

The salt works employed the biggest part of the non-farm workers along Goose Creek. James White had a labor force of 148 men but only a part of them were slaves. Needing more workers in 1835 James White sought permission from the State to import more slaves but the State turned him down. In 1833 the State of Kentucky had passed a law forbidding the importation of slaves into the state. It was still possible to sell slaves out of the state.

The Whites and Garrards and other salt makers were said by all the old timers to have been large slave-owners but the records do not bear that out. When Daniel Garrard died he left 25 slaves in his will. Hugh White had five slaves in 1810 and a few more later on. John Bates had five slaves and twenty-one horses when he was killed. These were not large numbers of slaves compared to slave owners in other parts of the state and the nation.

Records concerning slaves are few and far between. The Clay County slave Birth Records mentions those of James White a number of times:

12 Nov. 1858 boy child at the house of James White of Clay Co child of slaves and belonged to J White on Goose Creek, named Morrison.

23 June 1858- boy child at the house of James White of Clay Co child of slaves and belongs to J White on Goose Creek, named Allen White

11 Oct 1858 house of James White of Clay Co, Ky a child named Elizabeth

18 Oct house of James White of Clay Co, Ky a child named Oliver.

The Death Records of Clay County show a number of slaves named White:

Malenda White, age 28 a cook, Rosena White, mulatto, a house keeper, four year old Lneen (sic) White and Jane White, four day old mulatto all died of typhus in April and May of 1860. The relationship of those who died was not given.

The following August one year old Susan Black died with the Death Record stating the cause of death resulted from "Dirt eating, gravel scurvy, general debility (sic). poisoned by insects." It is unclear if this child died from abuse or neglect but it does raise the question of how slaves were treated. Slave owners always maintained they took good care of their "charges." Death Records in Clay County do show white children who died as being listed as being "Dirt eaters."

People who are starving to death have been known to eat bark, leaves, grass and dirt. However people not starving but having severe physiological problems have been known to eat dirt and other unappetizing debris.

The bulk of the slaves in Clay County worked at the salt works or on large farms. A small

number of slaves served as cook or housekeepers. Sophia Word was a household servant for the Dr. William Reid's. Sophia had been born in 1837 and would be in bondage for nineteen years and nine months before gaining her freedom. She said her grandmother had been born in Africa and her mother had married a Bates.

Among the auction sale bills of 1847 I found an "Ephram Bates of Color". Free Blacks were often listed as being men of color; I've found some of my ancestors, who were Free men, listed that way. So perhaps he was free. He had bought a plow for one dollar. Ephram may or may not have been Sophia's father.

Describing how household slaves were dressed Sophia told, "Our clothes wuz made from cotton and Lindsey. Cotton wuz used in the summer and Lindsey for winter. Sometimes our clothes wuz yellow checked and most time red. Our stockings was made of coarse yarn fer winter to wear with coarse shoes. We had high topped shoes for Sunday"

She would say that she had never belonged "to a mean set of people." She seemed awful proud of the fact that "the white folks said I was the meanest N----- that ever was." She then detailed how the white folks may have felt that way about her.

Once; when her "Mistress Lyndia (Lydia Reid) called for her to come into the house Sophia refused and her mistresses drug her into the house. The angry Sophia said "Then I grabs that white woman when she turns her back, and shook her until she begs for mercy. When the master comes in, I wuz given a terrible beating with a whip but I didn't care for I give the mistress a good'n too."

She told of hundreds of guests coming to the Reid home after she had spent a week baking pies. "I've seen whole pigs roasted before an open fireplace and when it was done would put an apple in its mouth."

The slaves never went hungry for she said at night they would slip out of the one window, one room cabin they lived in behind the 'Big House' while the white family was asleep and get food to eat.

She said her mistress had a parrot that she just loved. One day as Sophia was baking cookies she put some on a chair that she wanted to eat later. Hearing the mistress coming she threw a cushion over the cookies. The parrot cried out "Mistress burn, Mistress burn." Alerted by the parrot the suspicious mistress lifted the cushion and saw the cookies "and she had me whupped but the next day I killed the parrot, and she often wondered who or what had killed the bird."

The salt works had dwindled down to just operating wells by 1860. Verhoff said they produced 84,760 bushels of salt valued at \$21,190. The invested capital was \$40,000 and "fifty-nine employees" received \$9,578 in wages. That was the last year of peace before the Civil War.

The Southern States seceded from the Union one after another but Kentucky attempted to maintain neutrality and would in time come down on the side of the Union. A Judge Dickerson said, "At the beginning of the war there were only three Union men in Clay County. Others were for neutrality. General Garrard retained his office as Senator while in the service. He was a firm Union man all through." At the end of the war Mrs. Dickerson said she heard "T.T. Garrard say he would not have joined the (Union) Army had he known the war would have resulting (sic) in the freeing of the slaves."

The two largest slave owner families in Clay County fought for the Union; as the majority of men in Clay County did. The White's took part in the war but it was T.T. Garrard who rose to the rank of general. With his Mexican War experience Colonel Theophilus T. Garrard was selected to form one of the first Union Army units in the state. This unit was first designated the 3rd Kentucky Infantry and then became the 7th Kentucky Infantry.

The 7th Ky. Inf. was moved to Wildcat Mountain on the Wilderness Road not far from Clay County in 1861. They were expected to block any Confederate attempt to invade Kentucky via the Cumberland Gap. I am writing a book of The Civil War on the Wilderness Road and I will provide more details on Wildcat Mountain and other major actions in Clay County. I will briefly touch on the Civil War in this account.

As he sat on Wildcat Mountain General Garrard worried that the Confederates might damage his salt works. Garrard's wife sent a "faithful" slave to tell him that the salt works was undamaged.

