

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

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RECEIVED APR 19 1976
DATE ENTERED AUG 5 1976

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES INVENTORY -- NOMINATION FORM

SEE INSTRUCTIONS IN *HOW TO COMPLETE NATIONAL REGISTER FORMS*
TYPE ALL ENTRIES -- COMPLETE APPLICABLE SECTIONS

1 NAME

HISTORIC
The Hatfield-McCoy Feud Historic District
AND/OR COMMON

Same

2 LOCATION

STREET & NUMBER
See USGS Maps

--- NOT FOR PUBLICATION
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT
07

CITY, TOWN

--- VICINITY OF

STATE
Kentucky

CODE
021

COUNTY
Pike

CODE
195

3 CLASSIFICATION

CATEGORY	OWNERSHIP	STATUS	PRESENT USE
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DISTRICT	<input type="checkbox"/> PUBLIC	<input type="checkbox"/> OCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> AGRICULTURE
<input type="checkbox"/> BUILDING(S)	<input type="checkbox"/> PRIVATE	<input type="checkbox"/> UNOCCUPIED	<input type="checkbox"/> COMMERCIAL
<input type="checkbox"/> STRUCTURE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BOTH	<input type="checkbox"/> WORK IN PROGRESS	<input type="checkbox"/> EDUCATIONAL
<input type="checkbox"/> SITE	PUBLIC ACQUISITION	ACCESSIBLE	<input type="checkbox"/> ENTERTAINMENT
<input type="checkbox"/> OBJECT	<input type="checkbox"/> IN PROCESS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: RESTRICTED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> GOVERNMENT
	<input type="checkbox"/> BEING CONSIDERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> YES: UNRESTRICTED (cemeteries)	<input type="checkbox"/> INDUSTRIAL
		<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> MILITARY
			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> OTHER: Vacant house, cemetery

4 OWNER OF PROPERTY

NAME
Multiple Owners (see continuation sheet)

STREET & NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

STATE

--- VICINITY OF

5 LOCATION OF LEGAL DESCRIPTION

COURTHOUSE,
REGISTRY OF DEEDS, ETC. Pike County Courthouse

STREET & NUMBER

CITY, TOWN

STATE

Pikeville

Kentucky

6 REPRESENTATION IN EXISTING SURVEYS

TITLE
Survey of Historic Sites in Kentucky

DATE

1975

--- FEDERAL STATE --- COUNTY --- LOCAL

DEPOSITORY FOR
SURVEY RECORDS Kentucky Heritage Commission

CITY, TOWN

STATE

Frankfort

Kentucky

7 DESCRIPTION

CONDITION		CHECK ONE	CHECK ONE
<input type="checkbox"/> EXCELLENT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> DETERIORATED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNALTERED	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ORIGINAL SITE
<input type="checkbox"/> GOOD	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RUINS	<input type="checkbox"/> ALTERED	<input type="checkbox"/> MOVED DATE _____
<input type="checkbox"/> FAIR	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> UNEXPOSED		

DESCRIBE THE PRESENT AND ORIGINAL (IF KNOWN) PHYSICAL APPEARANCE

The Hatfield-McCoy Feud Historic District consists of three structures, three sites, and four graveyards in Pike County, Kentucky. The district is not contiguous, but in air distance spans approximately some 30 miles by 10 miles.

Pike County is located in eastern Kentucky in the Cumberland Plateau region, an area characterized by sharp mountains and narrow, twisting valleys. Most of the sites are found near the Tug Fork of the Big Sandy River, both of which form sections of the boundary between Kentucky and West Virginia, or on tributaries feeding into the Tug.

The ten nominated sites as numbered on the enclosed maps include:

Site No. 1

The Jeremiah ("Jerry") Hatfield House (also known as the Deacon Anderson ("Anse") Hatfield House), constructed c. 1860, is log, clapboarded, with two entrances on the east front and chimneys at each end (see photos 2-4). The chimney on the north end is of rough field stone, the one on the south, of cut stone. The house, presently in a seriously deteriorated condition, is located in a rural area near the Hatfield Branch of Blackberry Creek, off Highway 319, approximately 2 miles south of McCarr. It was a typical Pike County log house.

Site No. 2

The grave site of the infant child of Roseanna McCoy is located in a family cemetery on a knoll off Highway 292 directly across from the residence of Mrs. Daisy Quick near Burnwell (see photo 5). The area is rural, though scattered houses are visible from the graveyard. Numerous other family members are buried in the graveyard; the exact number has not yet been ascertained.

Site No. 3

The site of the shooting and deaths of Tolbert, Phamer, and Randolph McCoy, Jr., in August, 1882, is located in a depression approximately 50 yards from the bank of the Tug River on the southeast side of the small community of Buskirk, Kentucky.

Site No. 4

The McCoy Family Cemetery at Blackberry Fork of Pond Creek is two miles above Hardy. The graveyard, containing the remains of Tolbert, Phamer, Randolph, Jr., Calvin, and Allifair McCoy is on a wooded hillside on the east side of Highway 319, approximately 300 yards from the original home site of Randolph McCoy. Three of the graves are marked with field stones, one of which contains the crudely incised name "Cal McCoy" (see photos 7 & 8).

Site No. 5

The Randolph McCoy Home Site is situated on the west side of Highway 319. The house and outbuildings were burned in 1888. The only remaining structure is a well dug by Randolph McCoy; the well housing is of more recent construction (see photo 9). The house was scenically located on a slight incline in a narrow valley enclosed by forested hillsides.

