evidence of either a misunderstanding on his part or on that of the reporter. Leaving for his home near West Liberty, Craig stated his intention of returning to Morehead in about a month and settling there for good. "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."

In Louisville, Carey told a reporter that Humphrey would remain in office as a figurehead while Deputy Dillon took charge. If the peace took hold Humphrey was to reassume control.

Just what were Sheriff Humphrey's intentions? Reports on the Fourth had him journeying to Carter County with Pearce for reinforcements; on the Eighth rumor had it they were lurking in the brush waiting to kill their enemies. But on the Eleventh Humphrey appeared in Morehead to sign his name and Pearce's to the peace agreement. Bowling, Tolliver, Dr. Wilson and ex-sheriff Day shook his hand; he departed with Carey to confer with Castleman in Louisville that evening. Deputy Dillon, meanwhile, was balking at serving as acting sheriff since Humphrey had not resigned.

According to Rowan County Court records, Craig Tolliver became Morehead Town Marshall on 11 April 1885, filling the vacancy created when Allen Sutton was indicted and jailed for the Alderson robbery. 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 Marshall. The second version, Col. Young's rebuttal of the first, contained Young's emphatic denial of any involvement in Tolliver's selection. Young goes on to list all the signers of the petition, which include individuals from both sides of the conflict. Another source lists Dr. Jerry Wilson as originator of the petition and states that during the regular May election Craig Tolliver received fifty-one votes to his opponent's six.

Tolliver's opponent in the marshall'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. Goodin and C.W. Collins - were the same Craig Tolliver listed on his June First marshall's bond. Presently denigrated into obscurity, the office of Constable in the nineteenth century carried considerable authority.

After being indicted for the Alderson robbery in February, Allen Sutton and D.H. Tinsley had filed for a change of venue. This was granted and they were transferred to Flemingsburg to await trial. Fleming circuit court met in the third week of May. The Martin faction was out in force at the trial. Tinsley was acquitted; Sutton was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary.

Interviewed in Frankfort on May Twenty-second, Adjutant General Castleman predicted that mutual distrust would cause a renewal of violence in Rowan County. He went on to criticize the formation of so many small counties, counties easily controlled by cliques.

Castleman's predictions were coming true even as he made them. Ed Pearce's luck ran out in Greenup County. His arrest, imprisonment and confession sparked Rowan's next explosion.

Arrested in Greenup County, Pearce was soon transferred to Owingsville to await trial on an old robbery charge. While there he sent for Col. Z.T. Young. In the presence of Young and Owingsville Attorney J.M. Nesbitt, Pearce made a complete confession, implicating about a dozen members of the Martin faction in various crimes and conspiracies. Prominently mentioned were: Sheriff Humphrey, H.M. Logan and Sue Martin, John Martin's sister and supposed leader of the faction. Pearce said he and a confederate by the name of Rayburn were hired to assassinate Z.T. Young, Jeff Bowling, Alvin Bowling and six others. The price for these murders was set at $25.00 per head, with the exception of Young. Young's death was contracted at $50.00. Rayburn, Pearce said, shot Young, failing to kill him because the snow blinded him.

Pearce was transferred to Mt. Sterling shortly thereafter for safekeeping. On May Thirty-first he told reporters there that abandonment by his friends in the Martin faction had led him to reveal their plans. Logger, highwayman, gunslinger- at twenty-two Ed Pearce was a young man with a colorful past and a black future. As a May jailbird he sang one song- but his tune would shortly change.
1. Louisville Courier Journal, 6Apr1885, p2; 4Apr1885, p2.
2. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p2; Hazel Green Herald, 8Apr1885, p1.
3. Rowan County Court Records.
8. Ibid.
12. Ibid, 4Apr1885, p2.
13. Ibid.
15. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p2.
16. Ibid, 4Apr1885, p2.
17. Ibid.
18. The Martin Faction was also referred to as the Carey and/or Logan faction. The Tolliver faction was sometimes called the Young faction.
19. D.M. Dillon’s first wife, Elizabeth Logan (dec. 1866) was H.M. Logan’s niece. She was the daughter of Tobias Simpson Logan.
20. Louisville Courier Journal, 4Apr1885, p2.
22. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p4.
23. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p2.
25. Ibid, 5Apr1885, p4; 6Apr1885, p2.
26. Ibid, 6Apr1885, p2.
27 Louisville Courier Journal, 5Apr1885, p4.

28 Ibid, 8Apr1885, p4.

29 Ibid, 12Apr1885, p4.

30 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p22.

31 Louisville Courier Journal, 15Apr1885, p1.


33 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, p22.

34 Rowan County Court Records.

35 Will Martin was out of the state by the time he was indicted.


37 Louisville Courier Journal, 25May1885, p1. Fifteen of Kentucky's 120 counties were formed between 1856 and 1864. Three of these, Rowan, Knott and Bell, were embroiled in feuds in the year 1885.

38 Hazel Green Herald, 3Jun1885, p2. Boone Logan's Letters, p8, also state that Pearce and Rayburn had watched the Morehead-Queen City Road for two days for Jeff Bowling, but he failed to come along. They were seen by Dr. C.A. Black and the railroad ticket agent on the Third and Fourth of March. (Logan's Letters, p21.)

39 Louisville Courier Journal, 1Jun1885, p1.
VI

The End of June 1885

Rayburn Killed - Martin House Burned - The State Takes a Hand

"Give a man enough rope," the saying goes, "And he will hang himself." Marshall Alvin M. Bowling had given ample demonstration of the truth of this axiom. The Courier Journal of June 11th reported his indictment in Mt. Sterling for the murder of John Gill.¹

Ed Pearce’s confession, whether freely given or forced (as he later claimed) was kerosene poured upon smoldering coals of suspicion and resentment. All of the old ill feeling between the factions surfaced again; all of the mistrust. There was a rush to beat plowshares unto 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 recognize 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 skulkers were seen no more.²

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 thereby had incurred liability for them. Because of this, his brother refused to sign his bonds. Refusing to either give bonds or resign, Humphrey warned that, were he removed from office, his successor would find Rowan County unpleasant quarters.

From his Mt. Sterling cell Ed Pearce sent 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. 3

On June Twenty-sixth county court met in Morehead. One of the decisions made was: 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. 4

June had not been kind to Sheriff Humphrey. Nor was the month yet at an 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 utility buildings dotted the grounds. The tracks of the C & O Railroad 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 Martins' son-in-law. A long narrow valley stretched to the north-east. 5 Through this valley wound the East Fork of Triplett, joined by Christy Creek near the site of the Martin residence. 6

Humphrey and Ben Rayburn spent the night of the Twenty-seventh at the Martin house. Sometime during the night Humphrey came back into Morehead and retrieved his rifle from the Gault House. 7

Humphrey was anticipating trouble, as his after dark retrieval of his rifle proved. But was he expecting to receive trouble or hand it out? The Courier-Journal would lead one to believe Humphrey expected to be attacked. Boone Logan's letters, on the contrary, state that Humphrey's actions were perceived as a threat. What really occurred? Although we cannot hope to fully understand the motives of the participants, we can give a fairly comprehensive account of their actions.

The suspicions of the Tolliver faction were aroused on the Twenty-seventh by three things. First, H.M. Logan and Matt Carey left Morehead in a hurry. Second, Humphrey was observed retrieving his rifle. Third, the Tollivers received a report there were two armed men at the Martin house. 8

Morehead Police Judge Minnick issued a writ for the arrest of Humphrey. Craig Tolliver received the writ when he arrived in More-
head on the 2:00 a.m. passenger train from Farmers the morning of the Twenty-eighth. He recruited 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 a while, they concealed themselves.\(^9\)

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. The Tolliver party did not know Rayburn's identity.\(^10\)

Others at the Martin house that morning were Cook Humphrey and Sue Martin's sisters Annie, Rena and Hattie. Hattie (Mrs. Richmond Tussey) was pregnant.\(^11\) 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 sequence of events thereafter depends largely on which faction's version one accepts.

According to the Martin faction,\(^12\) Craig Tolliver came to the 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 upper floor.

While the house was being peppered with gunfire Craig quietly slipped in on the ground floor. Creeping stealthily up the stairway, he reached the second floor before Humphrey discovered him and discharged the Martin family shotgun in his face. Craig fell on the stairs. One of the posse grabbed him by the legs and pulled him to safety.

The Tolliver version differs from the Martin in some very important respects. According to Boone Logan's Letters,\(^13\) Craig Tolliver and his posse first asked Sue Martin if Cook Humphrey was in the house, to which question she replied negatively. Craig then started to search the house. After searching all of the downstairs rooms he proceeded up the stairs. The first door he opened got him a shotgun blast in
the arm and face. 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. The only immediate casualty was Mrs. Tussey, who fainted.

When the firing ceased Sue Martin sought Craig Tolliver's permission to go to Morehead for a doctor for her sister. According to her later testimony, 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 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.

Although seriously wounded, Tolliver wasted no time when he returned to Morehead. An additional guard 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.