The Confederate General Felix Zollicoffer had left his six motherless daughters back in Tennessee and led a small army to Wildcat Mountain. The Union troops held the high ground and after a brief skirmish the Southern men were beaten off and they scrambled back down the Wilderness Road. The Southern boys knew that most of the farms they passed belonged to Union sympathizers and they took their frustration out on the people of the area. The Rebels shot cows, in many cases just leaving the cows to rot in the fields, tore down fences, cut down corn fields, and destroyed everything they could reach.

The Rebels would later reenter Kentucky near Somerset and General Zollicoffer's war ended when he was shot and killed at the Battle of Mill Springs. Boston Bob Baker was in Co. C 47th Mounted Infantry, recruited from Clay County and fought at Mill Springs. When he returned to Clay County Boston Bob was said to have waved his gun over his head and shouted, "I killed Zollie. I killed Zollie."

The 7th Kentucky would serve throughout the war and in many far flung places. 1,169 men had been mustered in and only 361 mustered out. 170 men transferred out, 76 had deserted, 189 were discharged, 27 were killed in battle, 111 were not accounted for, and 235 died of disease. A monument was erected at Vicksburg to honor the 7th's service there. I saw the monument the

year it was erected. The monument is actually a statue of General Garrard.

In 1862 the Confederates launched a major invasion into Kentucky and the Union troops defending the Cumberland Gap had to make a hasty retreat to escape capture. The commanding officer, General George Morgan couldn't lead his Union troops back over the Wilderness Road so he took the old Indian trail that passed through Clay County. The starving troops snatched corn from the fields, paw-paws from the trees, cut and baked pumpkins, picked nuts up off the ground, and dug up edible roots.

The troops came down Goose Creek like a swarm of locusts devouring every edible thing they could lay their hands on. The troops stayed a day and a half as Garrard and White gristmills made flour for them. Sophia Word witnessed several armies pass through Manchester. "I've seen ten thousand of the Union soldiers and a great many of the Rebels soldiers. The Rebel soldiers would take everything they could get their hands on but I never did know of the Union soldiers taking anything. The Rebel's stole my master's cows and horses and we would have to hide the meat in a box and hide it in the ground."

The memory of the Rebel's thieving ways has lasted until the modern day. A Union General Morgan passed through the mountains as did a Confederate General Morgan. General John Hunt Morgan's Rebel soldiers are to this day blamed for thefts of crops and livestock; that might have been committed by the Union General Morgan's troops. The Union boys would have laughed at that.

Throughout the mountains gangs of desperate men ravaged the countryside during course of the war. A David Yancy Lyttle would claim that "During the war Clay County was remarkably exempt from depredations of marauding bands." There may have been fewer depredations in Clay County but it wasn't free of troubles. James Buchanan Rippee was 10 years old when his father was murdered by bushwackers while he stood near his door. A Mrs. McDaniels said some Federal soldiers drove up and asked her father, who had been eating his dinner, what side he was on, and upon saying the Confederate side, they took him outside and "shot him with a gun in his own yard."

"In the summer of 1864" says Judge Dickerson "salt was selling at \$1.50 a bushel. A military order was made forbidding salt going through the Cumberland Gap. This killed the trade. The Rebels had captured two little loads in East Tennessee. At that time all the goods brought from here were hauled from Richmond or Lexington. Wagons going for goods would take salt."

Union authorities felt the Rebels might once again invade Clay County and take over the salt works, which came to be called 'The Union Salt Works', to supply the needs of the Southern Army. The Union Army came and destroyed the salt works. This will be detailed in a later book.

In the years after the war ex-Rebel soldiers chose the Democratic Party to champion their cause while ex-Union soldiers chose the Republican Party. Strangely the ex-Union General Garrard chose to become a Democrat. The White family, who had also served the Union, chose to become Republican. The two families would fight for political control of Clay County.

The embittered General Garrard felt he had been badly used by the Union. He felt that he had been blocked from higher command because he owned slaves. He felt the Emancipation of the Slaves had been wrong and had opposed it during the war. He fought against the freeing of Kentucky's slaves but lost his slaves. He was convinced that the total destruction of his salt works while the salt wells of the White's had only had a cannon ball dropped down them was because the Union favored the White's over himself. He came to hate the White's and in the mountains hatred held to violence.

A few of the salt works were restored and Verhoff said, "In 1870 there were four establishments with a product valued at \$20, 920 (83,680 bushels), an investment capital of \$16,500 and forty employees receiving \$10,070." Jumping ahead Verhoff wrote that in 1885 there were but two salt works, "which together produced two thousand bushels."

Jumping further ahead it's said that the Garrard Salt Works did not close until either 1908 or 1917. Verhoff said "It is of interest as the last representative of an extinct industry. The furnace consists of two rows of kettles under a rough shed, was typical of the improved works of the early nineteenth century. The water was pumped from the well by a wheel turned by a diminutive mule."

There was sporadic violence after the war but I've been unable to determine if it was connected to the Garrard-White troubles. In many cases many of the clashes were fought by gunmen supporting one side or the other. The Bakers, and their allies, fought for the Garrards and the Howards, and their allies, fought for the Whites. In some clashes I've been unable to tell which family they were fighting for.

One of the first serious flare-ups occurred in the late 1880's. Elections were serious matters in the mountains as both sides sought to put their candidates in office so they could control the county and provide jobs for their backers. James Burns was a young eighteen year old, who would later play an outsized role in the mountains, when he took part in a shooting. He told of witnessing "a deadly flare-up which caused another revival of the feud."

"I shall never forget the first feud battle which I which I witnessed. It was Election Day. The feud leaders were extremely busy, keeping certain angry men apart, keeping them from discussing politics or drinking whiskey. I never saw more earnest effort. Two small crowds of vengeful men were crossing the road in opposite directions, and about thirty feet apart as they crossed. A lad, about sixteen, in one of the crowds, suddenly drew a pistol and fired a shot into the ground. Instantly there was a flash of weapons, a deafening roar, and three men were

lifeless on the ground while several more were wounded.”