(continued)

8 SIGNIFICANCE

PERIOD	AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE -- CHECK AND JUSTIFY BELOW				
—PREHISTORIC	—ARCHEOLOGY-PREHISTORIC	—COMMUNITY PLANNING	—LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTURE	—RELIGION	
—1400-1499	—ARCHEOLOGY-HISTORIC	—CONSERVATION	—LAW	—SCIENCE	
—1500-1599	—AGRICULTURE	—ECONOMICS	—LITERATURE	—SCULPTURE	
—1600-1699	—ARCHITECTURE	—EDUCATION	—MILITARY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> SOCIAL/HUMANITARIAN	
—1700-1799	—ART	—ENGINEERING	—MUSIC	—THEATER	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1800-1899	—COMMERCE	—EXPLORATION/SETTLEMENT	—PHILOSOPHY	—TRANSPORTATION	
—1900-	—COMMUNICATIONS	—INDUSTRY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> POLITICS/GOVERNMENT	—OTHER (SPECIFY)	
		—INVENTION			

SPECIFIC DATES

1865-1897

BUILDER/ARCHITECT

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Background

One of the most publicized series of events to occur in the Big Sandy Valley of eastern Kentucky and far western West Virginia was the "war" between the Hatfield and McCoy families of Pike County, Kentucky, and Logan (later Mingo) County, West Virginia. Although feuds in the Appalachian Mountains were certainly not uncommon in the 19th and early 20th centuries, the drama of the Hatfield-McCoy conflict was unusual in attracting wide state and national attention. That it was the most publicized and best known of all mountain feuds there can be no doubt.¹ For sociologists and historians it would become the prototype of the mountain feud, containing all the elements and drama necessary for an interesting case study. And of all the mountain feuds it would have the widest repercussions at local, county, and state levels.² Wrote Harry Caudill in his usual forceful style:

This great struggle eventually involved, directly or indirectly, practically every inhabitant of Pike County, Kentucky and Logan County, West Virginia--and resulted in at least sixty-five deaths. This epic clan war was fought out to its grim conclusion with all the characteristic savagery and tenacity the borderers had displayed a century before in struggles with the Indians. The vendetta brought the governments of the two states to the brink of war, and the correspondence between the governors on the matter reveals a situation so fantastic as to defy belief.³

There are ten sites in Pike County intimately associated with the feud or those persons involved in the feud which are included within the historic district: the Jerry Hatfield log house where two of the more famous incidents took place; the murder site of three of the McCoy's; the home site of Randolph McCoy; the hanging site of Ellison Mounts; the cemetery containing the graves of Randolph McCoy's children killed by the Hatfields; the cemetery containing the grave of the child of Roseanna McCoy and Johnse Hatfield; the small plot containing the graves of Franklin Phillips and his wife Nancy McCoy Hatfield Phillips; and Dils cemetery which contains the graves of Randolph McCoy, his wife Sarah, and his daughter, Roseanna (as well as other early settlers of Pikeville and which is also one of the oldest integrated cemeteries in Pike County); the Pike County Courthouse and Jail.

¹ Mutzenburg, p. 29; Thomas, p. 177; MacClintock, p. 176; Dictionary of American History, pp. 16-17.

²Mutzenburg, p. 30.

³Caudill, p. 47.

(continued)

9 MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- Bartley, Jack W. The History of the Badge in Pikeville and Pike County, Kentucky. Lexington: Transylvania Press, 1972.
- Campbell, John C. The Southern Highlander and His Homeland. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1921, pp. 111-113.
- Caudill, Harry, Night Comes to the Cumberlands. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1962. (continued)

10 GEOGRAPHICAL DATA (see continuation sheet)

ACREAGE OF NOMINATED PROPERTY Approx. 9.5 acres

UTM REFERENCES

A	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING	B	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING
C	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING	D	ZONE	EASTING	NORTHING

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION Site #10 Dils Cemetery

Nominated is 2.3 acres enclosed in a six-sided figure. The western boundary begins at the intersection of Chloe Road and Hwy. 119, runs 425 feet along Chloe Road to a drain, turns south-eastward, following the drain approximately 200 feet to a point along the old boundary line, continues along the boundary about 200 feet, turns due south and continues approximately 150 feet to Chloe Road and borders Chloe Road 500 feet to starting point. (see Map 5).

LIST ALL STATES AND COUNTIES FOR PROPERTIES OVERLAPPING STATE OR COUNTY BOUNDARIES

STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE
STATE	CODE	COUNTY	CODE

11 FORM PREPARED BY

NAME / TITLE

Gloria Mills, Historian; Harold Moore, Commission Member WEL

ORGANIZATION

Kentucky Heritage Commission

DATE

February 1976

STREET & NUMBER

104 Bridge Street

TELEPHONE

(502) 564-3741

CITY OR TOWN

Frankfort

STATE

Kentucky

12 STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER CERTIFICATION

THE EVALUATED SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS PROPERTY WITHIN THE STATE IS:

NATIONAL

STATE

LOCAL

As the designated State Historic Preservation Officer for the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (Public Law 89-665), I hereby nominate this property for inclusion in the National Register and certify that it has been evaluated according to the criteria and procedures set forth by the National Park Service.

STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICER SIGNATURE

Edward W. Melton

TITLE State Historic Preservation Officer

DATE

4/16/76

FOR NPS USE ONLY

I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS PROPERTY IS INCLUDED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATTEST:

Acting Keeper of the National Register

DATE

8.5.76

DATE

8.27.76

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PAGE 2

- Jerry Hatfield House: Ron G. Blackburn
704 Oak Ridge
Indian Lake, Florida 32903
- Randolph McCoy Home Site: Bankey Scott
South Williamson, Kentucky
mail Williamson, West Virginia 25661
- Roseanna's Baby Grave: Ms. Daisy Quick
Burnwell, Kentucky 41518
- Phillips' Graveyard: Owner presently unknown
- McCoy Cemetery: Mrs. Cecil Phillips, Burnwell, Kentucky (606) 237-4540
Mrs. Paul Gingrich, Williamson, West Virginia
Mrs. Frank Crawford, Williamson, West Virginia
S. A. Mitchell, Huntington, West Virginia
- Dils Cemetery: Mr. Frank Forsyth
128 Park Street
Pikeville, Kentucky 41501
- Mrs. Anna Lida Call
11 Wilana Court
Pikeville, Kentucky 41501
- Ferrell P. Wellman, Atty.
Suite 201
340 S. Broadway
Lexington, Kentucky
- Mrs. Nancy P. Huffman
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
- Murder Site: Robert Buskirk, Jr.
Buskirk, Kentucky

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Although the area remains rural, two small modern houses have since been built nearby-- one just off the highway in front of the home site and one directly behind.

Site No. 6

The graveyard of Nancy and Frank Phillips, located beside Phillips branch, the left fork of Peter Creek, at Phelps, is on a wooded hillside. The home site is thought to have been close by at the base of the hill (see photos 10 & 11).

Site No. 7

The Old Pike County Jail, Pikeville. The building is now two-story, brick, constructed c. 1888 (see photo 12). It is on the south east side and adjacent to the Pike County Courthouse, on the east end of Pikeville on Main Street. Additions have been made to the sides of the building since the date of the Hatfield trial in 1889 and the interior has also been considerably altered.

Site No. 8

The Pike County Courthouse, Pikeville. The Courthouse, originally constructed in 1887, is a two-story brick building with cupola (see photo 13). Extensive remodelling was carried out in 1932. For further description; see Item 7, page 3.

Site No. 9

The site of the hanging of Ellison ("Cotton Top") Mounts. Condition, unexposed. Location is at the base of the hill off High Street near the present location of the old Pikeville Cemetery (see photo 15).

Site No. 10

Dils Cemetery, Pikeville, contains the remains of Randolph, Sarah, and Roseanna McCoy. The historic cemetery occupies a conspicuous tree-covered knoll, which rises over 150 feet above the confluence of lower Chloe Creek and the Big Sandy River (see photos 16-19). The end of the knoll has been blasted off to increase the turning radius of the Chloe Creek Road below; otherwise it has undergone little change. The cemetery overlooks the town of Pikeville and is located directly opposite the Pike County Courthouse on the western side of the River. Dils Cemetery contains some 300 graves, many of them unmarked, including that of Randolph McCoy.

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Site No. 8 (continued)

The original Pike County Courthouse building was a two-story brick structure built in 1887 for \$30,000. It was probably similar in appearance to a series of courthouses built in Kentucky in the last two decades of the 19th century, designed by the prominent and prolific Louisville architectural firm, McDonald Brothers (H. P. and Kenneth McDonald); see the detail of the original corbelled brick trim shown in Photo 14. For others in the series, see the National Register forms for the Adair County Courthouse, Columbia, listed August 27, 1974; and the Hickman County Courthouse, Clinton, listed September 11, 1975).

The courthouse was extensively enlarged and remodelled in 1932 by Hi Pauley, Sidney Trivette, and Ernest Wolford, at a cost of \$11,000. The building became a three-story structure of indeterminate style, although the red-tile roof has evoked the Spanish Renaissance in the minds of some viewers. The new portion apparently was wrapped around the original red-brick structure. The first story, treated as a rusticated "basement" with horizontally striated brick courses, is interrupted by three large recessed portals. These suggest medieval or Renaissance fortresses, with their round arches framed by graduated stone voussoirs, flanking piers with stone quoins, and heraldic trim. The two upper stories are unified by shallow brick colossal pilasters with unusual brick and stone capitals. There are superimposed pilasters over the entrances, with small gables breaking the roof and cornice-line above. The placement of the courtrooms between the three stories of public offices in the center of the west facade overlooking the main street is indicated on the exterior by elongated round-arched windows. The smaller windows over the entrances are also round-arched, some with colored tile lunettes. There are also roundels in the small gables. Above the handsome and intact tile roof rises the large square tower, near the south end of the building. Coupled pilasters frame round-arched louvered openings and clocks on each face of the upper story. The octagonal cupola rests on a narrower pilastered cube. (Perhaps a tribute to Independence Hall in Philadelphia was intended here.)

Located beside a small public square off the main commercial thoroughfare of Pikeville, the building is an important landmark of the community and one of its most substantial structures. Overall, this is one of the most impressive and sophisticated of eastern Kentucky Courthouses, and worthy of nomination to the National Register in its own right.

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In 1975 some interior alterations were made, and a dramatic exterior elevator was appended on the north side (left of the entrance shown in Photo 13).

The Pike County Jail, northeast of the courthouse within its ell, is also of late 19th-century construction, of red brick with corbelled trim and stone sills and lintels (see Photo 12).

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Item #7

Addendum

Page 1

Site #1 Jerry Hatfield House

Nominated is a rectangular area of about 1/4 acre. The first point is approximately 200 feet west of the intersection of Hwy. 319 and 1056 off Hwy. 319, continue northeast 125 feet, northwest 100 feet, southwest 125 feet, southeast 100 feet to original point.

