

Chapter 6

*Remember the teakettle. It sings
even when up to its neck in hot water.*

Helen Keller

“Are You a Communist?” Highlander 1957

During the Labor Day weekend of 1957, the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary by sponsoring a conference entitled "The South Looking Ahead." In 1954, the Supreme Court had issued its famous *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, unanimously ruling that racially separate educational facilities were inherently unequal. The following years, 1955 and 1956, saw the successful Montgomery bus boycott and the rise of a charismatic, powerful young black leader, Martin Luther King, Jr. All of these events pointed to a growing civil rights movement that Highlander itself had fostered.

Maurice McCrackin supported Highlander's work for unions and for civil rights and thought highly of its founder and director, Myles Horton. He helped Horton solicit funds in the Cincinnati area, welcoming his yearly visits. Horton and McCrackin had much in common. They were the same age, and both were inspired by their Presbyterian backgrounds, their youthful YMCA activities, and other common experiences to develop variations on the kind of social program Jane Addams had established at Hull House. While McCrackin's urban, church-related version was taking shape in the West End of Cincinnati, Horton's secular, rural version was evolving as an educational center in Tennessee for farmers and industrial workers. Both men were interested in facilitating the creation of a new, more just social order.'

From its beginnings in the early 1930s, Highlander was dedicated to racial justice and integration, although it was originally established as a labor school, fostering democratic unions and assisting in the training of union leaders. In the areas of preaching and practicing racial integration, Highlander was far out in front, often risking the destruction of the school and even the lynching of staff members.²

In the late 1940s and early 1950s, Highlander began moving from its labor union work toward addressing civil rights issues directly. One of the results of its work for both unions and civil rights is the song "We Shall Overcome," now a worldwide anthem of the oppressed. The original version of this song came to Highlander in 1946 with two striking tobacco workers from Charleston, South Carolina.³

By 1957 Highlander was ideally suited for the risky business of mobilizing for the great civil rights campaigns to come. It accomplished this by bringing together leaders already involved at the local level to exchange ideas. Earlier programs had inspired courageous and effective civil rights actions: Rosa Parks, for example, had been to Highlander workshops at least twice before she sparked the 1955 Montgomery boycott by refusing to give up her seat on the

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bus to a white passenger.⁴ She and others from the Montgomery Improvement Association were to be in attendance at Highlander over the Labor Day weekend in 1957.

When McCrackin got word of this anniversary conference, he jumped at the opportunity to go. Many of the 179 guests were luminaries in the civil rights and freedom movement: the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Association and founder and president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rosa Parks and the Reverend Ralph Abernathy of the Montgomery bus boycott; Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration under Franklin Roosevelt and publisher of the magazine *Southern Farm and Home*; Septima Clark, Highlander's education director and a renowned literacy educator; and Pete Seeger, the folk singer.⁵ Two participants were there under false pretenses. Abner Berry, a writer for the Communist *Daily Worker*, may have kept his affiliation secret in order not to alarm anyone; Ed Friend, an agent of the Georgia Education Commission, came with the deliberate intention to spy.⁶

A Highlander conference was a time to share information, develop strategies, and lift spirits. It gave local leaders in the forefront of social change a chance to retreat for a while from the tense situations they faced at home and to hear how the struggle was going elsewhere. With the successful campaigns to integrate the Cincinnati music schools and the Coney Island Amusement Park behind him, McCrackin was eager to meet others who were engaged in similar struggles. He offered to bring extra cots from Camp Joy for the expected overflow crowd at Highlander. He also brought a reel-to-reel tape recorder in order to take home the principal speeches so that others in Cincinnati could hear them.

All the Labor Day meetings at Highlander were open and covered by the press. Participants talked about the implications of integration for churches, schools, and unions. There were also formal speeches by John Thompson, the conference coordinator, and by Aubrey Williams, whose topic was "A New Dealer Looks at the Present."⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr., praised Highlander for its "dauntless courage and fearless determination" in twenty-five years of service to the South. He then brought greetings from the 50,000 Negro citizens of Montgomery who, in their bus boycott, found it "more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation." King spoke of the resistance of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens' Councils as doomed: "Certainly this is tragic. Men hate each other because they fear each other; and they don't know each other because they can't communicate with each other; they can't communicate with each other because they are separated from each other." McCrackin was reminded of the great lesson he had learned in integrating his church and neighborhood house: social integration is crucial for understanding among the races. It is hard for anyone to comprehend the sting of racial prejudice until it is aimed at a friend. Other phrases recalled the futile efforts to bar blacks from Cincinnati's conservatories and amusement park. Said King, "The opponents of desegregation are fighting a losing battle. The Old South is *gone*, never to return again."

King described his vision of the future, citing an important role for labor unions in the civil rights struggle. He also mentioned progress in the integration of churches: "Churches all over the country are asking their members to reexamine their consciences and to measure practice against profession. More and more the churches are willing to cry out in terms of deep and patient faith, 'Out of one blood, God has made all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth.'" King's speech ended with a pledge to resist injustice nonviolently and a call to renewed

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action so that "we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice."