“The lad had caught sight of the man who, years before, had slain his father. He fired the shot into the ground as a challenge to battle. He was seeking an opportunity to fire the other shot for which he had been training all his life. His opportunity came and he fired the shot with deadly precision. An old score was wiped out, but many new scores took its place. A feud was resumed which raged for years and in which a hundred and fifty men lost their life’s.”

While the shootings were done by men women could be the driving force behind many of the revenge killings. Burns told of visiting a widowed relative some time before who, “In words of burning eloquence she told me the heart-rending story of her husband’s death. Then she went to the old bureau, took a homespun coat, pointed to the bullet holes, and dark stains and said, ‘This is the coat he wore that day.’

“A bright manly boy of twelve stood by and watched his mother’s tears mingle with blood stains on his dead father’s coat. His chest heaved. His eyes flashed forth the unmistakable battle light.”

“It was easy to understand. It was so primitive, so simple, so sincere. That boy’s one purpose in life was to avenge that blood and those tears. This mother, unintentionally, perhaps, had made a feudist of her boy.”

The two stories may have referred to separate boys or just one. In neither case did Burns name the boy/boys. However he later told of John Baker. “The record shows---John saw his father, Garrard Baker, shot and killed by a man named Wilson at the Coldiron Store near Collins Fork. At the time, John swore he would avenge his father’s death; not only did he kill Wilson, but the home of Wilson’s widow was later burned and she felt obliged to leave the county. Both John and Bad Tom Baker were suspected but not arrested.”

Homes were burned, stores were burned, and men were shot without consequence. If brought to court witnesses were afraid to testify and juries could be bribed. Even if convicted few men served long sentences. Many of Kentucky’s Governors could be bribed to issue a Pardon. One Governor was called, “Pardoning John.”

There isn’t space to write of all the shootings so I’ll tell of some of the more dreadful. It is extremely difficult to sort the killings out as the following article written by a unknown author in the 1890’s will show. “Feud battles were Rampant in Clay County in the 1890’s”:

“Hugh Griffin and Aaron Morris were laid in the same grave. Harvey Griffin was placed beside them. It began in the Pigeon Roost fight, in which the Philpots and Fishers were engaged with a number of alleged followers of Morris. On election Day, L.B. Philpot was killed, and a young man named Nicholson, a clerk in the pension department at Washington, who had come home to vote, had a leg shot off. George Cole, who last year killed Marshal Roach at Barboursville, Knox

County, and is now a fugitive from justice, was riddled with bullets. Several others were wounded. Sam Philpot, who figured prominently in that fight, was wounded in the battle of San Juan Hill."

The next fight had, "One of the Stuarts and Maj. Jack Downey, of the Chadwell-Stuart force were killed. The Stuarts are alleged allies of the Chadwells and Griffins in the present feud. Joe Nance and John Bowling were sent to the penitentiary on account of their participation in this battle, but were after pardoned."

"The next engagement was" was "when Tim Philpot, Ed Fisher, and others on one side were engaged by the Chadwells and George Thompson on the other. Thompson was killed, and both Tim Philpot and Ed Fisher were indicated and tried, but they were acquitted."

"One other fierce but short battle occurred at Dripping Springs, Clay County,, in which Davis, Hugh, and Joe Bowling lost their lives at the hands of the Hamptons, who are now in the Morris-Griffin ranks, others were wounded."

"The next battle was fought on Horse Creek, at a saloon, a year ago. In this fight, James Crow Philpot shot and killed William Bundy, and was in turn killed by Aaron Morris, Bundy's son-in-law. Morris was sentenced for 21 years, but on a new trial was acquitted."

"It is charged that the White's, of the Howard=Baker feud, assisted him."

"As a result of this battle four men, Hugh Griffin, Aaron Morris, Harvey Griffin, of the Morris side and Ed Fisher of the Philpot faction have been buried. Two others will probably die."

I have yet to figure out how Aaron Morris could be sentenced to 21 years; receive a new trial, be acquitted and yet be among the four men said to have been buried in that fight.

It is very confusing but using several sources I will attempt to tell of the wars, troubles and feuds. I'll start with Darrell Richardson telling of the violence to come. "The Counties of Knox, Leslie, Harlan, Letcher, Laurel and Clay is where the vendetta flourished like a green bay tree, and death stalks abroad at noonday like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour."

"The Howards, Bakers, Whites, Garrards, and Philpots are names well known to newspaper readers throughout the Union, by for their acts, have brought to this mountain country a name which inspires dread and fear."

In 1897 General T.T. Garrard called together his clan, including the Bakers, the McCulloms, the Webb and various other families who were on his side." The other families included the "Philpots who were thicker than blackberries---while the Howards, Griffens and the Halls held to their cleavage to the Whites.---It was about this time that the Clay County feuds became rather generally known as 'The Baker-Howard Feud."

The writer Harold Wilson Coates pointed out that the Whites and the Garrards were the driving force behind the violence. But "with the two main authors in the background, the feud did not take name from either the Garrards or the Whites, but as it grew and continued to grow, it was referred to as the Baker-Howard feud."

Before getting into the violence I will try setting the background in which the violence occurred. The 'Mountain Echo' newspaper wrote several articles on Manchester. "Manchester on the Hill consists of a few inhabitants. This location is a high beautiful tableland, nearly level on top, and seems to be the base of an ancient mound standing disconnected from the neighboring hills around.---Goose Creek slowly winds its way in a circle around Manchester Hill, and from the numerous bends of the river after it passes the town it waters seem puzzled to find their way out."