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 Day, William Day, Jeff Bowling, Mace Keeton, Jim Oxley and John Trumbo. She pleaded with them to leave, but they refused to do so without Humphrey and the still unidentified Rayburn in custody. She then pleaded with Humphrey to surrender. Humphrey said he would surrender either to the county coroner or if the posse 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.

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 so that he and Rayburn might escape.
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 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.22

The posse lingered in the vicinity of the Martin residence. Somewhere between nine23 and eleven o'clock that night the Martin 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.24

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!" came back the voice.

The Martin family spent the night on a hillside25 watching as first their house and later a cottage about two hundred yards distant were burned.26

The Tolliver faction denied burning the houses. They accused Mrs. Martin of torching them for the insurance.27

The next day, June 29th, found the Tolliver faction in complete possession of a quiet town. The streets were guarded. The one p.m. west bound train was thoroughly searched. Judge Carey and H.M. Logan were still gone. Rumors were circulating that their homes, too, would be burned.28
Sue and Annie Martin were released from custody. 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.

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

1 Louisville Courier Journal, 11Jun1885, p1.
2 Ibid, 14Jun1885, p4.
3 Ibid, 20Jun1885, p3.
4 Rowan County Court Records.
5 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1885, p1.
6 Rowan County Court Records 31Aug1886 state that the Martin house is located "near forks of the road at mouth of Christy".
7 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p23.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid; Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p1.
11 The very proper papers of the time refer to her as "enceinte". Louisville Courier Journal, 12Jul1885, p3.
12 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p1, contains an interview with Mrs. Vina Martin.
13 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p23.
14 Ibid.
15 Louisville Courier Journal, 10Jul1885, p2.
16 Ibid.
17 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p23 state that Tolliver said Sue Martin aimed to raise a force against the posse.
18 Ibid.
19 Annie Martin said that Humphrey was alone. Mrs. Martin said several times Humphrey was
alone. Rayburn, although prominent in Pearce’s confession, was unknown to the Tolliver faction right up thru the time they killed him. See Boone Logan’s Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p23-24.

20 Louisville Courier Journal, 11Jul1885, pl.
22 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, pl.
23 Ibid, 15Jul1885, p2.
24 Ibid, 11Jul1885, pl.
25 Ibid. 12Jul1885, p3.
26 Ibid, 30Jun1885, pl. This was probably the residence of Mrs. Tussey - which was previously described as being a "few hundred yards off."
28 Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1885, pl.
29 Rowan County Court Records, 50ct1885, Wm. A. Caudill allowed $6.00 for inquest on Ben Rabourn.
30 Boone Logan’s Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p24.
31 Ibid.
32 Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1885, pl.

VII
July 1885 - Early August 1885
The Troops in Morehead - The Feud Goes To Court

Under Kentucky law as it then 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.

Rayburn’s half-decomposed body was found in the courthouse. Under the inducement of the troops, it was buried by the local citizenry.\textsuperscript{1}

When Governor Knott and Adjutant General Castleman arrived in Rowan on Wednesday, July 1, all was quiet.\textsuperscript{2} The only disruptive incident reported since the arrival of the militia had been the firing
of several shots on Tuesday night. 

On July the Third A.J. McKenzie was appointed temporary sheriff. Arrested for the murder of Rayburn were: Jeff Bowling, John Trumbo, Boone Day, Robert Messer, James Oxley, Nick Day, H.M. Keeton and Craig Tolliver. All were put under guard at the encampment ground except Tolliver, who was placed under house arrest 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 W. The case was continued until Monday, July 6th, to allow witnesses to be procured and additional counsel secured by the defendants.

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 5th. 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. These were "green funerals" 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 Oxley and G.P./P.G. Day. The trial was again rescheduled - for Tuesday the Seventh.

Also arrested was Mrs. Vina Martin - for knowingly selling poisoned food to Dr. Raine's Cottage Hotel in a supposed attempt on the life of Craig Tolliver, who was being held there. Her bail was set at $500.00 and her examining trial for July 8th. The Martin faction loudly protested that the charges were trumped up in an attempt to discredit Mrs. Martin's testimony as the strongest state's witness.

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 and Other Matters, a number of documents originally gathered together by Z. Taylor Young to use in defense of his position, give several reasons for a pro-Martin attitude among the state officials. They point out that when the troops first arrived in Morehead they met with the pitiful spectacle of the homeless Martin women. Later the Martins, Judge Carey
and H.M. Logan went to goodly lengths to impress their version of the events upon the state's representatives. The members of the Tolliver faction, on the other hand, were notable in their "reticence and independence." Nor did Craig Tolliver's "braggadocio manner while on trial" do anything to impress the prosecution. Is it not likely that the Courier Journal's reporters were treated much the same as the troops and prosecutors? Is it not easier to write a story when someone will talk to you?

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 about the legality of this move, but Humphrey, in hiding since his 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. It should be recalled that he served as surety on both Constable Messer's and Town Marshall Tolliver's bonds. Collins' surety was Z.T. Young.

Court convened Tuesday at 3 p.m. H.F. Prichard of Catlettsburg acted as additional counsel 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 to be summoned to act as an examining court to try the prisoners.

Sheriff McKenzie and a squad of militiamen searched H.M. Logan's house in a vain attempt to locate Cook Humphrey. Cook's old companion was back in Morehead however. Ed Pearce had returned to face charges of shooting and wounding Allie Young and to act as a defense witness against the Martin faction.

The first testimony was taken on Thursday. Magistrates W.W. Phillips and Wm. Moore presided over a packed courtroom. Pleaing 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 the first witness. Her testimony as to the hap-
penings of June Twenty-eighth occupied the rest of the day. According to Miss Martin, Craig Tolliver, Jeff Bowling and the other posse members first asked for Will Martin. Sue told them 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.  

Court reconvened at 10 a.m. the next morning. The first item of business was the cross-examination of Miss Martin, as the defense attempted to prove 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 she had seen Pearce only twice in her life, and had not seen Rayburn for six years before the day he was killed. Sue claimed to have memory due to the trouble she had suffered.  

Next to the stand was Annie Martin, who confirmed her sister's testimony. She added that, when asked what authority he had to search the Martin house, Craig Tolliver had replied he needed no authority. Vina Martin testified after her daughters, telling her story of the events that took place 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. She said Humphrey did not believe Day and refused.  

Saturday's testimony began with Mrs. Tussey. Confirming the previous testimony, she added that she believed Jeff Bowling to be the one who shot Rayburn after he fell.

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 was at home during the excitement. There were eight or nine men in the posse, 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 28th, 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, and were fired upon about one mile from Johnson's house.

The defense called Vina and Sue Martin back to the stand to show contradictions in their testimony. John Martin's widow, Lucy Oxley/Trumbo Martin testified that her former sister-in-law Sue had attempted to persuade her to collaborate the Martin testimony. Dr. G.A. Black testified that Mrs. 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 confession. In his new story he indicated he had seen Sue Martin only once—when she came to collect for Dave Martin's gun. He had been with Ben Rayburn from about March Tenth to March Seventeenth in Carter County trying to get out staves. The weather was too bad to work, and they gave up the attempt.

Pearce continued. On May the Eighteenth, while he was 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 said, "We are going to take you to Maysville and up to Winchester by the same route Martin traveled. You tell the truth and you will not be hurt." After being transferred to Owingsville Pearce "confessed".

Z.T. Young asked to be allowed to examine Pearce in order to show contradictions in his testimony. This was allowed. Young gave Pearce such a thorough verbal workover that Attorney General Hardin protested he was working for the defense.

Young denied abrogating his official duties. He called Pearce a liar. The Tolliver supporters in the courtroom responded to this with a round of applause.

Hardin declared Young was biased. The defense counsel responded that the County Attorney's authority in this case was paramount to the Attorney General's. Hardin 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. The Martin adherents and soldiers gave this statement a round of their applause.
The entire courtroom rose to their feet and in the intense excitement of the moment it looked as though the Feud would come to an end in a general slaughter. Cool heads prevailed however. Order returned and the 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 on on the night of June Twenty-eighth and couldn't have been involved in burning the Martin house.

Craig Tolliver, nearly well, was turned over to Sheriff McKenzie with the rest of the prisoners.\textsuperscript{19}

On July the Sixteenth (Thursday) Police Judge Minnick testified he had issued a warrant for Humphrey's arrest on June the 27th 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 Craig Tolliver at 3 p.m. on June Twenty-eighth.\textsuperscript{20}

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\textsuperscript{21} was nominated for sheriff; Democrat Joe Myers was nominated for deputy; G.W. "Wash" Davis was nominated for jailer.\textsuperscript{22}

On the Twenty-first of July the magistrates handed down their decisions. For any guilt to be fixed both magistrates had to agree. Wm. Moore stated the defendants should be bound over for trial; W.W. Phillips voted to acquit all.\textsuperscript{23}

The real surprise of the day came when Craig Tolliver, just about to receive the congratulations of his friends standing about him, felt a strong grip upon his arm. "You are my prisoner," said a voice in cool, low tones, and for the first time since the beginning of the trial Tolliver was seen to pale. After being taken from the courtroom under guard, Tolliver's arrest papers were looked into and he was put into jail, protesting vigorously.