Site #2 Grave Site of Child of Roseanna McCoy

The precise boundaries of the cemetery are unknown, as are the number of burials; therefore only the knoll, in the southeast corner of the graveyard where the child is buried, is nominated. The site, approximately 1/8 acre, is located about 90 feet northwest of the intersection of the Lower Stringtown Branch and Hwy. 292.

Site #3 Site of the shooting and deaths of Tolbert, Phamer, and Randolph McCoy, Jr.

The site is located in a narrow drain on the bank of the Tug River just east of the WHJC Radio Tower. Nominated is a rectangular area of about 1/8 acre. Site location: The first point is 360 yards north of a point on the west bank of the Tug Fork opposite the mouth of Sulphur Creek, continue inland 70 yards, then northeast 50 yards, southeast 100 yards, and along the bank of the river 50 yards to the original point.

Site #4 McCoy Family Cemetery

Area nominated is a four-sided figure encompassing approximately three acres. Site location: begin at a point approximately 1000 yards east of the intersection of Mudlick Branch and Hwy. 319, continue northwest 70 yards along access road, then south along ravine 20 yards to Hwy. 319, and west 70 yards along highway to starting point.

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Site #5 Randolph McCoy House Site

Nominated area is approximately two acres and is triangular in shape. Site location: first point is approximately 1200 yards east of intersection of Mudlick Branch and Hwy. 319 and about 70 yards south of the bank, then 100 yards southeast to the second point, then 170 yards northeast to the third point, then close 170 yards to original point of triangle.

Site #6 Graveyard of Nancy and Frank Phillips

The cemetery is rectangular in shape, approximately 1/32 of an acre, and is enclosed by a wire fence. Because it is a family cemetery, small and enclosed, the entire cemetery is included in the nominated area. The graveyard, about 10 yards by 20 yards in size, is located on a knoll about 60 yards north of Phillips Branch and the Left Fork of Peter Creek.

Site #7 Old Pike County Jail

Nominated is the entire property of approximately one acre which originally comprised the jail property as specified in the town charter. Encompassed is an area of about 200 feet by 200 feet and is now occupied by the remodelled jail, jailer's residence, county courthouse, and health department.

Site #8 Site of Pike County Courthouse

(see site #7)

Site #9 Hanging Site of Ellison Mounts

The nominated area of approximately one-half acre is rectangular in shape. The first point is located on Kentucky Avenue 25 yards north of the intersection of High Street and Kentucky Avenue, continues north 70 yards, then west 30 yards, then south 70 yards, then 30 yards east to original starting point.

Site #10 Dils Cemetery (see back page, Item 10, Geographical Data, National Register Form).

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To understand the mountain feud is to understand the context from which it arose. The Cumberland plateau of the Appalachians, which includes the area of eastern Kentucky, western Virginia, northwest North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee, consists of steep forested mountains, separated by narrow valleys and swift flowing streams. Travel in the area is difficult, particularly so in the 19th century when there were no railroads until the 1880s, and no rivers penetrable by steamboat. The region created perfect isolation for the pioneers who chose to live there.⁴

Immigration into eastern Kentucky commenced in the 1770s and '80s and consisted largely of Scotch-Irish from near-by states of Virginia, North Carolina, and Maryland. Although a small but steady number of settlers continued an influx into the mountains until about 1830, the population was always sparse. The land presented no opportunity for the accumulation of wealth as did the fertile lands to the west. Those settlers that remained were relegated to a life of hunting, trapping, and largely subsistence farming.⁵ (Many of these early pioneers are buried in Dils Cemetery, such as General William Ratliffe and Colonel John Dils, Jr.)

The manner in which the settlers adjusted themselves to their new-found environment has been the subject of numerous sociological studies. The isolation from neighbors and towns led to the development of a self-sufficient, independent spirit that stood them well in the face of adversity. However, this individualism also led to a resentment of the restraints of "law and order" and a distrust of authority of any fashion. The isolation, too, reinforced their traditionalism, their stubborn adherence to old ways, and a distrust of the new or unfamiliar.⁶

From these elements that persisted to define mountain culture sprang elements which combined to create the mountain feud. Self-reliance led to each man becoming a law unto himself. Loyalty to family came to mean an affront to one member was an affront to the entire clan. Not to fight was to "lose caste" In explaining the outbreak of feuds, sociologists also point to the personalization of the positions of authority and the importance of family alliances. Hence the inability of local sheriffs and judges to bring the offenders of the law to justice. Lack of business and consequent idleness allowed time to "dwell" on supposed wrongs and led to protracted grudges.⁷

⁴MacClintock, pp. 2-3.

⁵Caudill, pp. 7-8.

⁶Weller, pp. 6-13; Coles, p. 508.

⁷MacClintock, p. 171; Weller, pp. 29-33, 82.