There was a "Manchester on the Hill, Manchester on the Side of the Hill, and Manchester Under the Hill." Manchester on the Hill "has one street---the people call it Main Street---on this street is a public square, court house, jail, clerk's offices, etc, all of ancient appearance. There is room on Manchester Hill to make more than one street, if the land holders would permit them to be made---The main business part of the town is embraced in Manchester Under the Hill. Here they sell their goods, wares and merchandise, and often the weary traveler seeks to find rest but he never finds it. Bar rooms and groceries are both open day and night."

The Reverend Dickey's expansive diary contained many complaints or the town's rowdiness. "Most of the nights since I have been (here) made hideous by the yells of drunken men and the noise of their revolvers. Some night's shots have been fired---. Drunken men are now seen on the streets daily and along the highway leading into town." Rev. Dickey blamed the lack of respect for the law and the violence on the drinking of whiskey. He would say "The Garrards and Whites were drunk all the time."

The writer Israel Howard Jr. said he was "convinced that the Rev Dickey was hung up on drinking and dancing and to my knowledge never offered a solution to either." Howard said that the Rev. Dickey continuously expressed his neutrality between the Whites and Garrards, "but his actions speak louder than his words. He always made his home at the Lucas House when he was in Manchester. The same hotel the Garrards, Bakers, and their allies catered to. Where whiskey flowed like Goose Creek. Why didn't he stay at Calvin Coldiron's new hotel, just across the stret (from the Lucas Hotel)?" Israel Howard pointed out that Coldiron's wife had been a Howard (the White faction) and pointed out, "Calvin Coldrion did not serve whiskey or allow it to be consumed on his premises. Doesn't that seem more of a suitable and logical place for a circuit riding evangelist to lodge?"

The Mountain Echo said, "Manchester on the Side of the Hill contains some of the abodes of the prominent citizens of the town" and "here is situated some very neat family residences, inhabited by some of the elite of the town, and in this part of town, taken in connection with

with parts of the adjoining country around, are to be found some of the prettiest ladies."

The Mountain Echo's reporter of a "Hop" or dance held at the Gibson House during Court Week and ended by saying "Manchester then can truthfully boast of it's pretty girls if it may boast of nothing else."

The Rev. Dickey echoed much of what the paper said about the people and the pretty girls in the county. "I have been observing the people in this county and have been much pleased with what I seen. They are the best looking people I have seen in the mountains. I am disposed to optimism but surely I can not be mistaken about the appearance of the people. There are many fine looking well dressed men attending court. They ride good horses---many of them fine saddle horses. They have more large mules here than any other place I have seen even in the Blue Grass. I have been amazed at these things."

He was both amazed and upset by what he saw. As a Methodist preacher he was 'Four Square' against drinking and dancing. He wrote, "The people of Manchester are the danciest (sic) people that I have ever seen. If it was given that Saturday would be the Judgment Day they would give a dance for Friday night and they would dance, dance, dance. ---dancing is the religion of this county about a hundred years. The best people of this county have always danced or patronized dancing. What is the result? One of the wicked (sic) counties in the state."

By the later 1800s conditions were changing in the mountains in many ways. Once their preachers drank and danced but a new interpretation of the Bible was being preached as to how church people should conduct themselves. At weddings it had been the tradition that the preacher conducting the wedding ceremony would be the first to "call" out the movements for the square dance that always followed the wedding. Now church members who drank and danced were seen as having "lost" their religion.

The opposition to dancing stemmed from the British Isles where religious authorities saw dancing as a reflection of the old Pagan religion. When a square dance call like "Birdie in the cage" was given, a girl, the 'Birdie', jumped into a circle of dancers who held hands and danced around her. This harkened back to when the Pagans held hands and danced around a 'Sacred' bush or phallic stone in an attempt to bring about fertility in barren women. In other words preachers now saw dancing as a sexual exercise. The lax moral code was ending and the Victorian era with its strict sexual taboos was coming to the mountains.

Manchester existed primarily as a place where legal business was attended to. Men may not have been convicted of murder in court but they were convicted on lesser charges. There was an old saying in the mountains that went, "A thief must be whipped." The guideline for whippings was the Biblical "Moses Law" which was, "Forty stripes save one for serious crimes." In other words criminals received thirty-nine stripes.

As the Garrards and Whites sought to control Clay County they tried to do so by winning county wide elections as well as state wide positions. John McDaniel said that "T.T. Garrard made his first race in 1846 against Daugherty White for the lower house of the Kentucky Legislature. White beat him about 150 to 200 votes." McDaniel said, "I cast my first vote at that election for Garrard." After the Mexican War "he and White ran again for the same office, and White beat him by 250 votes. They agree to make the race no more. I did not hear them say so but heard about it." Garrard at some point before the Civil War became a State Senator.

What sort of men did it take to be elected in Clay County? John McDaniel provided the answer. "John E. White and George Stivers had a misunderstanding. I do not know what it was about. Stivers had gone to his brother-in-law's (John Lynx) on Rockcastle River, hiding from White. White, accompanied by Dillion White and Thomas Chestnut started to Lynx's in search of Stivers. On the road they met with old William Bengel called "Booger", 75 years old. J.E. White asked where George Stivers was at the time. He answered he did not know. White cursed him and threatened to kill him if he did not give the desired information."

"Chestnut said to White, Don't hurt that old man." White turned on Chestnut and sent a bullet through Chestnut's brain, killing him instantly. This terminated the search."

"White and Stivers made up and were friendly. They were always on opposite sides in politics' but it happened they were for the same man in the pending election. Stivers said he believed their candidate would be beaten. White said that he concluded not to vote for him. 'Then you have quit us?' Stivers asked. White at this cursed Stivers. Stivers told him he need not act the fool about it. Whereupon White drew his pistol, but Stivers got the drop on him and shot him first in the thigh breaking the bone, and then the wrist from which wounds White limps today. His thigh and hand are both injured."