A piece of Craig's past had caught up to 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 the Ohio authorities. He was now to be transported to Cincinnati to stand trial.24

On the Twenty-third the Courier Journal reported that Police Judge Minnick had been forced to swear out a warrant for Rayburn hours after his death.25

On the Twenty-fifth Jessie B. Coldiron and Mack Day had a drunken altercation, with Day coming out very much the looser. Sheriff McKenzie tried unsuccessfully to arrest Coldiron. When he returned with soldiers Coldiron fled to the brush.

Cook Humphrey, still hiding somewhere near Morehead, sent word that he would surrender when his safety was assured.26

Coldiron was arrested in the brush on July the Twenty-seventh for breach of the peace in his beating of Day. His trial got him a verbal reprimand and cost Day $5.00 for abusive language.27 On the Twenty-eighth Coldiron was appointed Morehead town marshall to fill the vacancy created by Craig Tolliver's absence. His sureties were H.S. Logan and C.P. Martin28 - H.M. Logan's brother and business pardner.

A Courier Journal editorial of July Twenty-seventh accused Z.T. Young of shielding the Tollivers from the law and called his trial speech a "proclamation of license to all the lawless men in Rowan County."29 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. Although Martin and Humphrey were known to have threatened Tolliver in Farmers, Young said, he had advised the grand jury against indicting Humphrey because he did not believe he could be convicted.30

On the Second of August Rev. Dr. Guerrant preached at the courthouse to a good crowd.31 Two companies of militia had departed. August election day passed uneventfully. There was talk of pulling out the third company; Sheriff McKenzie threatened to tender his
resignation with their departure.  

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 two 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.  

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."

In a letter dated August Twenty-fourth, Boone Logan stated the opposing view, defying the Courier Journal correspondent "to show up any member of the grand jury in any other light than that of a law-abiding peaceable citizen". Judge Halbert withheld his decision and Hardin bowed out of Rowan's affairs.

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 were likely, according to the Courier Journal.

On the Eighth of August 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. 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. Convictions were not looked for. Among those indicted were: Craig Tolliver - 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.41

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 Hoggtown 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 sheriff. Humphrey claimed all his actions to be in self defense. The grand jury was not in complete agreement – they had returned five indictments against him.42

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.43

1 Louisville Courier Journal, 3Jul1885, p2.
2 Ibid, 2Jul1885, p2.
3 Ibid, 3Jul1885, p2.
4 Rowan County Court Records.
5 Louisville Courier Journal, 4Jul1885, p5.
6 Hazel Green Herald, 8Jul1885, p3.
7 The Best of "Hillbilly", by Jim Comstock, Otto Whittaker, Editor, p160.
8 This was the second time Oxley was listed as arrested.
According to Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel-Democrat, the following days were in the two sets of guards: Boon, Bill, Mick and Thomas A. Arrested later, according to the Courier Journal, were Boon(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.

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Louisville Courier Journal, 7Jul1885, p2.

Which he claimed to be neutral.

Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p25.

Rowan County Court Records.

Louisville Courier Journal, 8Jul1885, p2.

Ibid, 10Jul1885, p2.

Ibid, 11Jul1885, pl.

Ibid, 12Jul1885, p3.

Lucy Martin was the illegitimate daughter of Celia Oxley. She was raised as the child of Celia and I.I. Trumbo. John Trumbo, a member of Tolliver's original posse, was Lucy's half-brother. See note 6, Aug.-Dec. 1884. See Section II.

Louisville Courier Journal, 15Jul1885, p2.

Ibid, 17Jul1885, p2.

Hiram Pigman married H.M. Logan's daughter Lara in 1888. See Section II.

Louisville Courier Journal, 21Jul1885, pl.

Ibid, 22Jul1885, p5. This reference states Dr. Jeremiah Wilson had earlier indicated there was no cause for uneasiness, as Uncle Billy Phillips' mind was made up. Boone Logan's Letters (p14) call Phillips "a just Christian gentleman" "above suspicion" and state that, although threatened with death if he acquitted the defendants, he "bravely and manly" went on and did his duty.

Hazel Green Herald, 29Jul1885, p2. According to the article, Craig Tolliver originally fled to Cincinnati in 1876 to escape a Rowan County indictment for cattle theft. He married there and did not return to Kentucky until after his troubles with his mother-in-law.

Morgan County Deeds show a purchase from his brother Daniel on 15Jul1880 (Deed Book 6, p385-386) that was redeemed on 11Feb1884 (Deed Book 9, p4) and sold by Craig two days later (Deed Book 9, p30-31). Was Craig out of the state during these years?

The Herald article also characterizes Craig as "decidedly an unmarried man" at Morehead, while later accounts call him a loving father. A Herald article (12Aug1885, p2) reports that Craig Tolliver's wife filed for a divorce on grounds of failure to provide for his family since he was taken to Ohio. They were apparently not on the best of terms.


Ibid, 26Jul1885, p2.
27 Ibid, 28Jul1885, p1; 30Jul1885, p2.
28 Rowan County Court Records. See note 16, The Years Before.
31 Hazel Green Herald, 12Aug1885, p2.
32 Louisville Courier Journal, 4Aug1885, p5.
33 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 house incident. See Boone Logan's Letters, p15.
34 Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1885, p2.
36 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p15.
38 Ibid, 7Aug1885, p1; Boone Logan's Letters, p15. Oxley and Trumbo were replaced by Samuel B. Caudill and Charles R. Foreman. 6Aug1885, Rowan County Circuit Court Records.
39 Louisville Courier Journal, 9Aug1885, p3. Evans lived twelve miles out of town. His wife was in bad health and he refused to leave her. When Sheriff McKenize came after him he escaped into the bush.
40 Ibid, 12Aug1885, p4. Tolliver's Cincinnati trial was postponed until September due to gangrene in his arm.
41 Ibid, 9Aug1885, p3; 12Aug1885, p4; 13Aug1885, p1.
43 Ibid, 19Aug1885, p1; 20Aug1885, p1.

VIII
End of August 1885 - June 1886
Ten Months of Tension - Pearce and the Bowlings Leave the Scene
Two More Murders

On the Thirteenth of August, 1885, H.M. Pigman became sheriff.
D.M. Dillon was one of his sureties and his deputy. On September Twelfth Pigman resigned his office due to inability to go the required bonds.¹

Early October found Rowan quiet. Mt. Sterling pastor J.M. Wells² and Louisville's Rev. Dr. Edward O. Guerrant³ were both trying to raise funds to build a church in Morehead.

On October Twelfth W.C. Humphrey was in Frankfort with State Senator L.W. McKee (formerly Major McKee) seeking Governor Knott's permission to return to Rowan and take up his tax collection duties. Knott cautioned Humphrey to wait a while longer. Humphrey, returning to Fleming County where he had resided since August, promised patience, although claiming to have friends in Rowan who would guarantee his safety. Rowan's county court had annulled his election but had not yet settled on a new sheriff.⁴

Four days later Samuel Caudill was appointed sheriff. He had a total of ten sureties⁵ more than twice the usual number. There should have been no problem with his bonds. Nevertheless, he resigned his office October Twenty-seventh, after serving only eleven days. Court records show William Ramey appointed sheriff that same day, with Samuel Alfrey his deputy.

By October the 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, Tolliver facetiously sent his compliments to Governor Knott, who 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.⁶ The Twenty-eighth found him at home in Morgan County.⁷

During the fall 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.⁸
The last months of 1885 saw the end of any involvement in Rowan's business by Ed Pearce and the Bowling brothers. Pearce, convicted in Bath Circuit Court of robbing Joe Hagerman, was given seven years in prison. Alvin Bowling received twenty-one years from a Mt. Sterling jury on his manslaughter conviction—accepting the verdict without a tremor. 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 escaped.

On December Fourth the Beaver Run Lumber Mill burned completely. Located at Cross Roads, the mill, owned by the Buckwalter Brothers from Ohio, was uninsured. Losses were in excess of $8,000 in this suspected arson.

On December Twenty-eighth Moses Little escaped after killing John Marlow in Morehead. Marlow was drunk at the time of the shooting, which apparently resulted from his ill treatment of his wife, Little's sister.

In late December or early January Asbury Crisp "in a fit of jealousy and rage," shot and disabled Craig Tolliver, 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. He was incarcerated in the Elliott County jail. The evidence leads one to believe that Craig had been romancing 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.