The 179 guests were deeply moved by King's rhetoric and call to action. He had put into words the vision they were all working toward, and he enabled them to place their current setbacks in a larger perspective. McCrackin appreciated King's understanding of civil rights work as a living out of the faith; McCrackin, too, felt that the separation of the races promoted fear, and that communication and cooperative action in building what King called the "Beloved Community" could overcome that fear. King lent validity to the kind of work McCrackin was doing at the Findlay Street Neighborhood House.

In fact, the entire weekend at Highlander affirmed McCrackin's program at the neighborhood house. Like McCrackin, Myles Horton understood the importance of music and recreation in the creation of community, and socializing was as much a part of the program as speeches were. Blacks and whites swam together, folkdanced together, and generally enjoyed each other's company. Sometimes, between formal meetings, Pete Seeger would wander around the grounds like a strolling troubadour, banjo in hand, singing his songs. When the weekend was over, everyone left reinvigorated and renewed in confidence. All except one.

Ed Friend had arrived in Monteagle with a letter of recommendation and introduced himself as a photographer, asking Horton if he could photograph and film conference events and participants. Horton quickly agreed, thinking he would buy some of Friend's photographs for publicity purposes. As the weekend progressed, Horton thought it odd that Friend appeared uninterested in photographing or filming the speeches or meetings and more interested in the interracial socializing, the folk-dancing and swimming. And he always seemed to be trying to get Abner Berry into photographs. This irritated Horton. Horton wanted a photo of Martin Luther King, Jr., Rosa Parks, Aubrey Williams, John Thompson, and himself, but Friend insinuated Berry into the scene and snapped the picture.

"I won't pay for that picture," barked Horton.⁹ About a month later, the reasons for Friend's behavior became clear.

After leaving the Highlander conference, brimming with confidence and renewed determination, Maurice McCrackin traveled and visited friends for a few weeks, finally returning to Cincinnati in late September 1957. When he returned home, he noticed a news item in one of the local papers. Peter Outcalt was running for City Council. If elected, he was going to see to it that no Communist or fellow-traveler would ever speak in any public building. "The first one he was going to keep out," McCrackin recalls, "was the Reverend Maurice McCrackin. He knew that I just attended a 'Communist Training School' down at Highlander, Monteagle, Tennessee. I remember going home and showing it to my sister Julia. And I said, 'It'll blow over. Nothing to it.' Famous last words!"¹⁰

Soon afterward, a visitor rang the doorbell at the Dayton Street manse, a rather nondescript white man, hat in hand, vaguely familiar. McCrackin could not at first place him.

"Hello, Reverend McCrackin," the visitor said in a southern accent. "I'm Ed Friend. I was with you at Highlander recently, and I noticed you made some tape recordings while you were there. I made some movies myself I thought you might like to see the movies, and I'd like to borrow the tapes you made."¹¹

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McCrackin stood in the doorway, hesitant. He was unwilling to let the precious tapes out of his own hands, and he did not know how to convey this respectfully. As he led Friend into the house, he mused about the name and began to recall the man's strange behavior at the Highlander conference, where he never seemed to join in the group discussions and was always preoccupied with his movie camera when everyone else was socializing. Still, McCrackin would not let this interfere with his hospitality: "Please come in and we'll see if we can work something out about the tapes."

After introducing Friend to several women who were preparing for that evening's meeting of the Women's Society, McCrackin led him to the front parlor and offered him some iced tea, which Friend declined. "I'm a little bit reluctant to lend you the tapes because something might happen to them in the mail when you try to send them back," McCrackin said. "But I'll help you make copies if you want to rent some tape recorders while you're here in town."

In the telephone book, they looked up places that might rent tape recorders, and McCrackin made the arrangements over the phone. While Friend went to pick up the machines, McCrackin and several of the women present viewed the film on the church projector. All thought it strange that there were no scenes of the speeches or discussions, but only of square dancing and swimming.

McCrackin did not question Friend about this when he returned with several tape recorders. The two worked side by side to copy the five reels of tape McCrackin had recorded. It took over three hours to complete the project, and by then more women had arrived for their meeting. Since the hour was late, McCrackin invited his surprise guest to stay for pizza and spend the night. But Friend declined, saying he had to start back to Atlanta that night.

McCrackin became more and more puzzled by the exchange, especially the quick retreat once the recordings were made. It occurred to him that Myles Horton might know who this man was and whether his request for the tapes had been made in good faith. So McCrackin telephoned Horton at Highlander.

"Oh yes," said Horton, "I was suspicious of that man myself, the way he kept sneaking around with his cameras. And how quiet he was. So I did a little checking. He came up here with a big letter of introduction from a friend of mine in Georgia, but it turns out that guy didn't really know him very well." In fact, Horton continued, they had found out that Friend worked for the Georgia Education Commission. "So you know he was only up here as a kind of spy. They'll be making trouble some way so that they can slow down this whole school integration thing."¹²

"Oh my golly," said McCrackin. "I sure wish I had an inkling of that before I let the guy in."