With the help of General Garrard William Bowling was elected county Jailor. McDaniel said "White killed William Bolling (sic), jailor of Clay County. I do not know the cause. It was done in Manchester after night. It was done under the shed (of) Pitman's Drug Store. Bolling ran up to the yard gate of the present Jefferie place and died there. White was tried and acquitted in both cases." This would have been the Chestnut and Bowling killings. As a foot note McDaniel said "White quit drinking after Stivers shot him."

The citizens of Clay County thought enough of John E. White they elected him Commissioner of Schools.

Later a John Gilbert White became Sheriff. Will White was the County Clerk and Andrew Jackson "Jack" Hacker was Deputy County Clerk. While in the court house doorway Sheriff White and Hacker got into an argument and the Sheriff threatened Hacker. Dale Lytte, joined Hacker to protest White's bullying. Sheriff White's brother Will and their cousin Daugherty White backed the Sheriff. "The argument became violent, someone pulled a pistol, and Hacker and Lytte were

killed in the doorway of the court house. It is the general opinion that Will White pulled the trigger." McDaniel didn't know what the argument was about. Despite killing these two men Will White would be elected Sheriff at a later time.

The three White's were arrested, tried and acquitted in short order. However the act of killing Lytte inflamed "Bad Tom" Baker who was a relation of Lyttle's and Bad Tom would await a chance for revenge. Bad Tom's feelings were further inflamed after John Baker and Frank Clark, a Black man, encountered deputies Fleix Davidson and Daugh White at the mouth of Horse Creek. There were no witnesses but the deputies claimed that Baker and Clark had drawn their pistols first and were shot and killed resisting arrest.

To show his displeasure Bad Tom brought 20 or more of his men to town about day-break one morning and shot up the town. They galloped around the courthouse, shooting out windows in defiance of law and order. They shot twenty times into a dry-goods store where a man they hated worked and for good measure shot up several businesses before hurriedly riding out of town.

I have seen pictures of the bullet holes in the old court house. There were several shootouts and killings at the courthouse so the bullet holes in the picture may not have been of those put there by Bad Tom's boys.

The feelings between the Bakers and the Whites were at a fever pitch and the violence just kept escalating. An important upcoming election built further tension. Right before the election there were several clashes. Deputy Sheriff George Hall and a Frank Campbell attempted to arrest John and Anse Baker. "A number of shots were fired on each side, two of the participants being slightly wounded. Anse Baker was slightly wounded in the thigh and John Baker's mule was killed. That night Hall's house and Campbell's store were burned down. Tom and Anse Baker were charged and arrested but General Garrard bailed them out of jail."

Both the Garrard and White's supporters armed themselves for war. A newspaper editor described the situation. "The sullen hatred that had smoldered down through the years promised to break forth at any time, and thus Clay County became an armed camp. Men not connected to either side began to go armed themselves at all times. If men had to be away from home overnight they arranged for armed neighbors to protect their families."

In Manchester, "A terrific fist fight between the followers of the Bakers and the Howards" broke out and despite pistols being drawn and used no one was killed.

The main prize in the election was the job of the Sheriff and the Garrards and Whites strove hard to get their man the office. The killer of two men, Will White became Sheriff. The Garrards did get one of their men, James Howard elected as County Assessor; an important post in the county. James Howard would play an important role in the coming violence and would become

known as "Big Jim" Howard.

The triggering event to the violence was said by Darrell Richardson to have been an ambush on Crane Creek which runs into the South Fork. I have written of this event in my book, "Logging and Rafting on the Kentucky River" in some detail and will write of it again on my book about the South Fork. Here I will give Horace Kephart's abridged version:

"In 1898 Tom Baker, reputed to be the best shot in the Kentucky mountains, bought a note given by A.B. (Ballard) Howard for whom he was cutting timber. Howard was furious, a fight ensued, one of the Howard boys and Burch Shores were killed from ambush and the elder Howard was wounded."

"Fuller Barrett, on the Baker side, was reported to have said later, 'If old man Ballard Howard had not been riding one of his fastest horses, I'd have gotten him. He's the one I really wanted.'"

Tom, Dee, and Jim Baker and Barrett were indicted for the crime.

In the next chapter I will write of the violence but it may not be in the correct order as dates were not always given for the events that occurred. I will quote men who may have had an axe to grind and told things from their outlook. As in the famous Hatfield-McCoy Feud the eastern newspapers came in an reported events in the most blood-thirsty manner possible. They presented men from each side as human fiends; men without souls. It is impossible to tell the 'good guys from the bad guys' in their accounts of what happened.

I will state that I favor the Howards as I feel that my ancestors, the Reeds worked for the Howards. Many of the Reed boys in later years had the middle name of Howard. My mother's first cousin Charles Howard Reed was one of them that did. Charles Howard Reed was a great story teller whose stories usually had a humorous touch.

I am sure that many of the Bakers had good men amongst them also.

There are several versions of how Big Jim Howard reacted when he heard of the ambush. He was told that his father, Ballard, had been killed. One version, that of "Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly" said, "He heard of it the following day, and without saying a word to anyone, he secured a Winchester, and mounted his horse, and struck out for the Baker home. Within a few miles of the battleground he met George Baker, the father of Tom, in the road, and without a word of warning shot him down. Old man Baker and his slayer had always been the warmest of friends, and when dying made the request that Howard not be prosecuted, as he did not realize what he was doing. Howard wandered around like a madman for several days after the killing and one dared arrest him."

The Baker family story is somewhat different than the above. The Baker's maintained that George "Baldy" Baker "was one of the most beloved and esteemed men in that part of the state. It was his boast that he never carried a weapon. Jim Howard knew it was safe to attack him."