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 didn't set well at all with Humphrey. A fist fight was narrowly avoided.
On February Third the 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.\(^{19}\)

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

The following indictments of interest were handed down: Thomas J. Trumbo - forceably breaking and entering a railroad car; Moses Little - murder; Craige 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. Nine other individuals were indicted on this last charge.\(^{20}\)

Delaney Bowling, father of Alvin and Jeff Bowling, had three cases continued to the next term of court. He was apparently sick to the death - each case as it came up listed "his death suggested".\(^{21}\) 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.\(^{22}\)

The February term of court adjourned with Rowan County no closer than before to a judicial 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 result of this impasse can 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 1886 show 80 taxpayers removed from the county. Allowing for some population growth in the six years between 1880 and 1886, could not one still figure that five to ten per cent of the county's population, for one reason or another, had decided to resettle elsewhere? As usual, the Courier Journal showed no reluctance in settling the blame for Rowan's troubles squarely on the shoulders of Zachariah Taylor Young. Young announced as a candidate for Commonwealth Attorney from Rowan's judicial district; in an editorial against Young and Rowan's state of
affairs, the Courier announced, "Barbarism is triumphant in Rowan; barbarism must be overthrown."²³

On November 21, 1885, Tom Goodin, younger brother of former deputy S.B. Goodin, married Martha Tolliver, youngest daughter of Jacob Finley Tolliver, Sr. ²⁴ One Friday night about three months later (5 March 1886), Goodin ran into "Squire" Whit Pelfrey in a bar "twelve miles east of Morehead".²⁵ Pelfrey, a prosperous man of middle age, was a native of Carter County and a Humphrey supporter. He and Goodin had several drinks and left the saloon together. Once outside, Goodin slit Pelfrey's throat from ear to ear, almost decapitating him.

According to Goodin, Pelfrey reached in his pocket, giving the impression he was going for his gun. According to other witnesses, Goodin had been "playing buzzard" - pretending to drink heavily but not doing so. Goodin was transported to the Lexington jail to forestall possible mob action.²⁶

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 first services. On the Third of April Hargis received his wish - his funeral was the first service conducted. A prominent Moreheadian, Hargis had represented Morgan and Breathitt Counties at the 1849 constitutional convention. A monument was to be erected to his memory by the grateful people of Rowan and Breathitt Counties.²⁷

Affairs remained calm in Morehead. 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.²⁸

On the Nineteenth of May, 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 but was arrested there by Marshall John Givens and returned to Mt. Sterling. Roe's death apparently came as the result of two arguments he had had with Carter earlier that day while attending Barnum's circus in Mt. Sterling.²⁹
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.\(^{30}\)

About this time Z.T. Young's son William spent a few days at West Liberty's Kendall House.\(^{31}\) Shortly thereafter a local option election was scheduled for Precinct 2 (Farmers) in August.\(^ {32}\)

The Hazel Green Herald issue 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.\(^ {33}\) Six days later Alvin M. Bowling was escorted to the Frankfort prison by Montgomery County Sheriff Ellis Dean. The Court of Appeals had refused to overturn the lower court's ruling.\(^ {34}\)

\(^1\) Rowan County Court Records.

\(^2\) Louisville Courier Journal, 120ct1885, p8.

\(^3\) Ibid, 220ct1885, p4.

\(^4\) Ibid, 130ct1885, p4.


\(^6\) Louisville Courier Journal, 130ct1885, p5; 220ct1885, p1.

\(^7\) Hazel Green Herald, 280ct1885, p2.

\(^8\) Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p4-7. In fairness it should be noted that these excerpts were chosen by Young himself.

\(^9\) Hazel Green Herald, 23Sept1885, p2.

\(^10\) Louisville Courier Journal, 22Dec1885, p2.

\(^11\) Hazel Green Herald, 18Nov1885, p2.

\(^12\) Louisville Courier Journal, 5Dec1885, p4.

\(^13\) Hazel Green Herald, 13Jan1886, p3.

\(^14\) Louisville Courier Journal, 21Jan1886, p3.
15 Louisville Courier Journal, 5 Jan 1886, p.2.

16 Ibid, 3 Feb 1886, p.5.

17 Ibid, 21 Jan 1886, p.3. Humphrey was working in Nicholas County. Jeff Bowling (apparently recaptured) was on trial in Ohio.


19 Ibid, 3 Feb 1886, p.5.

20 Rowan County Circuit Court Records, Feb. 1886 term.

21 Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 13 Feb 1886, p.365.

22 Louisville Courier Journal, 16 Feb 1886, 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 24 Feb 1886 Hazel Green Herald lists Mrs. Douglass as an accomplice in the murder.

23 Ibid, 1 Mar 1886, p.4.

24 See Section II.

25 At or near Elliottville?

26 Louisville Courier Journal, 24 Jul 1886, p.1; 9 Mar 1886, p.5; Pelfrey family information.

27 Louisville Courier Journal, 7 Apr 1886, p.8; Hazel Green Herald, 7 Apr 1886, p.3. Hargis was the father of Judge Tom Hargis (see endnote 1, part II). Col. Hargis' eulogy was delivered by Elder Henry F. Martin. Pallbearers were E.H. Hamilton, George A. Nickell, Joseph L. McLellan, H.M. Pigman, William H. Daniels and O.B. Logan. On 12 Apr 1886 Rowan County Court Records show James W. Johnson named administrator of Hargis' estate.

We have no knowledge of any monument being erected to Col. Hargis in Rowan County, nor have we been able to locate the "family burying grounds at Morehead" where the Courier Journal article indicates he was interred.

28 Rowan County Court Records.

29 Louisville Courier Journal, 21 May 1886, p.2. Ibid, 7 Jul 1886, p.4, states that Carter was acquitted of killing Eiga Roe.


31 Hazel Green Herald, 2 Jun 1886, p.3.

32 Rowan County Court Records.

33 Hazel Green Herald, 23 Jun 1886, p.3.

IX

July 1886 – August 1886

W.O. Logan Killed – The Militia Returns

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 Judge Carey's son Matt. Both men were later interviewed. Their stories were so widely disparate that one almost wonders if each actually met the other at all.

According to Matt Carey, 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 was distracted and Carey pulled loose from him. Tolliver then drew on Logan, who backed off. The ladies persuaded Tolliver to quit the fight.

Craig Tolliver's version of his row with Carey 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 evidently satisfied with Carey's reply. They did not fight, but started back together.

A bit further down the street they met H.M. Logan with a hand in his pistol pocket. Tolliver warned him to remove his hand from his pocket. 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 begged for his life; Craig let him go unharmed.¹

As a result of this three sided altercation Cook Humphrey was called back into town. H.M. Logan was up in arms; Craig Tolliver set up his headquarters at the Raine Hotel. Business once again ground to a stop as the alarmed population readied themselves for the worst.² 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 approaching August elections.³

On July the 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 also surrendered himself into Ramey's custody. Ramey and he 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. The shooting started.  

The Logan version says Ramey fired the first shot. Henry Ramey claimed Logan retrieved a double barrel shotgun and shot him in the side.  

Sheriff William Ramey heard the commotion and rushed to the aid of his son. H.M. Logan's son William pulled a pistol. Bullets and buckshot thickened the air for a few minutes. When the firing ceased, both the Rameys and William Logan were wounded.  

The Rameys would recover from their wounds - Will Logan was not to be 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 marched into Morehead for the second time. A special term of circuit court was slated to begin the Twenty-second of July.  

Across the Ohio River Jeff Bowling was sentenced to be hung by the neck until dead. Ohio's Governor Foraker gave him thirty days respite while his friends sought to have his sentence commuted from death to life imprisonment.  

Morehead, in July of 1886, was a town of about 400 souls. The unpaved streets were graced by occasional stray pieces of plank walk. Non-aligned citizens carefully avoided talking about the Feud. Most were afraid to testify because of the possibility of reprisals. "Uncle Jesse" Coldiron was running for jailor.  

Howard Logan's store had been closed since the fight. Logan was constantly at his son's bed side, watching tightlipped as the fair-haired young man slowly slipped into the clutches of death. Mrs. Logan was deeply affected by her son's plight. Her daughter Ida had passed away the previous October.
To the east of Morehead the Martin family were 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.¹²

While the 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 4½ 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 called 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 with James Appleby, a wealthy Montreal hotel owner who 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 anger when he found that Queen City consisted of a few rude huts and that the railroad which supposedly ran past the city's doorstep in reality had not proceeded any closer than Mt. Sterling. Appleby filed suit in Rowan court but died before the case came to trial.

Sewell was eventually killed by a vengeful Indianian 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.¹³

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.¹⁴ Messer's father-in-law, Elijah Amburg, was a jury member when court convened.¹⁵

The special term of court opened at 9:00 a.m. on July 21st. Presiding was Judge A.E. Cole; Asher G. Caruth, of Louisville, was the prosecutor. The first few days were taken in selecting jurymen.¹⁶ On the Twenty-third Tom Goodin was indicted for the willful murder of Whit Pelfrey. Morehead began to thin out as men fled possible indictment.¹⁷
Howard Logan's son William died at five o'clock on the morning of July Twenty-fourth. He was nineteen years of age. The funeral was held at 11:00 a.m. the next day in a church crowded with friends. It was beginning to look as though Howard Logan might lose his wife also.

Tom Goodin and Charles Coburn were brought to Morehead from their Lexington incarceration on the Twenty-fourth. Allie Young undertook Goodin's defense.

Two days later Craig Tolliver and Cook Humphrey were arrested. Both were put 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, who had threatened to kill him in the heat of passion. Ramey's son Henry was rearrested for the murder of William Logan.

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.

On July Twenty-eighth court was adjourned until the August Third regular term. The witnesses were held over.