"Me too," chuckled Horton. "But now he's got the goods, and I guess we'll just have to wait and see what he comes up with."

So it was that McCrackin helped furnish his enemies with the materials they needed to turn public opinion against him.

Over the years the truth about Ed Friend and his intentions has emerged. The story goes back to Roy Harris, once the Speaker of the Georgia House under Governor Eugene Talmadge and a political director for Eugene's son, Herman Talmadge. Harris was one of the most powerful politicians in Georgia history and was behind the establishment in 1953 of the Georgia Education Commission for the express purpose of preventing school integration and harassing integrationists. To a journalist Harris bragged: "We sent him [Friend] up there just to attend. He

went up there, registered as a delegate, kept his damn mouth shut, and made pictures, and they posed, and they were tickled to death to get their pictures made."¹³

Using the tapes and his own photographs, Ed Friend published a four-page, newspaper-sized broadside. The headline read, "Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn." The text named the people attending the meeting and the organizations they represented. This broadside, despite its clumsy usage, was to become famous in the history of the civil rights movement. It described the Highlander meeting in this way:

LABOR DAY WEEKEND, 1957

During Labor Day Weekend, 1957, there assembled at Highlander the leaders of every major race incident in the South, prior to that time since the Supreme Court decision. This meeting was directed by Reverend John B. Thompson, chaplain, University of Chicago. Reverend Thompson has a lengthy record of Communist affiliations which appears elsewhere in this folder. The direction of the entire school was under the leadership, as usual, of Myles Horton.

There were representative leaders of the TUSKEGEE, ALABAMA BOYCOTT, the TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA BUS INCIDENT, the MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA BUS BOYCOTT, the SOUTH CAROLINA-NAACP SCHOOL TEACHERS INCIDENT, the KOINONIA INTER-RACIAL FARM--AMERICUS, GEORGIA and CLINTON, TENNESSEE, SCHOOL INCIDENT among others.

They met at this workshop and discussed methods and tactics of precipitating racial strife and disturbance. The meeting of such a large group of specialists in inter-racial strife under the auspices of a Communist Training School, and in the company of many known Communists is the typical method whereby leadership training and tactics are furnished to the agitators.¹⁴

From 250,000 to 1,000,000 of these broadsides were printed and distributed--at state expense--throughout the country.¹⁵

A picture of Martin Luther King, Jr., was later retouched to show Abner Berry, the Communist, at the speakers' table with him. Blown up to billboard size, the altered picture was featured all over the South with the caption "Martin Luther King at Communist Training School." On a March 1965 *Meet the Press*, King was asked about Highlander's Communist label. He responded, "I don't think it was a Communist training school. In fact, I know it wasn't ... [It] was a school that pioneered in bringing Negroes and whites together at a time when it was very unpopular, to train them for leadership all over the South."¹⁶ On another occasion King told Horton, "When we in the civil rights movement do as much for our people as Highlander has, we'll be called Communist too."¹⁷

The broadsides put out by the Georgia Education Commission showed up in Cincinnati's West End in the fall of 1957. "I went into the barber shop, a half a block from the neighborhood house," McCrackin recalls. "On the table I found this sheet from the Georgia Education Commission. There were probably hundreds of these that were distributed within the neighborhood and the Cincinnati area."¹⁸

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By this time two local groups and several individuals had taken up the campaign: the local Chapter of the American Legion and the Methodist "Circuit Riders," a Cincinnati-based right-wing group headed by M. G. Lowman. The Circuit Riders were out to destroy the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and they published books that were little more than laundry lists of teachers and clergy suspected of being Communists or fellow-travelers.¹⁹

Lowman, whom McCrackin described as a "quiet-spoken, very convincing" person, apparently met with Friend and representatives of the American Legion when Friend visited Cincinnati in early October 1957. According to the *Atlanta Constitution*, Lowman was paid about \$4,000 by the Georgia Education Commission to pursue the McCrackin case, and he did his job with great vigor and success.²⁰ Other individuals involved in red-baiting McCrackin were Representative Gordon Scherer of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee; City Councilman Peter Outcalt; and Neil Wetterman, Americanism Chairman of the Hamilton County Council of the American Legion.

One of these people got to a reporter for the *Cincinnati Post*, who phoned McCrackin on October 6 and asked, "Did you know that you were attending a Communist training school?"

McCrackin, startled, responded, "There isn't any law against discussing our experiences, trying nonviolently to change society."

"Are you a Communist?" the reporter asked.