The 'Munsey's Magazine' put forth a more blood-curdling version of Jim Howard's encounter with George Baker. "They met on the road, and Howard ordered Baker to dismount. Falling upon his knees he pleaded for his life. He begged the young man not to plunge the county into a deadly feud, and solemnly swore that none of his family had killed the two Howards."

"But the cold glare in Howard's eyes, a professing Christian and Church member for sixteen years, who didn't drink or even use tobacco did not waver."

"Down on your knees, I said!" he commanded, the older man, still pleading, sank to the ground and Howard (said to be the second best shot in the mountains) slowly shot him to death; some say with as many as twenty-five bullets, though this is probably an exaggeration." Other accounts echo the inhuman Howard and the twenty-five bullets in Bakers body. Even today some tell the story of twenty-five bullets.

Jim Howard would tell his side of the story. "Certain newspapers and one magazine in particular have described an episode that lasted less than twenty four hours as a feud. They have said that I shot a decrepit, defenseless old man, afterward torturing him by firing twenty-five bullets into his dying form."

Learning of the ambush and thinking his father had been killed Big Jim said, "I finally loaded my rifle and set out alone on foot, resolved that all the cowardly bushwackers on earth should not prevent me from at least attempting to recover the bodies of my folks." Jim had been told the dogs and hogs were eating on the fallen bodies lying in the middle of the road.

"Arriving at Laurel Creek Post Office, two miles from my father's home, I found men digging graves for my three relatives on the Howard family lot. I entered the store and met another grim reminder of the terrible blight that had fallen upon our house. Neighbors were selecting

caskets and shrouds for my father and brothers."

"As one who walks in his sleep, I left the little country store and plodded lazily toward the home of my boyhood, where now set grief and death. Soon after leaving the store I rounded a bend in the road and came upon the first thick timber since entering the neighborhood. I knew it would furnish good shelter for anyone seeking to ambush me and was on the alert."

"When I reached the foot of the steep, wooded incline at the right of the road, a volley of shots spluttered from the woods above me and I heard bullets whizzing past my ears. Some of them grazed my skin and cut my clothing, but I was insensible to this at the time. I dropped instantly to the ground and rolled into the partial shelter of the bank at the edge of the road."

"Bullets came spitting about me, the hot lead burning as several narrowly missed the mark. I ran towards the store, stooping low and keeping close to the bank until out of range. There was but one road home. Without a word to the crowd at the store I started."

"Turning into the road I suddenly found myself face to face with George Baker astride a big horse. Only ten or twelve paces separated us and he wheeled his horse as if to use it as a breastwork. As he jumped off on the far side, I raised my rifle and fired."

"I'm shot," he said, "Don't shoot me again."

"He sank to the ground and I held my fire. Onlookers asked if I had any objection to them picking up Baker and I replied, 'Not in the least. I was only defending my life.'"

"They carried the man into a nearby house and he died the next day. The rage of the Bakers at the taking off of their leader knew no bounds. They declare that they would do all manner of things to me and agreed that I should be slain without delay, no matter how many men it required to do it. They talked of burning me at the stake and Tom Baker vowed he would tie my head to the tail of his horse and drag it before the eyes of my mother. Immediately after shooting Baker, I rode into Manchester and gave myself up, but was not arrested. Meanwhile I learned father was alive and the county court promised they would protect him."

The Baker supporters had described George Baker with a saintly brush. Jim Howard presented a different picture of "George Baker (who) was fifty-two years old and a giant. He was capable of holding his own with any man living in a physical encounter. He stood about six feet and weighed about 230 pounds. He was a dead shot and a man of fierce, combative temperament. His beard was only turned slightly gray. And they say I shot him twenty-five times! Scores witnessed the shooting, and I only shot him once."

"In due time I was indicted and so great was the sentiment in my favor in Clay County that a change of venue was taken to Laurel County---After two trials and several continuances the case was practically abandoned."

Despite Jim Howard saying the case was abandoned Horace Kephart told, "Howard was tried and convicted of murder, but it was said that a pardon was offered him if he would go to the state capital at Frankfort and assassinate Governor Gobel, which he is charged with having done." Indeed Governor Gobel was killed and three men were accused of the killing but it was Jim Howard who served ten years in prison. I'm not sure he killed the Governor but that's another story I'll deal with in another book.

Tension built in the area after George Baker's killing and Jim Howard said, "Several times I was ambushed on my way between Manchester and Father's. Every time I made the trip bullets were poured at me from the woods. Only once did I get sight of my assailants, and that was John Baker who fired on me from in back of a log. I fell on my horse's neck and the bullet burned a blue stripe across my back. I made my escape by the speed of my horse."

"The Webbs, McCollums, Philpots, Halls and Griffins, along with the Combs and Burns clans were now on the warpath. The general unrest in the country led to the outbreak of various minor feuds which were not directly related to the Baker-White-Howard-Garrard feud. For many of the vengeful and lawless element it seemed an opportune time to even old scores. There is little doubt that many a fracas which were blamed on the Bakers and the Howards were performed by other parties"

One of the first killings occurred out on Sexton Creek where John Howard lived. "One evening about dusk, a sniper's bullet came through the window and struck him (John) in the left arm. He immediately grabbed his gun and ran outside. Seeing a man running towards the woods, he tried a snap shot and dropped him in his tracks. But at that instant, the bullet from a second assailant hidden behind a rail fence, killed him on the spot."

"William L. White, a brother of the Sheriff and an ex-sheriff himself, went up to Sexton's Creek to collect some back taxes. As luck would have it, he met Tom and Dee Baker at a narrow point on the mountain trail. The Bakers were especially bitter against Will White because of the assistance he had given in their prosecution for burning Frank Campbell's store and George Hall's home several months before."