One conviction came out of the special term—Coburn was given two years in the pen for robbing a railroad car at the depot. Goodin's case was continued. Judge Cole was openly accused of being pro-Tolliver. Hiram Brain, a Martinite, claimed the affair was so one-sided that he could no longer serve on the jury.

On the Thirtieth Asher G. 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 abiding citizens. The problems caused by the remaining ten percent 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.

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.  

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.

On the Sixth of August the Courier Journal restated their preference of Rowan factions. A drawing of Craig Tolliver accompanied an editorial that called him "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".

Circuit court records of the Sixth show Daniel Boone Logan obtaining 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.

On August Seventh two trains collided at Limestone in Carter County due to a dispatcher mixup. Four individuals were killed.

Prosecuting Attorney Caruth, experiencing difficulty obtaining convictions under the turgid conditions in Rowan, developed a new "peace plan". In exchange for their promises to depart Rowan County permanently, the indictments against Craig Tolliver and Cook Humphrey were held in terrorem - ready to be put back into force if they returned to the county. Humphrey pulled up roots and resettled in Missouri; Tolliver promised to make a new start in Texas.

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.

On August the Eleventh Thomas Goodin was sent to the Maysville jail to await the February term of court.

The elections of early August left the Youngs and their 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. The final stages of the conflict were approaching. Some new characters were about to enter the stage; some old ones were about to change their roles.
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1 Louisville Courier Journal, 11Jul1886, p4.
2 Ibid, 3Jul1886, p4.
3 Ibid, 4Jul1886, p4.
5 Ibid. 6Jul1886, p1 lists Cook Humphrey fighting beside the Logans. It also lists the prisoner Bailey as a deputy sheriff and states he was wounded.
7 Ibid, 12Jul1886, p5.
8 Ibid. Reference states Coldiron appointed Morehead town marshall last July to work off an $8.00 fine.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid, 13Jul1886, p2.
12 Louisville Courier Journal, 13Jul1886, p2.
16 Ibid, 23Jul1886, p5; 24Jul1886, p1; 22Jul1886, p5.
17 Ibid, 24Jul1886, p1; Rowan County Circuit Court Records 23Jul1886.
19 Ibid, 26Jul1886, p1.
22 Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 27Jul1886. Louisville Courier Journal, 28Jul1886, p2 states Humphrey indicted for shooting at Sheriff Ramey with intent to kill.
23 Louisville Courier Journal, 29Jul1886, p5.
26. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 27Jul1886.


29. Ibid, 30Jul1886, p.2. Caruth mentions several felony indictments among which were Marion Caudel for murder (whose?) and Lee Tolliver (along with John C. and Tom Allen Day) for the Martin house burning—the only time Tolliver’s name was mentioned in connection with this incident.


31. Ibid, 5Aug1886, p.2. Rowan County Court Records, 7Apr1884, list Wm. M. Fouch as town marshall of Elliottville. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 4Aug1886, show where the Governor pardoned P. Watt Hardin of charges against him.

32. Louisville Courier Journal, 6Aug1886, p.8. See drawing in Section III.

33. 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.

34. Louisville Courier Journal, 8Aug1886, p.12.

35. 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 one 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.

36. Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 9Aug1886.


38. 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.
A Conspiracy Unveiled – Cousins Battle – H.M. Logan Shot

On the Tenth of September James Pelfrey brought his wife and two children to Morehead to see the Creston Circus. Pelfrey got drunk and was thrown in jail for the night. The next morning Taylor Young learned of Pelfrey's plight and interceded with Allie Young on his behalf. Pelfrey was released from jail without a fine to go home to his family.

Later in the day Pelfrey fell to talking with Green Mannin, who had been present during the Young's conversation. Pelfrey expressed his surprise about not being fined. Mannin related the tale of how Taylor Young had spoken up for him. This astonished Pelfrey, who questioned Mannin closely about what Young had said. Mannin asked Pelfrey the reason for his curiosity. Pelfrey replied that "but a few days since Henry Logan offered me $100.00 to kill Taylor Young". Pelfrey was then taken to Young, where he told the following tale.

On August Fourteenth I accompanied James Hoffman to Lewis County, where he intended to rent a farm. On Kinney we ran into Dr. Henry Logan and Louis Rayburn, a cousin of Ben Rayburn who was killed at the Martin place. Henry Logan called Rayburn and I to one side and tried to recruit me to his camp. "Jim", he said, "Your brother Whit has been killed and the Morehead elite is going to acquit Goodin 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 that I join him and I finally agreed. After giving the matter some private thought I changed my mind.

Pelfrey then offered to demonstrate the truth of his statement by arranging for Logan to meet him at a designated place with a rifle and the money. The Youngs accepted this offer and Pelfrey contacted Logan. A meeting was arranged at a secluded, uninhabited dwelling two miles from Morehead. Well before the scheduled meeting time of
9:00 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 but the alleged conspirators never showed.

It was later determined that Logan had received notice of the trap thru old Allen Keeton, who had learned of Pelfrey's confession thru his son, John Keeton. Apparently the news had 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 presons 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 had come to his house Monday and said he intended to kill Taylor Young.

To the Youngs Pelfrey further stated that Louis Rayburn had told him during their first meeting on Kinney that he already had his rifle and $100.00. Pelfrey also spoke of a difficulty that had occured 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 watching Taylor Young's movements for a month. A man could hide himself in the weeds growing at the rear of the Central Hotel and kill Young any morning between six and nine o'clock, Logan said.

Newspapers of August 19th carried reports of a violent wind storm in Bath County and a fair in Maysville. Five days later it was reported from Columbus, Ohio that Jeff Bowling was to be hung Friday, August Twenty-seventh, at one o'clock. His friends continued to plea with Governor Foraker for commutation of his sentence.

On the afternoon of August Twenty-seventh former Sheriff John C. Day entered the barroom of the Raine Hotel 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 d___d fool that he wouldn't be able to tell whiskey
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. 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 Allen Day came to his senses. Retrieving his revolver, Tom shot his 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, re-prieved at last from the horrible pain of his wound.

In mid-September Howard Logan nominated Judge Thomas of Lewis County for Congress at the Republican Congressional convention in Maysville. Two weeks later a rumor that Z.T. Young had dropped dead of heart disease in an Elliott County courtroom was refuted. Apple trees bloomed in profusion in Carter County at September's end.

Elliott County's newly discovered diamond fields were dealt with in an early October article. 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 3Aug1886), was also Ramey's deputy.

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 Rowan's neighboring counties included: Montgomery: Mt. Sterling was building a new depot; Breathitt: Craig Tolliver's brother William and his son Alex were logging; Wolfe: J.W. Day gave a concert at the Hazel Green public school. The blind musician was quite a hit singing and playing the violin. Boyd County recorded its first snowfall on November Sixth.

On November the Tenth, Col. Z.T. Young of Mt. Sterling successfully pled with Judge Cole to release Tom Goodin on bail. Goodin had contracted typo-malarial fever while in custody in Maysville.

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 foot prints were traced back thru the Gault House garden.

The then current Morehead rumor placed the shotgun wielder in the hire of the Tolliver faction, who had offered him $50.00 for Logan dead, $25.00 for Logan shot. Logan supposedly knew the shootist but considered it useless to swear out a warrant.

All Logan had to say about the matter was that the gunman had intended to kill him, not to scare him as had originally been reported. Mrs. Logan was worn and pale.

The tenor of Morehead's citizens was one of reservation. The inclement weather had muddied the roads and left the town with very few visitors. Native Moreheadians had taken to traveling in pairs.

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. Logan's chief sponsor in the legal profession, Col. Van B. Young of Mt. Sterling, was spoken of as a candidate for Lt. Governor—an office he had sought four years before.

The Courier Journal reported on the Fifteenth that Rowan's affairs were so unsettled that Allie Young had deemed it prudent to resign his post as county attorney and leave the county. 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. Young was a member of the prosecution during his retrial. Foreman received twenty-one years the second time around.

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1 Brother to Whit Pelfrey whom Goodin killed at Hogtown. Jim Pelfrey had previously burned the Rowan County jail. See MSU Archives File, p21.

2 Dr. Henry S. Logan, as has been aforementioned, was a brother to Howard M. Logan. Lewis Napoleon Rayburn was a first cousin to Ben Rayburn who was killed at the Martin house.
Lewis 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. William and Lucretia were brother and sister to H.M. and H.S. Logan. Also Lewis Rayburn married Alice Mary Stamper, second cousin to H.M. and H.S. See Section II.

3 Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p9-11. Logan states that "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 Howard W. Logan. See Majority & Minority Report, p247.