"I'll never answer a question like that," McCrackin replied. "It's a loaded question. It's hysterical. I'm not going to add to the hysteria by saying yes or no. What do you mean 'Communist'? Come around sometime and we'll talk it over."²¹ The next day, the front page of the *Cincinnati Post* featured a cadaverous picture of McCrackin and the headline "Met With Communists? McCrackin Doesn't Know." Under his picture was the statement "He Won't Say."²²

Presbyterian and Episcopal officials were alarmed by the accusations. Although it had been three years since the nationally televised McCarthy hearings resulted in the censuring of Joseph McCarthy by the U. S. Senate, the after-effects of McCarthyism were still keenly felt. In addition, the recent launching of the Sputnik Satellite by the Soviets had sent shockwaves of fear throughout America, and this fear was amplified in the daily newspaper headlines. Sympathizing with Communism was a serious charge in October 1957. Both the executive director of the Cincinnati Presbytery and the Episcopal bishop of the Southern Ohio Diocese asked McCrackin to explain why he would not deny the accusation.

McCrackin instead issued a long statement to the Presbytery, the Community Chest, and others regarding the October 7 *Post* article:

Two important matters relating to individual freedom are seen clearly in these recent events: One is in the question asked me by the reporter, "Are you a Communist?" There are a number of reasons why I could never answer this question. It is loaded, and is not asked with any intent to get at the truth. To say "No" will not only fail completely to convince the accusers or doubters, but may in itself become a point of farther controversy. A person ready to ask this question is quite unprepared to believe any denial. The only way to deal with an unethical question is to ignore it. . . . The question arises out of hysteria and it only adds to the hysteria to answer it. . . . *I dissent to the question itself.*

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The other important principle relating to recent events is that of freedom of association. I believe in free association of people. Jesus believed in it. . . . Is our democracy or our Christianity so weak that we would treat a Communist as some kind of outcaste with whom we will have no dealings? Many former Communists are now firm believers in democracy. This didn't happen in a vacuum. It happened in association with other people.²³

Friend's broadside and meetings with the Circuit Rider's M. G. Lowman and the American Legion's Neil Wetterman were incubating trouble for McCrackin on several fronts. But supporters leaped to McCrackin's side. A strong supporting essay appeared in the *Christian Century*, in a story aptly entitled "Georgia Invades Ohio." "The 'undercover' agent [Ed Friend] got pictures and tape recordings of all proceedings, 'infiltrating' a well-publicized, entirely open meeting by pretending to be a free-lance writer," it stated. "What makes it even more disturbing, though, is the evidence of a 'sovereign state' sending its secret police outside the state, and then using public funds to spread something very near libel."²⁴ On October 28, leaders of West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church met and issued a powerful endorsement of their minister. It read in part:

We reaffirm our great appreciation for the courageous, uncompromising, progressive Christian leadership which Mr. McCrackin has given to West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas Church, to the churches of our city, to the community as a whole and to other parts of our land. His is a prophetic leadership, pointing out by word and act the way of Jesus. Although we do not all have the vision and courage which are his, we have grown greatly because of his life among us The attack, designed to reduce the effectiveness of Mr. McCrackin's work among us, is an attack upon the principles for which our church lives, viz.: the inclusive community; the right and duty of the Christian to live by his conscience; the duty of the citizen to criticize his society and his government when criticism is just; the duty to work without thought of selfish gain for full liberty of all; the duty to minister to the needs of every individual as a unique personality; the duty to create a better community environment; the duty to expose all forces of evil wherever they exist.²⁵

Leaders of his own church were not the only ones alarmed by the attack on McCrackin. On November 1, Richard Moore, pastor of Greenhills Presbyterian Church, and seventy-one other individuals met in the First Unitarian Church in Cincinnati for the purpose of establishing a citizens' committee in defense of McCrackin. Calling themselves the "Committee for Freedom of Conscience," they too issued a public statement: "To let this minister stand alone at such a time is to acquiesce in the work of those promoters of discord now sowing the seeds of violence in our land. . . . This we refuse to do. We speak out now, therefore, with all the vigor at our command, to declare our unqualified support of Mr. McCrackin's conscience and our pride in his courage. In doing so, we believe we strike a blow not for this pastor and his work alone, but for ourselves and our children as well."²⁶

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McCrackin's enemies stepped up their campaign against him. On January 21, 1958, the Session of the Knox Presbyterian Church petitioned the Cincinnati Presbytery to remove McCrackin from his pulpit because of his "continued refusal to comply with the income tax laws of the United States."²⁷ Knox Church, with Melvin Campbell as pastor, was located in Cincinnati's Hyde Park neighborhood. It was the wealthiest Presbyterian church in the city. West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas was probably the city's poorest. The elders of Knox Church may have assumed that they could petition for McCrackin's dismissal because of the large financial contributions they made toward his work.²⁸

In the meantime, the American Legion was demanding that McCrackin's Findlay Street Neighborhood House be suspended as a Community Chest agency because of his supposed association with the Communist cause. The Legion was also publicly and privately asking the U.S. Internal Revenue Service to go after McCrackin, hoping to undermine his ministry by calling attention to his noncompliance with tax laws. Since 1948, McCrackin had refused to pay what he considered to be war taxes. The IRS usually managed to collect his taxes, with interest and penalties, by attaching bank accounts or garnisheeing his wages. McCrackin, who translated tax money very literally into bombs, continued to try to prevent this and asked his vestry session to pay his bills directly so that he would receive only a small nontaxable stipend. He also asked them to consider not opening their books for the IRS.²⁹ This request would later become another basis for church action against him.