"Some say each demanded that the other give way when they met on the narrow trail. They did not need another excuse for a fight anyway. It was said that Tom Baker shot White in the abdomen, killing him almost instantly."

What happened next confusing. Either Tom Baker was convicted and given a life sentence in a Knox County Court. After appealing the sentence Baker was released. Or as Richardson said, "Forty-two Baker's armed with rifles and smokeless powder came over the mountains (to Knox County) to attend the trial and openly established their 'fort', or headquarters, in the county seat. Though clearly guilty, he was acquitted, received his gun from the sheriff, and started off that night to the scene of the hostilities, attended by his kindred as a guard of honor.

"While on his way to attend church one Sunday with his wife Gilbert Garrard was fired on from ambush. A rifle bullet passed through his coat, another hit his horse, and a third went through his wife's clothing. It was charged that Garrard was in more active sympathy with the Bakers that he ought to have been."

"They fled home as soon as possible and made plans the next day to leave the country for good. This attempt at assassination was attributed to the Whites. On their way to Pineville, they were accompanied by two armed guards, one of them being a nephew of Tom Baker. Both of the guards were shot and killed from the brush, but Garrard and his family escaped."

"After these outbreaks, one paper reported, 'and the business of murder went on briskly, some twenty persons being slain.' I'm not sure there is a list of those twenty people murdered but more killing was to come.

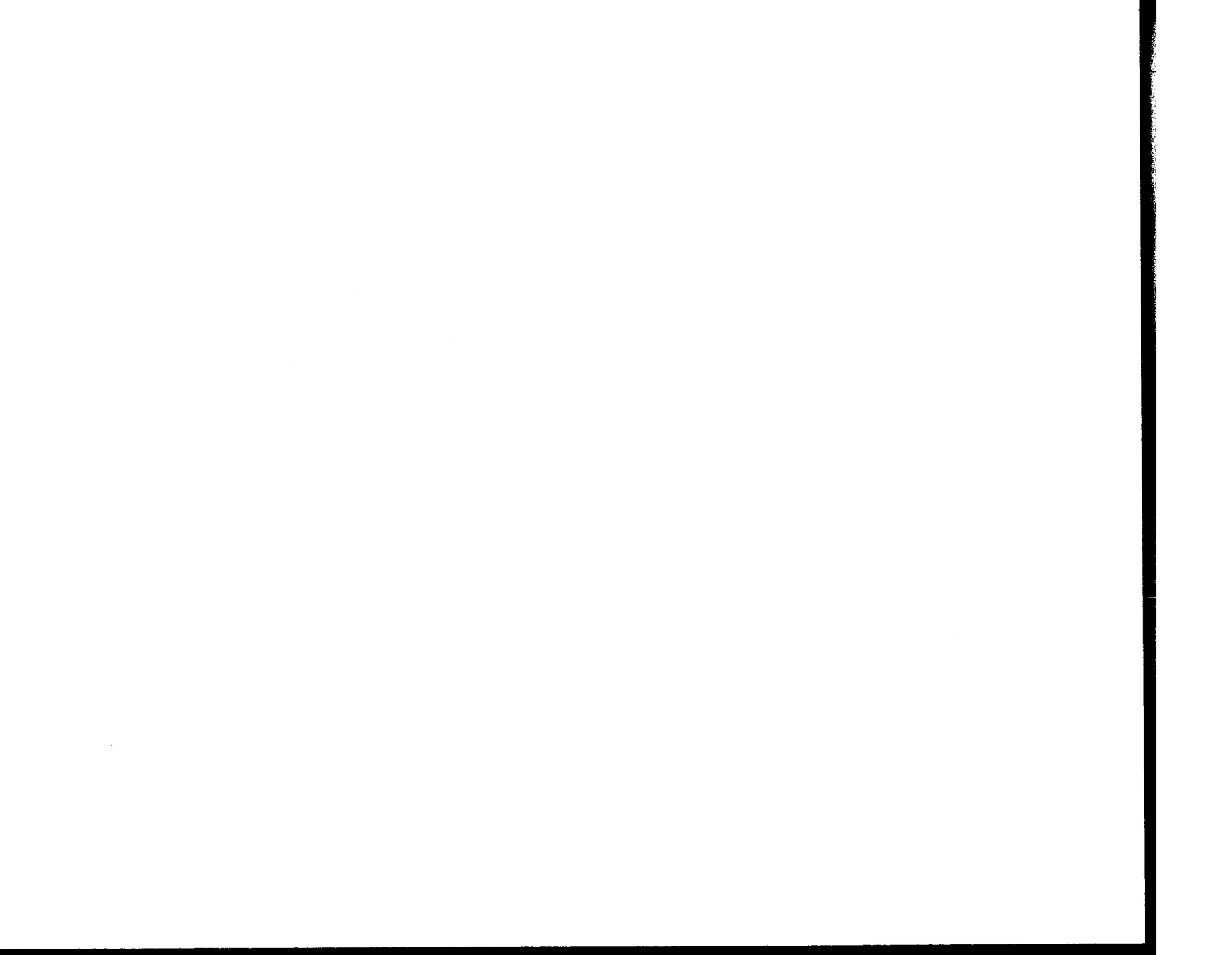
"Conditions grew from bad to worse. Finally Judge H.C. Eversole of the Clay County Circuit Court asked that state troops be sent to establish law and order. Governor Bradley of Kentucky was forced by public opinion to intervene." It would cost the state money to send troops and Kentucky never spent a dime until forced to. The reluctant Governor "ordered Colonel Roger D. Williams to assemble three companies of state militia at Lexington and move to Manchester."

The call for state troops angered the mountain men and a woman who visited the judge's home observed, "The shades of his home were pulled down at sunset, and he never answered a knock at the door, never showed his face at the window thereafter, until morning."