5 Ibid, p5.
6 Ibid, 24Aug1886, p1. Bowling's sentence was commuted from death to life imprisonment. He served seven years, was paroled and migrated to Texas, according to The Tolliver-Martin-Logan Vendetta. Rowan County Deed Book 4, p402, 13Dec1894 lists transfer of property on North Fork of Triplett from D.J. Bowling and wife Queen of Comanche County, Texas to James Tolliver.
7 The hotel is still standing and was sold at auction Feb. 25, 1984 for $10,000. See handbill in Section III.
8 Louisville Courier Journal, 29Aug1886, p3.
9 Ibid, 1Sep1886, p4.
10 Ibid, 15Sep1886, p2.
11 Ibid, 29Sep1886, p5.
12 Ibid, 30Sep1886, p4.
14 Rowan County Court Records.
16 Hazel Green Herald, 3Nov1886, p1. Jedediah Day was the father of John C. Day.
17 Louisville Courier Journal, 7Nov1886, p5.
18 Note that Young has relocated for the time being.
20 Ibid, 30Nov1886, p2.
21 Ibid, 20Nov1886, p5.
22 Ibid.
23 Ibid, 30Nov1886, p2.
Craig Tolliver Returns - Four More Deaths - Further Conspiracy

The first month of the new year of 1887 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 return made in defiance of his personal vow to stay away. "Tolliver and a reign of terror", the report stated, "Make a simultaneous appearance".¹

On Monday night, January Third, Morehead constable Mason Keeton and John Rogers were in attendance of a dance at H.C. Powers' hotel. Keeton was drunk. For reasons unknown except to himself, he pulled his pistol and shot a finger off of Rogers' left hand. In the confusion that immediately followed, an unknown party fired four shots at Keeton. Keeton fell with a bullet thru his heart.²

Coincidentally, Rowan Court Records of January Third reveal that H.M. Logan was released from H.C. Powers' bond and immediately moved that Powers show reason why his liquor license should not be revoked. What happened between these two first cousins? Eight days later a new surety was recorded for Powers - M.T. Cogswell.

Squire Hogg became 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.⁴

The Eleventh saw the second death of the new year. Wiley V.
Tolliver 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.

It was a rough and tumble decade throughout Kentucky. Editors of the period were given to strong opinion. Sometimes they suffered the consequences thereof—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.

A fire destroyed five buildings in Mount Sterling on January Eighteenth. Dan Chanault's restaurant was among them.

In late January or early February, Craig Tolliver made the papers in Morgan County. Arriving in West Liberty on Tuesday morning, Tolliver told several local citizens that he expected trouble with brothers James and Jesse Blair and requested someone to undertake a peacemaking mission. There were no immediate volunteers. As Craig started out of town he espied the Blairs coming in, armed with double barrel shotguns.

Tolliver retraced his steps and 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 the local citizenry from the side effects of a gun battle. Had the same parties met instead in Morehead, the undertaker would probably have found himself occupied.


During the February term of circuit court Tom Goodin's murder case came to trial again. There were more than twenty witnesses,

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

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— he was kept in custody.  

The stranger proved to be James A. Harris, alias Pendulum. To his uncle, Hayden Harris, he related the following tale: 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. Dr. Logan and McClerg, in lieu of $6000.00 bail, were jailed. They were later transferred to Lexington. Morehead was in a flutter once more.  

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

Their reception was somewhat less than cordial.
Upon being informed of the Marshall's mission, Judge Cole refused to surrender Harris into his custody. The Marshall and his posse returned to the hotel to await the next west bound. Shortly, they had company.

It seems word of their mission had spread. Thru the hotel doors marched a platoon of fifteen to twenty "angry and vicious-looking" men. They surrounded the Bath County party, informing them in no uncertain terms of the dire consequences of trying to take Harris away. Spencer rifles and double-barreled shotguns were flourished meaningfully. It may be imagined that the Marshall and his posse boarded the train gratefully.

In Owingsville, the article concluded, where Harris' character is well known, it is reguarded as an outrage to send men to jail on his unsupported testimony. 16

Morehead's post office was burglarized on the night of the Twenty-first. Several registered packages were stolen, among them one belonging to J.H. Cole of West Liberty. 17

Two other items of note are to be gleaned from February Circuit Court records. First, Mary E. Tolliver had mortgaged her property in Farmers to R.H. Conner for the sum of $150.00 on March 20, 1885. That mortgage being unpaid, the property was now to be 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. Considering the overall situation, that should not be surprising.

On the First of March it was reported that Commonwealth's Attorney Asher G. Caruth had resigned his office to pursue a full time private law practice. 18

Daniel Boone Logan became Morehead Police Judge on the Seventh; on the Eighth D.G. Ham replaced James M. Carey in the office of Morehead Treasurer. Carey had removed from the county. 19

The Licking 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. 20

A very unusual wedding occured 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.21

Craig Tolliver opened a dry goods store in Morehead, traveling to Cincinnati to purchase supplies. He spent several days and around two thousand dollars there. The Cincinnati Enquirer carried a report of his visit. Craig was described as a Rowan deputy sheriff and law abiding citizen who neither drank whiskey nor carried a gun.23

A tragedy occurred in Morehead on March Fourteenth. John Trumbo was visiting with his good friend J. T. Witcher, a former railroad conductor. They 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 slug struck 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 Fifteenth. A large crowd was in attendance, but there was no disturbance. The coroner's verdict of accidental shooting seemed to give general satisfaction.23

Jeff Bowling's friends had not forgotten him in Ohio. His fourth respite since his sentencing reprieved him from a walk to the gallows on March Twenty-fifth. His new execution was set for June Twenty-fourth.24

On the Fourth of April Rowan County Court settled several interesting claims. Among them was one for $4.00 from M. T. McDaniel for an inquest on Stewart Caudill.25

H. C. Powers' house was mobbed for the second time on the night of April 28th. All of the windows were broken out and considerable other damage was done. Powers had had enough. Convinced that he would be killed if he remained in Rowan County, he gathered up his family and furniture and relocated in Covington.26

Powers had attempted to steer clear of the factional strife in Morehead but had run afoul of Jay Tolliver. His troubles had started shortly thereafter. The people of Morehead and Rowan County, Powers
said, "denounce in unmeasured terms the compromise by which the prosecution of Tolliver and his gang was dropped."

Before Powers' departure he rented his thriving business to Craig Tolliver for $250.00 per year. Craig changed the name to the American House.

John Manning (Mannin), a newcomer to the scene, became Morehead town marshall on the Tenth of May. Craig Tolliver, Manning's opponent in the marshall's race, became police judge on the Nineteenth.

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

On June Sixth B.C. Tolliver sought a tavern license for the American Hotel.

1 Louisville Courier Journal, 4Jan1887, p5.
4 Rowan County Court Records, 3Jan1887.
5 Son of L.H.B. Tolliver. See Sect. II.
6 Louisville Courier Journal 13Jan1887, p3.
7 Ibid, 16Jan1887, p5.
9 Hazel Green Herald, 2Feb1887, p4 (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 dates.
10 Rowan County Court Records.
11 Rowan County Circuit Court Records.
12 Day shot John C. Day; Bentley knived Wiley V. Tolliver; Arnold killed Stuart Caudill.
13 Rowan County Circuit Court Records, p533.
14 Louisville Courier Journal, 15Feb1887, p3; Boone Logan's Letters to the Sentinel Democrat, p11.
Hazel Green Herald, 2Mar1887, p4.

Louisville Courier Journal, 17Feb1887, p2.


Rowan County Court Records.

Hazel Green Herald, 9Mar1887, p1.

Ibid. Abel Caudill and Claude Clayton were co-founders of the People's Bank of Morehead.


Louisville Courier Journal, 15Mar1887, p5; 16Mar1887, p1; Hazel Green Herald, 23Mar1887, p4. The Majority and Minority Report and Testimony Taken by the Rowan County Investigating Committee, p197, 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 got shot in the head.

Hazel Green Herald, 30Mar1887, p4.

Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p1. Caudill was killed by John Arnold at Hoggtown in 1885. Why, how and exactly when I did not discover.

Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p1.

Louisville Courier Journal, 1May1887, p2.

Hazel Green Herald 15Jun1887, p1. Louisville Courier 23Jun1887, p1, claimed Tolliver announced for police judge in March- and all other candidates withdrew.

Rowan County Court Records.

Hazel Green Herald, 25May1887, p1.

Craig B., Burton Craig, B.C. Tolliver were all the same. See Rowan County Court Records.

June 1887

Henry Logan's Sons Killed - The Rameys Outrun Death

A Terrible Vengeance

Hiram Cooper was an individual of limited popularity. He was reputed to have committed a series of small crimes, petty theft and the
like, and to be a person 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. Upon an affidavit sworn out by Cooper, five men—W.H.W. Logan, Jackson Logan, Coon Logan, John Pigman and Nathan Fowels (Foweler?)—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 and sons of Dr. Henry Logan.

The posse was under the leadership of Morehead marshall John Mannin. H.M. Logan later stated 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.

The Logan house stood about three miles from Morehead in the vicinity of Bratton Branch. The posse arrived in the afternoon, finding the Logan boys driving in the horses. Upon learning their intentions, the Logans ran into the house and sought refuge on the second floor. They turned a deaf ear to pleas for their surrender. Marshall Mannin started in after them. Just as he reached the foot of the stairway the roar of a shotgun greeted him. He staggered back, badly wounded in the left arm and shoulder.

The posse shot the windows out of the house, then came to the conclusion that the safest and easiest course would be to torch the place. The Logans were offered a choice—surrender or roast. Under a promise of protection, they chose the former. They were disarmed, marched about forty yards to a nearby spring, and "shot down like dogs".