In February 1958, the Presbytery responded to Knox Church's request that McCrackin be removed. A four-hour discussion before 100 voting members of the Presbytery led to a resolution asking McCrackin to "take such steps as are necessary to conform to the lawful command of civil government." The same resolution stated, in what seemed a peculiar contradiction, "A Christian citizen is obligated to God to obey the law, but when in conscience he finds the requirements of law to be in direct conflict with obedience to God, he must obey God rather than man."³⁰

The next evening McCrackin and his principal opponent in the Presbytery, the Reverend Melvin Campbell of Knox Church, appeared on an hour-long program on WCPO radio. The question was whether a minister who refused to pay income taxes should be removed from his church.³¹ Each made a five-minute statement. Following this, around twenty-five people called in to give their opinions. Only three callers thought that McCrackin should be removed.

The Reverend Hugh Bean Evans, the Reverend Henry Carter Rogers, and Campbell himself had previously urged McCrackin to withdraw from Presbytery because of his views. Campbell believed that Presbyterian church law did not allow for civil disobedience by ministers. In the radio interview, McCrackin brought up the situation of Nazi Germany, where laws and morality were in opposition as Hitler manipulated the laws for his own demonic purposes. Citing Episcopal Bishop James A. Pike, McCrackin said, "The Church has never regarded the civil law as the final norm for the Christian conscience. We must obey God rather than man. The Church has often been healthiest when it has been illegal." He concluded with a passionate plea, a centerpiece of Presbyterian doctrine: "God alone is Lord of Conscience."

The Committee for Freedom of Conscience again leaped to McCrackin's defense, and a statement signed by more than 300 people laid out the truth behind his hounding: "Finally, we

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must interpret both the attacks against Mr. McCrackin on the grounds of tax refusal and so-called 'Communist association' as efforts to condemn his public ministry in promoting an integrated society."³² Members of the committee believed the persecution had little to do with theological differences, church law, or even tax resistance. The key issue was McCrackin's dedication to racial justice.

In late February 1958, the Community Chest, headed by Guy Thompson, completed its investigation and issued a statement that was very supportive of McCrackin and much less ambiguous than the Presbytery's declaration of the previous week. "Mr. McCrackin has a record of selfless service to his agency and to the community," it read, while the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, which he founded and directed, is a "definite benefit to the neighborhood which it serves, and thus a benefit to the entire community." Neil Wetterman of the American Legion was outraged and promised to "take the matter direct to the public."³³

Highlander also began feeling the heat. Its supporters orchestrated a nationally publicized response to charges that it had served as a Communist training school. In December 1957 a statement defending and supporting Highlander was released over the signatures of Eleanor Roosevelt; Reinhold Niebuhr, of the Union Seminary; Monsignor John O'Grady, head of the National Conference of Catholic Charities--and Lloyd K. Garrison, former dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School. News of this was carried in the *New York Times* of December 22.³⁴

Red-baiting, Horton said in 1986, "wasn't a new thing to us. If you upset the apple-cart in any way, you're called a Communist. I think the main reason in the South for being called a Communist is coming out for social equality. And Highlander had been practicing social equality for years." Horton chuckled when he thought about how segregationists had targeted Highlander: "As the civil rights movement picked up, they erroneously thought Highlander was running everything in the South."³⁵ And some segregationists jumped to the conclusion that if they could shut down Highlander, they could shut down the civil rights movement. Horton himself saw Highlander as playing a more subsidiary role in the movement. He and Highlander were catalysts; they brought people together, leaders and followers, and these people made their own plans. Myles Horton made it clear that he did not invent, direct, or create the civil rights movement, but he was indeed a powerful catalyst. Maurice McCrackin served a similar role in Cincinnati, without the institutional independence that Horton enjoyed at Highlander.

The hysteria that branded McCrackin a Communist took a long time to dissipate. And in that process the Community Chest, the Presbyterian Church, and the people who surrounded McCrackin would be called upon to act courageously according to their own consciences.

On September 1, 1958, the battle of words and ideas swirling about McCrackin suddenly turned into a nasty legal fight, one with the potential of destroying a human being and damaging a community. McCrackin was served a summons by Elmer C. Reckers of the IRS to appear on September 10 and to bring tax records for the years 1955-1957.³⁶ An investigation concerning these years had been completed the previous June, but now, because of intervention by McCrackin's enemies, the case was to be reopened.

On September 5, McCrackin sent Reckers a letter declining to appear:

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I cannot respond to your summons because I cannot cooperate with an agency such as your own which has in it so many elements of a police state . . . I realize the possible consequences of refusing to respond to your summons. Nevertheless I wish to make it clear that I will not honor any summons, subpoena, or indictment from the Department of Internal Revenue, Judge of the District Court or United States Commissioner. That is not a threat of defiance but is a pledge of complete noncooperation with the evil forces which are now engaged in prosecuting this act of violence against my conscience.³⁷

McCrackin, kind and forgiving toward individuals, was unyielding against what he regarded as institutional injustice and its agents.