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Despite similarities of environment and people, as Horace Kephart points out in his study of the Southern Highlands, armed conflicts between families were "by no means prevalent throughout the length and breadth of Appalachia, but are restricted mostly to certain well defined districts, of which the chief, in extent of territory as well as in the number and ferocity of its 'wars,' is the country around the upper waters of the Kentucky, Licking, Big Sandy, Tug, and adjoining parts of West Virginia, Old Virginia, and Tennessee."⁸

The mountains of eastern Kentucky, however, proved the area most closely identified with the feud phenomenon. "Kentucky has an unenviable reputation as a state of feuds and private fights," wrote S. S. MacClintock in 1901. "Its mountain feuds have attracted wide attention in recent years. They have died out in all other parts of the country, but persist here."⁹

One final factor to be considered in a study of the mountain feud was the Civil War. Mountaineers were divided on the issue and serious disputes erupted between family members and neighbors. These philosophical differences, combined with the great loss of life and property as a result of the war, caused ill feeling and bitterness between those people on opposing sides and proved the origin of many a mountain feud.¹⁰

"Thus," writes Harry Caudill, "the curtain rose upon one of the most fantastic dramas in American History--the ferocious Kentucky mountain feuds. Their story has gone largely unchronicled, but in savagery and stark horror they dwarf the cattle wars of the Great Plains and, by contrast, make the vendettas of Sicily look like children's parlor games."¹¹

History

The Hatfield patriarch, Anderson ("Devil Anse") Hatfield (1839-1921), was descended from Virginia emigrants. His grandfather, Ephraim Hatfield, crossed the Cumberland Mountains about 1795 and settled on the Big Sandy. Anse, tall, strongly built, with black hair and a

⁸Kephart, p. 338.

⁹MacClintock, p. 1.

¹⁰Haney, p. 75; Caudill, pp. 38-45.

¹¹Caudill, p. 45. The statement is somewhat exaggerated but does convey the very real horror of the mountaineer feud.

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stubby beard, was one of ten children. He was a good hunter, "not afear'd of no kind of varmint nor of the devil hisself," stated his mother and so called him Devil Anse because of his fearlessness.¹² A man of Southern sympathies, Anse joined the Logan County "Wildcats," a Confederate regiment, during the Civil War and was commissioned a captain before his discharge. Married to Levicy Chafin in 1861, Anse built a house at the mouth of Peter Creek on the West Virginia side of the Tug Fork about five miles above Matewan, West Virginia (in then Logan, later Mingo County).¹³ By 1878, he had acquired some 7,000 acres on which he farmed and raised a few hogs.

Across the Tug, on the Blackberry Fork of Pond Creek and separated from Anse Hatfield by seven to nine miles of "a vast, densely wooded section in which no one lived," was the home place of Randolph (Randall) McCoy (1825-1914). Older and of a quieter nature than the playful Anse, Randall grew up and married in the state of Virginia.

The primary cause of the conflict between the two neighbors is uncertain. Some say it arose because of their opposing positions on the war, although other sources state Randall was a Southern sympathizer and fought, as did Anse, for the Confederacy. Others point to the alleged murder of Randall's brother, Asa Harmon, found dead in a cave in January of 1865. Jim Vance, an uncle of Anse Hatfield, was said to have been the killer. (U. S. War Department files record that McCoy was ambushed while returning to his regiment after re-enlisting in the Union Army at Ashland, Kentucky.) Often cited as the origin of the feud was a disagreement that occurred in 1873 between Floyd Hatfield, a cousin of Devil Anse, and Randall McCoy, a relative of Floyd's by marriage, over the ownership of a hog. Randall, who claimed a pig in Floyd's possession, took the matter to court, which resulted in the famous "hog trial" held at the house of Jeremiah (Jerry) Hatfield¹⁴ (Site No. 1; see photos 2, 3, & 4). The Reverend Anderson (Parson Anse) Hatfield, a pioneer mountain preacher in the Old Regular Baptist Church, a brother of Jeremiah and a cousin of Devil Anse, served as judge. Testifying to Floyd's rightful ownership of the pig was Bill Staton, a member of the Hatfield clan. The court ruled against Randall and bad feelings resulted between the two families. In 1874, Staton

¹²Thomas, p. 179.

¹³L. D. Hatfield, p. 9; Thomas, pp. 177, 179.

¹⁴"Jerry" Hatfield House is also known as Reverend Anderson Hatfield House. Jerry Hatfield owned the house at the time of the trial. Sometime after 1882, Preacher Anse moved in with his brother Jerry.

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came upon two nephews of Randall, Sam and Paris McCoy, in the woods and attempted to kill them. Instead Staton was himself killed in the fight and Sam McCoy was brought to trial in Logan County. He was acquitted on a count of self-defense.¹⁵

One of the most famous episodes during the course of the conflict involved Anse's eldest son, Johnson (Johnse), and Randall's daughter Roseanna. In his youth, Johnse (1862-1922) is described as the dandy of the neighborhood, goodlooking, and having a way with the women. It was on an election day in August 1880 that Johnse met Randall's dark-haired daughter. The polling station in that area was the grounds in front of Jerry Hatfield's house where the "hog trial" had been held. People came from miles around, including families such as the Hatfields from across the Tug on the West Virginia side, to join in the drinking and socializing that always accompanied the mountain elections. Johnse and Roseanna became lovers, and the young girl, fearing her father's wrath, went to live with Johnse at his parents' house on Peter Creek. Anse did not object to her living there, but would not permit his son to marry a McCoy. Roseanna soon became pregnant, but by this time Johnse's interest in her had begun to wane, and she decided to live with her Aunt Betty "Al" McCoy who had a house at Burnwell. Johnse continued to see her, however, and during one visit to Betty McCoy's house was captured by Roseanna's brothers. Roseanna, who disclaimed any part in their action, rode to the Hatfields to tell them of Johnse's capture. Because of her warning, the Hatfields were able to find the McCoy brothers and force Johnse's release. Her courage and show of faith did not result in a reconciliation, and in 1881 Johnse married Nancy McCoy, a cousin of Roseanna's, the same year Roseanna gave birth to Johnse's child. The baby girl lived only eight or nine months, and is believed to have been buried on a knoll (Site No. 2; see photo 5) near the house of Betty McCoy.¹⁶ Later Roseanna moved in with relatives in Pikeville where she died about 1889, the tragic figure of a hopeless romance. She is buried beside her parents in the Dils Cemetery in Pikeville.¹⁷

The next incident and perhaps the most serious to erupt between the families involved the death of Anse's brother Ellison at the hands of the McCoy's at another election on

¹⁵Jones, pp. 18-19.