The posse returned to town, leaving their adversaries stiffening under the open sky. Back in Morehead, Bud Tolliver told Hiram Pigman of the shooting and requested that he care for the bodies. 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.

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

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.

Like Henry Clay Powers, many other Morehead citizens had relocated elsewhere rather than be caught in the maelstrom of the Feud. The Tolliver faction was in full control of the little town- and they did not mind to use their power. But the killings of the Logans were the final straw. Everyone expected a reaction- the rumors in the press were rampant.

On June Twenty-third the news from Maysville 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.

The Louisville paper of the day before 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.

Commercial endeavor in Morehead was at a standstill. The 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. The Regulators had threatened to destroy the town and kill all who opposed them. Craig replied that a thousand men might take Morehead- but only with difficulty and much loss of life.

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

Logan's politics were Democratic. He was once, as has been indicated on the previous pages, a close friend to Taylor and Allie Young. He stayed on the Feud's fringes until this time. The events of the last few weeks had brought him to the fore.

The killings of his cousins were not all that had caused a shift in Logan's views. Threats against his family by Craig Tolliver; threats against his home and his person- all had forced Logan into the ranks of the opposition.
After the deaths of his cousins, Logan and Hiram Pigman, who also had incurred the Tollivers' disfavor, shook hands and vowed to bring their oppressors before the bar of justice. Logan slipped out of Morehead and traveled to Frankfort to talk with Governor Knott.

Knott listened sympathetically as Logan poured out his 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 were in terror of these lawless men, Logan said, and afraid to overtly oppose them.

The Governor refused to send the militia into Rowan again. Twice before they had been assigned there, Knott reminded Logan, at a cost to the state of $100,000.00. Their presence had done nothing but protect the court in conduct of trials that were travesties of justice.

Knott advised Logan to obtain warrants for the Tollivers' arrests from the sheriff and county judge and 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. There he spent a small fortune on Winchester rifles. These were shipped to his home in cases marked hardware.18

Logan and Pigman secured the assistance and cooperation of Sheriff Squire Hogg.19 Rowan and the surrounding counties were systematically and quietly canvassed. A posse was recruited20 and a time and a date for the arrests was set—Wednesday, June 22nd, at 10 a.m.

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 on various charges. The wanted list included Craig, Jay, Bud, Andy and Cal Tolliver; Boone, Bill and Tom Day; Sam Goodin, Hiram Cooper, John Rogers, Burke Manning, Jim Manning, Allie Young and Z.T. Young, Jr.—Allie's younger brother. Sheriff Hogg held the warrants.21

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

During the night and early morning the posse gathered on the outskirts of town. 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 the 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. The Tollivers began to feel the lightning 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.

One of the posse, a man named Bryant, was spotted by vigilant Tolliverites while going across 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.

From behind stumps, trees, bushes, house corners, piles of ties, the regulators sprang up and leveled a collective blast at the Tolliver attackers. "The earth seemed to swarm with armed men"; 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.

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
party 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. Cal inflicted a serious wound on Bud Maddon, 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.

The Tollivers gained the Central Hotel but soon came to realize that it, too, was undefendable against so much firepower. Boone Logan demanded their surrender; promising protection if they laid down their arms. The Tollivers did not trust Logan—they refused. Logan sent Mrs. Jim Mannin in to talk to her husband and the others. She returned crying—the Tolliver party still refused to lay down arms. Logan warned them that he would set fire to the hotel.

Hiram Cooper, shooting at posse members in the court house square with a large revolver, was shot in the breast. The rest of the Tolliver party determined to try to break thru the attackers’ lines to the safety of the hills. Close observation revealed that the posse was all bareheaded. The Tollivers shed their headgear and emerged from cover into the street. They had gone 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 Wesson 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.

Nimble wits and nimbler heels enabled some of the Tolliver party to escape. But there was to be no eluding death for Craig Tolliver, who was a known and marked man. According to an 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 by another piece of lead 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 Craig. He was twice shot thru the head.
Cayt Tolliver, a mere lad of fourteen years, got to Craig first, retrieving his watch and pocketbook. Cayt 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.  

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

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

Andy Tolliver was three times wounded but managed to escape to Morgan County and safety.

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 Tippett house, peacock feathers gayly waving in the hot June breeze.

Inside the Tippett home Mrs. Hattie Jones' class of school children crouched terrified on the stairway while the guns cracked outside the walls.

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 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.

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.

The rest of the wanted parties scattered like dust to the four winds. Marshall Manning and his brother crossed the river at Ashland, probably 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, continued, as a party of thirty men scoured Farmers on the Twenty-third for John Rogers, Tom Allen Day and F.M. Tolliver.

The west-bound passenger train, which had been detained for more than two hours on the outskirts of town 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 of town. What they found were houses riddled with bullets, 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..."

At three p.m. a mass meeting was called at the court house. 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."

The posse went from saloon to saloon, pouring out the liquor in Morehead. The bodies of the Tollivers were taken charge of, washed and dressed. Coffins were ordered from Lexington. Marion Tolliver arrived from Farmers to supervise the burial of his kin. While his mother Eleanor grieved the loss of Craig, Marion talked quietly to the reporters about the Feud and about Hugh's death, so many years before. It was Marion's hope the violence would be over now.

Was it over? Had the heart 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". But on the night of June Twenty-second, at Wyatt in Elliott County, the bereaved Tolliver women returned from Morehead to cook a meal for one hundred men. Talt Hall had gathered a band
of Floyd County reinforcements to come to Craig's aid. Arriving the night of the Twenty-first and camping in Elliott County, they were one day late. Now they headed south again.56

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 men arrived at two a.m. the morning of June Twenty-third. Cooper was interred in the Purvis Cemetery on Big Brushy. The Tollivers were buried in a family cemetery on a hillside behind Jacob Finley Tolliver's home at Wyatt.

1 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, pl.
2 Alfred E. "Coon" Logan was Daniel Boone Logan's brother. W.H.W. Logan had run against James W. Johnson in the August 1886 circuit court clerk's election. See Majority and Minority Report, p453.
3 MSU Archives file, p15.
5 The Logan family cemetery lies on the banks of the North Fork of Triplett Creek close to Bratton Branch. One of the tributaries of Bratton Branch is called Logan Branch.
6 Hazel Green Herald, 15Jun1887, pl. MSU Archives file, p15; Louisville Courier Journal, 9Jun1887, p2 both state the Logans were in the house when the posse arrived. Courier Journal also mentions an old lady at the house. The Archive file says John Logan fired the shot that wounded Mannin.
7 MSU Archives file, p16. This was the eyewitness account of Harry Clark. Hazel Green Herald, 15Jun1887, pl says the Logans attempted to escape from the house. Frenchburg Advertiser, 4Jul1887, p2 gives both versions.
8 One must remember the boys' father was still in a Lexington jail; their uncle H.M. Logan had relocated in Ashland.
9 MSU Archives file, p16 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, pl 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.
10 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, pl.
11 Frenchburg Advertiser, 4Jul1887, p2. Logan family information lists Alfred E. "Coon" Logan as the man behind the Winchester.
12 Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, pl; Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, Chas. G. Mutzenberg, p157. Howard W. Logan moved to Ashland; H.C. Powers and Judge James Carey to Covington; James
E. Clark to Unionville, Clark County, Missouri; Richmond Tussey to Carter County; R.C. Humphrey to Missouri; J.M. Brain and Matt Carey to Covington.

13 Louisville Courier Journal, 23Jun1887, p1 "...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, Chas. G. Mutzenberg, p154-155 states that Craig Tolliver sent written notices to those citizens 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, p276 gives Boone Logan testifying that no written threats were received by him.


15 If there was any truth in this it seems strange that the Tolliver party on the day of the battle should number less than a dozen.

16 The author has tried to maintain, as much as the material uncovered would allow, a neutral and unbiased position. The articles written immediately after the final battle are, understandably, almost totally from the anti-Tolliver viewpoint. The reader should be advised of this and proceed accordingly.

17 Cincinnati Enquirer, picked up by the Atlanta Evening Journal, 24Jun1887 and the Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, pl.

18 Ibid.

19 Majority and Minority Report, p500-501, Sheriff Hogg says he summoned no posse, only told Logan he would go to town the next morning and see if the Tollivers would surrender. Hogg was detained outside of town by armed men until after the Tollivers were killed.

20 The number of individuals in the posse is open to some dispute– Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p1, 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, p3 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, p24 states Boone Logan testified on the stand that there were fifty to sixty men in the final battle.


22 Majority and Minority Report, p275. Logan states his part of the posse gathered at Gates Station the night before.


25 Kentucky's Famous Feuds and Tragedies, Chas. G. Mutzenberg, p174, lists name as William Bryant. Hazel Green Herald, 6Jul1887, p1, Boone Logan says Craig Tolliver fired the first shot at Bryant near the stock pen south of the depot.

26 Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p1.
27 Ibid.