In early September, after McCrackin had received his IRS summons, the Bentley Post of the American Legion reaffirmed its boycott of that year's United Appeal drive because McCrackin and his agency, the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, had not been suspended in spite of the Legion's continuing propaganda campaign.³⁸ Irony and controversy surrounded the subsequent discovery that the Bentley Post itself was a beneficiary of United Appeal funds through the Community Chest, receiving \$8,333 a year for veterans' services.³⁹

To avoid damaging the United Appeal's fund drive, the governing board of the neighborhood house offered on September 7 to accept only designated funds--contributions earmarked for this service. The United Appeal accepted this offer almost immediately, but the solution would soon be moot.⁴⁰

True to his promise, McCrackin did not honor the September 10 summons to appear before the IRS. He realized that the consequences of this defiance would be severe, but he felt that the principle of freedom of conscience was worth it. Civil law and moral law were two separate things. To those who accused McCrackin of breaking down the orderly rule of law, he said that some laws themselves break down orderly government, and so you actually support and protect order when you disobey them.

On September 12, two days after the scheduled hearing, McCrackin was approached by a deputy U.S. marshal and two IRS agents while parking his car in front of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House. They carried a warrant for his arrest that read, "You are ordered to bring the body of Maurice F. McCrackin . . ." To McCrackin, the phrasing sounded apt. From here on, he was not going to cooperate in the violation of his conscience. He began to refer to his violated body in the third person, as if he were talking about someone or something other than himself. This was how he had heard Corbett Bishop, a pacifist noncooperator during World War 11, refer to his own body. Bishop, who served three prison terms for walking out of Civilian Public Service camps, once said, "The authorities have the power to seize my body; that is all they can do. My spirit will be free."⁴¹

McCrackin told the officials, "The body is here but I cannot in good conscience go with you voluntarily. I believe that what you are doing is wrong. If you, in good conscience, can take my body, you will have to do it, but you cannot take my conscience nor my spirit into custody."⁴² McCrackin was carried from his car to Cincinnati's Federal Building, up the elevator to the marshal's office, then on to the Tax Commissioner's office.

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Once inside the Tax Commissioner's office, McCrackin tried to behave consistently according to his understanding of what was at stake. He did not feel anything he might say to the commissioner would change anybody's mind about the morality of war or taxation for war. Whatever the commissioner wanted to initiate was the commissioner's business and a matter for *his* conscience. McCrackin's part in the proceedings was to stay clear on his position and not take responsibility for what the IRS had initiated.

Marion Bromley, his friend and fellow tax-resister, was present during this hearing, and she diligently recorded in shorthand the responses of the participants, publishing the dialogue in the *Peacemaker*. She noted that McCrackin refused to answer directly questions about whether he wanted a lawyer or a hearing. Instead he said, "God is my advocate . . . I'm not making any plea. . . . I have no feeling of guilt . . . I have no control now over what happens. According to the summons, you say you will bring the body. The body is here. I am trying to follow my conscience, and you fellows will have to do what your conscience leads you to do."

As the commissioner and an attorney discussed dates for a hearing and amounts for bond, McCrackin remained noncommittal, saying only, "That is not my decision" or "You are making the time, I have no part in it."

Finally the officials asked him if he would sign a bond to be released on his own recognizance. McCrackin declined. Surprised, they asked with some condescension if he knew what a recognizance bond was. "Yes," he said, "I know what it is. But I am not going to sign anything. You have brought me here; and what happens to me physically is beyond my control--but you can't control my spirit; and I won't sign anything."

When one official suggested that McCrackin might change his mind after consulting with legal counsel, another official more familiar with McCrackin chimed in, "I doubt that." Eventually the commissioner and the lawyer came around to the same conclusion. After holding McCrackin in a cell near the marshal's office all afternoon, they let him go rather than carry him once more over to the county jail. He had neither signed anything nor made any verbal agreement.⁴³

A picture of the fifty-two-year-old McCrackin, his lips set, his hands folded over his chest, being carried by three U.S. marshals, appeared in the September 22 issue of *Time* magazine. The marshals look tired and remote, perplexed by their strange burden. The minister, in contrast, looks calm and dignified in spite of the awkwardness of his position. A comic touch in the picture reveals McCrackin's priorities: a clearly visible hole in the sole of his shoe. Another story about McCrackin being carried to the hearing received national coverage in the *New York Times*.⁴⁴ Now his testament of conscience was before a national audience.