¹⁶Location of grave of Roseanna's child according to McCoy family (i.e. Dixie McCoy and Cecil Phillips, descendants of Frank Phillips).

¹⁷Jones, pp. 35-38. It is recorded in the transcript of the Mounts trial that Roseanna was present during the first stages of the trial. However her name is not mentioned after 1889 and tradition has it that she died at an early age and that her death preceded that of her parents.

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August 7, 1882, and again at Jerry Hatfield's house on Blackberry Creek; Reverend Anse served as election officer that day. One of Randall McCoy's sons, Tolbert, initiated a quarrel with Elias Hatfield, a brother of Reverend Hatfield, and was joined by his cousin Ellison, one of Anse's brothers. The fight became heated and Tolbert drew a knife and stabbed Ellison. Tolbert's brothers, Phamer (also spelled Pharmer) and Little Randall (Bud), then entered into the fray and Ellison was stabbed repeatedly and shot once. Amazingly when the fight finally ended, Ellison still lived. His attackers were arrested and taken into custody and Ellison moved to the nearest Hatfield house. The following morning, however, before the McCoys could be taken into Pikeville for trial, they were kidnapped by Devil Anse and members of the Hatfield clan and taken across the Tug to a schoolhouse on Mate Creek. Anse intended to hold the boys until it could be determined if Ellison would recover from his wounds.

Sarah McCoy, mother of the three young men, was permitted to visit her sons at the schoolhouse, which she described later at the trial of "Cotton Top" Mounts:

I saw them on the Monday before that, at Floyd Hatfield's, while they were under arrest. The next time I saw them was over on Mate Creek, in Logan County, West Virginia, at a schoolhouse. When I got there, Val Hatfield was sitting by them with a shotgun across his lap. . . , the boys were lying on something on the floor, tied together with a rope. I fell on my knees and began praying and begging and crying for my children. Some one said there was no use of that, to shut up. Then some one came in and said that my husband was on the way with a large party to rescue his sons. I told them that there was nothing of it. They said for us to leave. Tolbert's wife was with me. They said that if they were interfered with my boys would be the first to die.¹⁸

Two days after the stabbing, Ellison Hatfield died. On the night of August 9, 1882, according to later testimony given by "Cotton Top" Mounts (illegitimate son of Ellison Hatfield), the following took place:

The three brothers were taken from a log school house in Logan County, West Virginia, and . . .brought over the Tug River. . . . They were tied arm in arm with a plow line. . .and placed in a boat, accompanied by Anse Hatfield, Bill

¹⁸Mutzenburg, pp. 45-46.

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Tom Hatfield, Tom Mitchell, Alex Messer, Dan Whitt, Mose Christian, Ian Mahorn, Joe Murphy, Jeff Whitt and myself. We brought them to the Kentucky side and led them by the rope up the bank fifty feet from the river [Site No. 3]. Carpenter tied them to a pawpaw bush and hung a lantern over their heads. Anse Hatfield then said: "Boys, if you have any peace to make with your Maker, you had better make it."¹⁹

The three boys were then shot; and the Hatfields crossed the river back into Logan County.

Randall McCoy found his sons the day following their murder still tied to the pawpaw bushes (see photo 6). They were buried on a hillside not far from Randall's home in a common grave (Site No. 4; see photos 7 & 8). Stated Sarah McCoy in her court testimony:

Tolbert was shot twice in the head and three or four times in the body. Phamer was shot in the head and ten or eleven times in the body, maybe more. The top of one side of the little boy's head was shot off. He was down on his knees, hanging to the bushes when they found him. Tolbert had one arm over his face. Tolbert was 31, Phamer 19 and Randall 15 years old. They were hauled home on a sled and buried in one coffin.²⁰

The bereaved McCoy patriarch stated he would let the law take its course. Governor Proctor Knott of Kentucky issued indictments for twenty of the Hatfield clan, forwarding the papers to officials in Charleston, West Virginia, but no arrests resulted. The then governor of West Virginia, E. Willis "Windy" Wilson, knew the power of the Hatfield vote and did not push for their arrest.²¹

The inaction of West Virginia officials stymied efforts to bring the Hatfields to court and so caused life along the Tug to come under serious strain. Members of the two clans roamed in bands, firing back and forth, on occasion, across the river. At times the Hatfields would come into Kentucky to Pikeville, and occasionally the McCoy's ventured over into West Virginia, but both clans took care to travel in large groups, and always heavily armed.

¹⁹G. Elliott Hatfield, p. 139.

²⁰Mutzenburg, p. 46.

²¹Thomas, p. 222.

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In August 1887, General Simon Bolivar Buckner was inaugurated governor of Kentucky and fulfilled a campaign promise to seek justice for the McCoy's. A requisition was issued to the West Virginia Secretary of State for the apprehension of Anderson Hatfield. A \$500 reward was also offered. Buckner appointed Pike County deputy sheriff Franklin (Frank) Phillips to receive the prisoners, but no answer from West Virginia was forthcoming.