When men left the mountains for they remained very cautious. "A Frankfort lady recalls that one of the Garrards came down to the capitol on business, and made a call at her home, being an old friend of the family. He was given a chair with its back to the window, through the window was closed. He did not sit down in it until he had picked it up and moved it against a wall. Even in Frankfort he could not shake off the habit of never sitting within gun range of a window!"

The Law Enforcement Officials of Clay County were to round up those that had been indicted in some of the killings while the State Militia was to go to Manchester and guard the city and the court. They were to maintain order at all costs. It was reported that when the militia men arrived by train at London and while the machine guns, baggage, and equipment were being loaded on the wagons for the journey over the hills, many of the soldiers deserted. Other became conveniently ill and went on sick call."

I have more information on the State Militia's stay in Manchester but can't find it. I will leave space to add it later.



There was some discussion of what would happen when the militia came into Clay County. Some thought the feudists might declare war of the militia. "Others frankly stated that if such a thing happened, they would bet on the feudists."

"It was reported from Crane Creek that a hundred armed men would accompany the three Bakers to Manchester on the day of trial. The county seat was under the control of the Howard-White faction, and more of the grim-faced henchmen were coming in from the hills." The Howards of Harlan County were coming and these men were experienced fighters having fought the Howard-Turner Feud.

It was put out that an arresting party went up to Crane and Sexton's Creeks to arrest the Bakers. It was more of a Diplomatic Negotiation than it was an arrest. "Two days later "Bad Tom" Baker and his sons, James (better known as 'Dee') and Wiley, rode into Manchester. Tom Baker had cheerfully defied the courts, but he gave himself up to the soldiers. Possibly, he believed the militia would see that he had a fair and just trial."

A nephew of Jim Howard, Israel Howard Jr., had a different version of Tom Baker's entrance into Manchester. "On the 9th of June, 1899 Tom Baker and a gang of thirty odd of his followers rode defiantly into the courthouse square. Tom was dressed in a blue serge suit (all wool), white shirt and black bow tie. He wore a black broad-brimmed Stetson hat. This was the customary dress of ministers and businessmen. Standing at his side were his son Jim and Tom's brother Wiley." Israel Howard then said, "Behind him stood his small army from Crane Creek, dressed in rough work clothes, slouching about, leaning on the fence, tobacco juice running down their chins. Most of them holding rifles in their arms, and all of them carried long barreled pistols stuck in their belts."

"They were in contrast to the militia standing at attention, with their rifles at port-arms, behind Col. Williams on the other side of the fence. Both parties presumably waiting for their orders from their commanders."

Neither side was there to fight. Tom Baker had wanted his men to frighten the untrained, inexperienced militia and he had succeeded. These militiamen would have been no match for the hardened gunmen backing Baker. However Baker knew that the killing of a militiaman would have been far different than killing a man of Clay County. General Garrard would have been unable to bring his influence to bear on the courts. Murder is a crime prosecuted on the local level. The killing of a militiaman would have resulted in a trial far from the reach of General Garrard.

A killer Tom Baker certainly was but he was also an intelligent man. When Colonel Williams asked him to go into the courthouse Tom realized he would have to get rid of his gun toting men with him. The courthouse was being held by the White's and the minute the armed Baker group started in the shooting would start. Tom would have been the first into the courthouse and the

gunfire would be directed at himself.

Tom then turned to "his rough shod crew" and said "if you need to go home it will be alright." Tom knew that if just one or two of his men went in with Colonel Williams there would be no shooting. To encourage his men to leave he told them that general Garrard was coming to town and Garrard had promised to have some of the state's best lawyers there to defend Tom. He also told them that his wife Emily was coming to town to stay with him. Most of the men left reluctantly but a few stayed in the courthouse yard as they didn't trust the White's.

Tom, Wiley Baker, and Tom's son Jim walked with Colonel Williams into the court house. Tom had to walk past Sheriff 'Beve' White's office, Will White had been Beve's brother, Tom and Beve exchanged stares. The next office passed was that of "Big Jim" Howard who had killed Tom's father George "Baldy" Baker. Jim Howard glared defiantly at Tom.

The father of Beve White, Judge B.P. White, came into court trailed by his supporters. A short time later, General Garrard came into town with his one horse buggy. Stories abound of General Garrard riding about the countryside like the Scottish Lords of Old trailing a stream of retainers behind him. General Garrard never went anywhere without a dozen men armed with rifles riding by his buggy. When Garrard entered the court some of Baker's men followed him in. The sheriff made them put their pistols in his office.

The lawyers of both sides spent the day arguing and most of the next day as well. The second evening General Garrard, who Tom addressed as Sir, talked with Tom in the court yard and then got in his buggy to leave. As he rode away Tom called out, "I appreciate what you have done for me General."

Tom went over to the tent where he'd spent the night with his pregnant wife. He tried talking her into going home but she wished to stay with him

"Tom Baker refused to be housed in the jail like an ordinary criminal. In fact this was one of the conditions of his surrender. He could not have known it, but insisting on these conditions he signed his own death warrant. Because of these conditions, Tom Baker and his sons were housed in a tent on the courthouse square, surrounded by soldiers on guard."

"It is hard to believe, but when the trial opened Tom Baker and his sons and almost everybody else came to the court heavily armed. Judge A. King Cook of Pineville had replaced Judge Eversole on the bench. Judge Eversole 'Pleaded that he had a very sick mother and had to leave the county.' Judge Cook and Colonel Williams 'held that in was inconsistent for the defendants, the accusers, and the spectators to come to court heavily laden with shooting hardware.' They ordered everybody relieved of weapons which upset everybody.

"This hearing is the more notable because of the figure of a soon-to-be-famous figure, a rugged giant nearly seven feet tall, known as Big John Philpot. Summoned as a witness, he