Almost immediately after McCrackin's arrest, the Community Chest suspended him and the Findlay Street Neighborhood House. This decision would cost the neighborhood house \$40,000 a year in support. Executive Director Guy Thompson, who had supported McCrackin up to that time, finally succumbed to community pressure, saying that the arrest "put a new light on the situation as far as we were concerned We felt we had to act to keep the public from losing confidence in us and causing all agencies of the Chest to suffer."⁴⁵ This stance confirmed Marion Bromley's belief in the conservative nature of organizational officials and their fear of taking chances. "People won't decide things based on their own ethics if they think it's going to

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possibly risk anything for their organization," she said.⁴⁶ Fear seemed also to dominate Bishop Hobson of the Episcopal Church and many others. The next day, out of necessity, the Findlay Street Neighborhood House announced that it was initiating its own fund drive. Representing the governing board, U. S. Fowler said that this action was taken with regret: "If this happens, there will no longer in truth be a *United Appeal* in Cincinnati."⁴⁷

Several days after McCrackin's arrest, Bishop Hobson said that if one of his ministers had acted as McCrackin had, he would have removed him at once. Hobson and McCrackin had worked together in promoting racial harmony in the West Cincinnati-St. Barnabas congregation and in the neighborhood house, yet Hobson claimed that McCrackin's deed was no different from Governor Orval Faubus's closure of Little Rock's public high schools rather than obey federal laws to integrate them--a story covered in the same issue of *Time* as McCrackin's defiance of the law.

Luckily, the Presbytery, not Hobson, had jurisdiction over McCrackin's office as pastor. But Hobson promised to oust McCrackin from the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, which was supported in part by the Episcopal diocese. McCrackin himself had many times tried to convince Hobson that the neighborhood house should be separated from the diocese, believing as he did that a true neighborhood house must be independent of denominational control. Earlier, when McCrackin had put forth this position, Hobson had rejected it. Perhaps the publicity surrounding the neighborhood house had once reflected well on the bishop and his diocese; now things had changed, and the pacifist minister was deemed an embarrassment.

Presbyterian leaders were also alarmed about McCrackin's arrest. The Cincinnati Presbytery voted to investigate McCrackin again to see if there were grounds for a church trial.

On Friday, September 26, McCrackin sat with twenty-five friends and co-workers in his church and began the first of three fasts that were to punctuate his resistance to imprisonment that fall. That was the day of his scheduled hearing before the U.S. commissioner in Cincinnati, a hearing he did not plan to attend. He commenced the fast with four goals: "self purification; enduring peace between all nations; the practice of reconciliation and brotherhood in our own land; that God alone may be accepted as Lord of Conscience."⁴⁸ This was McCrackin's first extended fast, and he began it with only the vaguest notion of what fasting involved. He knew that Gandhi had successfully used fasting during India's struggle for independence, and he knew that Jesus had fasted. In fact, he planned to fast for forty days because that was the length of Jesus' fast.

What McCrackin did not know was how ill he would feel after three days, and he had no idea how fasting might affect his health. He also worried that fasting might bring on a recurrence of the depression that had plagued him in Iran. Worried about his wellbeing, friends brought him books on fasting.

This first fast lasted only ten days before he realized that his growing weakness put too much of a strain on his sister Julia, who was caring for their ailing mother and aunt. Later fasts lasted for eight and fifteen days, each one given up at the point where McCrackin became dangerously weak or needed his strength for some new confrontation. It was only later that he came to experience fasting as a kind of spiritual communion with the suffering of the world--not so much a means of pressuring officials as a way of strengthening his own resolve and identifying with others who were deprived of food.

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But now these weeks of jailings and constant personal attacks were made all the more painful by great personal grief. McCrackin had been released from jail only a few days when both his mother and his aunt slipped into death, unaware that he had been imprisoned. On Monday, October 13, Aunt Mary Findley, who had lived with McCrackin since his ministry in Hessville, died at age ninety-seven. Two days later, his mother, Elizabeth Findley McCrackin, who had also shared his household for over twenty years, died at age eighty-seven, the victim of several small strokes. McCrackin always had a great love for and attachment to his mother and his aunt; they had not only helped shape his ideas and personality, but they had also shared in his ministry. These deaths, occurring just two days apart, were terribly painful to him.

With a heavy heart and beset with public vilification, McCrackin sat silently as the Reverend U. S. Fowler, fellow parishioner and colleague, officiated at a memorial service for his two loved ones. After the cremation, he took their ashes to the McCrackin family cemetery in Bourneville, Ohio, near his birthplace at Storms Station. In performing these simple duties away from the clamor of his more public responsibilities, he was sustained by his sense of God's presence and his deep-seated belief in a life beyond this one on earth. He felt the sustaining love and support of his mother and his aunt even though their bodies were gone, and he looked forward to rejoining their spirits when his own work was completed. But there was much left to endure beyond this personal grief, and within a few days of losing his mother and aunt he found himself in jail once again.