As the year 1887 came to a close, tension mounted. Detectives swarmed the area hoping to collect the reward money offered for the Hatfield fugitives, forcing Devil Anse to leave his home on Peter Creek to seek safer quarters on Main Island Creek. The Hatfields finally decided on a course of action that they thought would bring an end to the harrassment--the killing of Randall McCoy. On New Year's day of 1888, several members of the Hatfield clan, led by Jim Vance and Anse's son Cap, made a raid on the McCoy home. Randall escaped, but other members of his family did not. His daughter Allifair (also spelled Alafair) and his son Calvin were killed and his wife Sarah was beaten into unconsciousness. His house and all the outbuildings were burned to the ground (Site No. 5; see photo 9).

The brutality of the killings caused great public outcry and pressure was put to bear on Pike County officials to see that the Hatfields were arrested. Frank Phillips led a posse across the Tug, in hopes of capturing a few of the Hatfields and spotted Jim Vance and Cap Hatfield. Phillips killed Vance, but Cap was able to make an escape. Other raids into West Virginia followed and Phillips was able to round up a considerable number of the Hatfield clan. West Virginia countered by offering rewards for Phillips and his posse.

Phillips, a gunfighter and hard drinker, was a man of dubious reputation. Sworn in as deputy sheriff in June 1887, he was relentless in his pursuit of the Hatfields and was one of the few men Devil Anse is known to have feared. Although ousted in his job as deputy sheriff by sheriff Basil Hatfield after less than one year, Phillips remained determined to bring the Hatfields to trial. As fortune would have it, Nancy McCoy left Johnse Hatfield in 1888 and went to live with Phillips, whom she married in 1895. They lived in Phelps and are buried in a nearby graveyard (Site No. 6; see photos 10 & 11). Phillips died as a result of a shooting in 1898.²²

²²Bartley, p. 15; Jones, p. 86.

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It was after the raid on the McCoy house that the feud became such an important item in the press. In addition to coverage in the Lexington and Louisville papers, articles on the feud, including interviews with the clan leaders, appeared in such newspapers as the Cincinnati Enquirer, the Cleveland Leader, the New York Sun, The New York Times, New York Tribune, and the New York World.

The governor of West Virginia did not let matters rest after the final capture of the Hatfields. He charged they had been illegally abducted and took the case to the U.S. District Court in Louisville in February 1888. The judge ruled the proceedings beyond the jurisdiction of his court because it concerned a controversy between states and a matter to be decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The case, known as "Plyant Mahon, appellant, vs. Abner Justice, jailer of Pike County, Kentucky," was presented to the Supreme Court and an opinion was handed down May 14, 1889. It upheld the judgment of the lower court and decreed that no legal process had been devised for compulsory restoration of parties wrongfully abducted from one state by parties of another state. The Hatfields had since been returned to Pikeville for trial.²³

In the late summer of 1888, other members of the Hatfield clan including Ellison "Cotton Top" Mounts were captured and held at the Pikeville County Jail (Site No. 7; see photo 12). The trial of the Hatfields began in late August, in the Pike County Criminal Court at the Pike County Courthouse (Site No. 8; see photo 13), where strong cases were made against seven of the prisoners. It was an emotion-charged trial, with the lead-off witnesses consisting of Randall McCoy and his wife Sarah. "Cotton Top," often referred to as "weakminded," confessed to a part in the crime and was sentenced to hang. Four others were given life sentences.

The execution of Ellison Mounts was scheduled for Tuesday, February 16, 1889. By Sunday, it is said, the crowds had begun to gather. By Tuesday, excitement was at a high pitch and the Pikeville militia was mustered to full duty, bayonets drawn. Mounts, hand-cuffed, was led from jail between lines formed by a guard of twenty-four well-armed men, and seated on a coffin box in the wagon waiting in front of the building. The wagon was slowly pulled through Pikeville, past the residential section, into the suburbs and on toward the scaffold waiting at the base of a low hill on the edge of town (Site No. 9; see photo 15). He arrived at the scaffold a few minutes before 1:00 and as the rope was adjusted and the black cap pulled over his face, he was heard to shout, "The Hatfields made me do it! They made me do it!"²⁴

²³Jones, p. 135.

²⁴Ibid, p. 179.

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The situation eased over the next few years, broken only by the killing by Cap Hatfield of one of the McCoy clan in November 1896. He was arrested, brought to trial, convicted and sent to jail. He later escaped and remained at large. Anse was brought to court in 1889 on a charge of making and selling whiskey without payment of the required Federal revenue tax. He was cleared of the charges and was never again called to appear in court.

By the turn of the century both clan patriarchs were old and tired of all the killing. After the destruction of their house, Randall McCoy and his family had since moved to Pikeville and had settled easily into the life of the town. Randall is said to have operated a ferry across Big Sandy at Ferguson's Creek. On March 28, 1914, in his 88th year, Randall fell into an open fire and died of burns. He is buried near his wife Sarah and daughter Roseanna in unmarked graves in Dils Cemetery (Site No. 10; see photos 16-19).²⁵

Devil Anse took up the life of a moderately well-to-do farmer at his house at Island Creek. His death on January 7, 1921, was noted in The New York Times: "Anderson Hatfield, long ago nicknamed 'Devil Anse' for his exploits in the Hatfield-McCoy feud that brought violent deaths to so many members of both clans, died quietly in his bed last night of pneumonia at the family home at Island Creek, Logan County. The old mountaineer was in his 86th year."²⁶ The funeral was attended by large numbers and, unlike the funeral of Randall McCoy, received wide attention in the press.