28 Louisville Courier Journal, 23 Jun 1887, p1, reports Hogg asked Tolliver to surrender and he refused. The next day's issue, p1, makes no mention of this—in the present author's opinion the action started before Hogg had a chance to speak with Tolliver.


30 Atlanta Evening Journal, 24 Jun 1887.

31 Winchester Democrat, 29 Jun 1887, p3. Pelfrey family information says Cal was hidden under Tom Gooden's house on Porter Creek where they fed him through the cracks in the floor.

32 Atlanta Evening Journal, 24 Jun 1887, 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.

33 Hazel Green herald, 6 Jul 1887, p1.

34 Ibid.


37 Hazel Green Herald, 6 Jul 1887, p1.


39 Louisville Courier Journal, 24 Jun 1887, p1; Majority and Minority Report, p358.

40 Hazel Green Herald, 6 Jul 1887, p1.


42 Rowan County News, 16 May 1956, p10—article by Leora B. (Tippett) Hurt.


44 Atlanta Evening Journal, 24 Jun 1887.

45 Ibid.

46 Louisville Courier Journal, 25 Jun 1887, p2. Tolliver should not have been hard to find, as he was in Morehead the evening after the shoot out.


48 Winchester Democrat, 29 Jun 1887, p3.

49 Atlanta Evening Journal, 24 Jun 1887.
The Afterward

"Who will raise Cain in Rowan County now?" inquired the Columbus, Ohio, Daily Dispatch. "Craig Tolliver's ghost, if it is Abel". The events of June Twenty-second brought national, even international, attention to focus on Rowan's troubles. But the factional strife and disharmony did not end with the death of Craig Tolliver. There was yet too much dust in the air.

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 possee that killed the Logans.

William and Henry Ramey were given some very basic choices. They choose to relocate in Wisconsin, and left on the noon train.

John Rogers was arrested June Twenty-sixth in Mt. Sterling. Both he 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.

Town was still 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.7

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. Unlike the guard selected in February, this one had a decidedly pro-Martin slant.8

The Citizens Protective Association met. There were speeches and a collection was taken up for Dolph Madden that totaled $20.00.9

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

On the Twenty-ninth Craig's liquor license was suspended upon evidence presented by A. Perry and Taylor Mockabee. Sheriff Squire Hogg, in one of the Feud's many twists of irony, was ordered to obtain extra surety on his bonds since Bud Tolliver was dead.10

Outside Rowan's borders the death of Craig Tolliver met with near universal approval. Some papers were almost 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".11

Z.T. Young, justifiably of the belief that some parties in Morehead had other than good wishes in mind for him, bought one hundred rifles and raised a guard of men from Elliott, Morgan, Bath, Nicholas, Montgomery, Bourbon and Rowan Counties12 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.13

Sheriff Hogg had telegraphed for troops. Acting Governor Hindman responded by sending Secretary of State McKenize to investigate the situation.14 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 said there were over fourteen hundred dollars worth of rifles hidden nearby.
He denied wishing any bloodshed, but said he was determined to protect his family. 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—on the Eighth Harris was remanded to the Montgomery County jail.

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.

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 without arms.

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 cache originally purchased by Z.T. Young.

The Twelfth 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.

The morning they were indicted Ap Perry and Pigman took advantage of the east bound C & O and escaped to Virginia. They were later recaptured in West Virginia.

Willis Perry had refused to surrender. As the militia had no authority outside of 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 for Hogg to arm said posse with. McPherson refused to do this, saying his orders were not to release these arms except by command of the Governor.

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

A special term of circuit court was held beginning August Six-
teenth. Allie Young, Taylor Young, Sr. and Green Mannin were found not guilty of conspiring to kill Howard Logan. 24 John Keeton, accused of being the man who shot Logan, swore the Youngs had attempted to recruit him to do the deed. When he declined John Trumbo was enlisted in his stead. 25 Keeton swore Judge Cole off the bench, claiming he could not receive justice with him presiding. 26

The trial of Hiram Pigman and Ap Perry began on August Twenty-fourth. They were returned to Morehead from their Huntington, W.Va., incarceration. Taylor Young was a 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 they returned Perry and Pigman were acquitted of the charges of willful murder brought against them for their participation in the June Twenty-second shoot out. 27 Pigman, stoic throughout the trial, broke down and wept. 28

On the Second of September Moses Little and John Trumbo were found not guilty of the charges brought against them. 29

Two days later the troops departed Morehead for the third and last time. All of the rifles and other arms ordered confiscated by Judge Cole were returned before their departure— with the exception of the case of rifles belonging to Z. Taylor Young. These were taken to Frankfort by order of Governor Knott. An order for their delivery to the sheriff and deputy in Mt. Sterling, made out at Young's and Dr. Jerry Wilson's insistence by the Montgomery Circuit Court, was ignored. 30

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. 31

In February 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 warmest sympathy with crime and criminals". 32

The state officials were fed up. Justice seemed impossible to mete out in Rowan County. Despite the presence thrice of the militia, at a total cost of nearly $150,000.00, not a single major conviction came out
of Rowan's courts. A movement arose in the legislature to dissolve the county and throw the pieces to Fleming and Morgan, from whence they had come.

Perhaps this threat, more than all the mayhem gone before, had a sobering effect upon 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 has been riot and disorder". Slowly, like a cancerous growth severed from its source of nourishment, the Rowan County War came to an end.

1 Louisville Courier Journal, 27Jun1887, p5.

2 The London Times picked up the story. Louisville Courier Journal, 2Aug1887, p2: 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.

3 Louisville Courier Journal, 24Jun1887, p1; 25Jun1887, p2.


6 Ibid, 23Jun1887, p1; 28Jun1887, p1.

7 Hazel Green Herald, 5Aug1887, p8.

8 Rowan County Court Records. Men listed 20Jul1887. See Section II.

9 Louisville Courier Journal, 30Jun1887, p1.

10 Rowan County Court Records. Note that D.B. Logan stated Craig Tolliver ran an unlicensed saloon. Apparently he obtained the license he sought June 6.


12 Majority and Minority Report, p458.

13 Hazel Green Herald, 5Aug1887, p5.

14 Hazel Green Herald, 29Jun1887, p1.

I.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records. Louisville Courier Journal, 5Aug1887, p1 contains an article stating Boone Logan and Taylor Young got into a war of words in the court room that nearly ended in mass slaughter when pistols were drawn by partisans on both sides. The article further makes mention of an incident on Dry Creek where two men—John Taylor and John Vance—were wounded and one—Elliott Martin—was killed. Louisville Courier Journal, 6Aug1887, p5 states Martin not killed. Majority and Minority Report, p402 states that the supposed "war of words" amounted to no more than a brief exchange. Judge Cole told Logan and Young that it was a hot day, keep cool.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records.


Majority and Minority Report, p419-422; Louisville Courier Journal 12Aug1887, p5.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records.

Majority and Minority Report, p534.

MSU Archives file, p20.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 13Oct1887.

Hazel Green Herald, 26Aug1887, p5.


MSU Archives file, p20.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 31Aug1887.

Hazel Green Herald, 9Sept1887, p1.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 2Sept1887.

Hazel Green Herald, 9Sept1887, p1.

Rowan County Circuit Court Records, 2Nov1887.

Majority and Minority Report, p6.

Ibid, p91. Farmers was a town of 600-700 people.

MSU Archives file, p28.

Notes on Research

Sometimes what is not found proves of as much interest as what is. We did not find: 1. Tombstones for Col. John Hargis, Ben Rayburn, Stewart Bumgardner, Stewart Caudill, John Marlough or Gibson Hughes. We have been
told that Hughes was buried in a family cemetery, since plowed under, on
Holly Fork at the mouth of Burton Branch on a little flat on the right just
below the pipeline. Hughes was killed on Holly Fork near where the Triplett
P.O. later stood.

2. Rowan County Deed Book A, p391, mentions Morehead Town platts.
   No City of Morehead records prior to 1900 were located.

3. Rowan County Will Book No. 1 lists the following names, all of
   which have a line drawn thru them and none of which have a will listed:
   Squire Hogg, Z.T. Young, Mary E. Tolliver, Amanda Tolliver, Mary D. Tolliver,
   and W.W. Tolliver.

4. As of 1984, the libraries at Mt. Sterling, Owingsville and West
   Liberty had no local papers covering the feud period on file.

Discovered too late to be included in the text or footnotes were:
1. Majority and Minority Report, p460: a witness testifies that John Day
   confessed to killing Bradley about a week before Day was killed. 2. Louis-
   ville Courier Journal 25Jun1887, p2: expert witness Dr. J.P. Barnum says
   the turkey Vina Martin sold to the Raine Hotel was poisoned with a hypo-
   dermic of strychnine after it was cooked. Mrs. Martin did not cook the
   turkey. The same reference lists posse members who arrested the Logan boys
   as John and Burk Mannin, Craig, J.B. and James Tolliver, Th. A. Day, Hiram
   Cooper and Z.T. Young, Jr.

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   vestigating Committee, made to the General Assembly of Kentucky, March
   16th, 1888, printed by John Woods, Public Printer and Binder, Frank-
  fort, Ky. 1888.
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