The overwhelming interest as indicated by press coverage in the mountain feud and the Hatfield-McCoy feud in particular has yet to be fully explained. Timing was certainly a factor. In the 1880s eastern Kentucky was being scrutinized for potential development of

²⁵Randall McCoy's place of burial is verified by his grandson, Orville R. McCoy, who states the grave "is located to the left of a path that crosses over the cemetery--at the time of burial there was two graves on the opposite side of the path--enclosed in an iron fence. My grandmother McCoy abode there.... Aunt Rosana--I am told was also buried there."

²⁶Jones, 239-240.

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its natural resources, and thus, for that reason, mountain society was under close observation. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there was great sociological interest in various ethnic groups and the isolation of the mountain people, the "primitive" level of their existence, made them a curiosity worthy of examination. It was then such labels as "our contemporary ancestor" were attached to the mountaineer. The Hatfields and the McCoy's were often studied in that light.

The character of the events associated with the celebrated feud, the terrain where they took place, the time span over which they occurred presented certain limitations on sites to be nominated as an historic district; certainly they preclude its being a contiguous district. The individual incidents of the feud, one of which was the destruction of Randall McCoy's house, defy association with specific structures. Considering that there was great loss of life and that this feud was regarded as uniquely violent, it seemed appropriate to nominate as part of the district certain cemeteries or graveyards in which those persons intimately connected with the Hatfield-McCoy war were buried. Dils Cemetery was included because there existed no standing structures associated with Randall McCoy, his wife Sarah, or their daughter Roseanna. The graveyard containing the body of Roseanna McCoy and Johnse Hatfield's baby was included for similar reasons. (The Aunt Betty McCoy House where the child was born and where Roseanna lived a short while no longer stands.) The McCoy family cemetery is the site most identified with the three young sons of Randall McCoy, killed by the Hatfields on the night of August 9, 1882. There buried also are the other two McCoy children killed by the Hatfields, Calvin and Allifair. The site, on an unspoiled wooded hillside, illustrates in the most graphic way possible the tragic loss suffered by the McCoy family during the course of the feud. It is only in the nomination of this combination of houses, sites, and graveyards that the Hatfield-McCoy feud can best be effectively interpreted and designated in a tangible manner.

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Addendum

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In making the original choice of sites to be included in the district, such sites as the Floyd ("Hog") Hatfield House, Betty McCoy House, Harmon McCoy House, Sam McCoy House, Jim McCoy House, Frank and Nancy Phillips Homesite, site of Johnse Hatfield's capture and recapture, were all considered but eventually eliminated because the location or existence of the site or structure could not be verified. The John S. Cline House in Pikeville, where Roseanna McCoy supposedly lived for a period and the house in Pikeville where Randolph McCoy and his family resided during the last years of his life are no longer standing.

As was stated in Item #8 of the National Register form, Dils Cemetery was included because no appropriate structure remains that is associated with Randolph McCoy, one of the two major figures in the feud. To clarify, we are nominating the cemetery as part of the Hatfield-McCoy Feud Historic District because the cemetery contains the grave of Randolph McCoy, an historical figure of outstanding importance. Nor is there an appropriate structure remaining that is associated with Roseanna McCoy, also buried in Dils Cemetery. The McCoy family house burned in 1888 and the Betty McCoy house where Roseanna lived after giving birth to Johnse ~~Hatfield's~~ child and where she was later visited by Johnse has not been identified. Strong evidence indicates the structure is not extant.

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- o Jerry Hatfield House: 17/395795/4159680
- o Roseanna's Baby's Grave: 17/392260/4165260
- o Murder Site: 17/397050/4163770
- o McCoy Cemetery: 17/392540/4159370 - ⁴¹⁶³
- o McCoy House Site: 17/392710/4159240 ⁴¹⁶²
- o Phillips Graveyard: 17/398460/4149780
- o Jail and Courthouse: 17/365840/4148840
- o Hanging Site: 17/365430/4148900
- o Dils Cemetery: 17/366000/4148740

WILLIAM McCOY

-William b. 1773)
 -Ezekiel b. 1775) Went west.
 -Walter b. 1777)
 -Benjamin b. 1798)

b. 1782	b. 1784	b. 1786	b. 1788	b. 1790	b. 1793	b. 1795	b. 1801
Samuel m. Elizabeth Hiram Rebecca John Asa William Ellender Phoebe Pleasant Benjamin Lucinda Allen Pyrrus Ulyssus Uriah Sarah "Sally" Jane Thomas	Nancy m. Thomas McColley James Elizabeth Nancy Margaret Barbara	Elizabeth m. William Scott Mary Nancy Andrew John Acton Daniel Barnabus Evan James T. Rebecca	John m. Margaret Jackson Nancy Rachel William Andrew Pleasant Randolph John Margaret Elizabeth Asa Peter	Daniel m. Margaret Taylor John Harriett William Randolph Asa Harmon Samuel Ruth Mary Etta Pharmer Nancy James M. Louisa Jane	Richard m. 1 Betsy Adkins m. 2 Mary Ann Chaney m. 3 Jane Allen William Phoebe Barbara Elizabeth Louisa Frances Nancy John Margaret James A.* William * Lewis Harrison	Joseph m. Mary Maynard Sarah Mary	Randolph m. Mary Ann Stafford John R. Malinda William Marion

*These two possibly went
by the name Estep.