On October 25, McCrackin published a statement explaining his reasons for not resigning the directorship of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House despite considerable pressure to do so:

This is my vocation! This is where the church should be. This is where I feel I should be as a minister, not only as a pastor of a congregation, but identified with a settlement house, a place where everyone is welcome, where no race, culture, or religious group is given preference, where service and friendship are offered to all, with no strings attached. As yet I have heard no moral argument for my withdrawal. In substance all the arguments are, "If you stay we will lose contributions." This argument is neither moral nor practical.⁴⁹

In addition to his personal reasons for not resigning, McCrackin cited several matters of principle. First, his removal would jeopardize all directors of Community Chest agencies. Programs might be defunded just because somebody objected to a director for some reason or other. Second, calling him an anarchist for disobeying a civil law was the same as saying the civil law is "the norm of conscience." "Where this is done," he observed, "then a person is judged equally guilty whether the law he disobeys is good or evil." McCrackin acknowledged that "many have great difficulty understanding the meaning of 'freedom of conscience.' They are unable to separate the acceptance of this principle from the acceptance of the position of the person exercising his right of conscience." Some people had suggested that the Presbytery had a conscience too, continued McCrackin, but he vowed not to accept the voice of the Presbytery if it differed from his own conscience. "Freedom of conscience grants the individual the right to follow where he believes God is leading him. It does not require him to conform to the will of the majority but it requires that the majority grant him the right to differ."⁵⁰ It took the Presbytery of Cincinnati many years to respond to the challenge implicit in those prophetic words.

McCrackin, whose sense of humor often softened the serious edges of his beliefs, told a story about this trying period. That fall of 1958 his periodic jailings nearly kept him from presiding at a wedding he had promised to perform. Jean Barlage, an enthusiastic and effervescent young woman from his congregation, was eager to get married but found it hard to set a date because her pastor was in and out of jail. Ever the optimist, Barlage said, "He'll be out, no problem. I won't get anybody else. Mac has got to marry us!" Luckily he was released days before the scheduled wedding and the next night went to a restaurant with Barlage and her fiancé for a prenuptial dinner. "Oh, everything is fine!" she exulted. "Got my wedding dress all set. Preacher's out of jail!" McCrackin officiated at the wedding, but it was not long before he was carried back to jail.⁵¹ The jail was beginning to be more familiar to him than the pulpit, and uncertainty was a constant companion.

On November 14, McCrackin was carried into Judge John H. Druffel's courtroom for the second time. Fred Dewey and Theodore Berry had been appointed by Druffel to defend McCrackin. Dewey, active in the American Civil Liberties Union, was a professor at the University of Cincinnati's law school. Berry, who had worked to integrate Coney Island, was president of the local NAACP.⁵² Because of his refusal to cooperate with illegitimate authority, however, McCrackin would not accept any attorneys. He later wrote from jail, "I respect Mr. Berry and Professor Dewey as highly qualified lawyers. I am privileged to claim them as friends of long standing; but I have not asked for, nor have I wanted, any legal statements made in my defense. This is a moral, not a legal, struggle."⁵³ Druffel eventually accepted Berry and Dewey as "friends of the court," allowing the proceedings to move forward.

McCrackin's refusal to walk into the courtroom or to stand before the court or plead bewildered most Cincinnatians, including some of his supporters, who thought he was acting with disrespect toward a necessary institution. But McCrackin had carefully considered his response and based it on historical precedents going back at least as far as Jesus' behavior before Pontius Pilate. The court was being used to coerce the payment of war taxes. To go along with the legal system's protocol and to answer its questions was, to McCrackin, to legitimize its function as extorter of such taxes. He thus refused to speak or further explain his position, saying that he had made enough public statements in other contexts to reveal his stand on these matters.

McCrackin also knew that there was no way to convince these men of the rightness of his stand. He would show respect for them as persons, and would be cooperative in other situations. But he could not go along with their functions in this case. Throughout these trying days, McCrackin kept his poise by focusing on the basic principles: war is wrong; paying for war is wrong; each of us needs to do whatever we can to stop war.

Judge Druffel was angered by McCrackin's silence and vilified him for his noncooperation, ordering him to stand up and plead or face the possibility of spending the rest of his life in a mental institution.⁵⁴ Perhaps Druffel thought McCrackin truly was mentally ill; perhaps he was terrorizing a political and philosophical foe. In any case, he ordered a psychiatric examination. After this hearing McCrackin was returned to jail, where he began fasting.

A week later, on November 20, three court-designated psychiatrists reported that McCrackin was indeed mentally competent to make a plea and proceed with the case.⁵⁵ But in-

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stead of proceeding, McCrackin was unexpectedly released from jail later that day, with orders to return to Druffel's court at noon on Monday, November 24.

As might have been expected by this time, McCrackin did not voluntarily make a court appearance on Monday and shortly after noon he was arrested by three U.S. marshals while going about his business at the Findlay Street Neighborhood House. For the third time he was carried bodily into court. Judge Druffel and Prosecutor Thomas Steuvie were livid, and Druffel repeated his threat that McCrackin would spend the rest of his life in prison if he did not purge himself of contempt. Attorneys Berry and Dewey, who had submitted motions on November 20th to dismiss the case, tried to help McCrackin within the limited space available to them as "friends of the court." So much attention was focused on McCrackin's noncooperation that the court was neglecting the real issue: his war-tax resistance. At this hearing, Berry and Dewey tried to get Druffel to ease up on McCrackin. Finally Dewey made an impassioned speech: "I am in a dilemma concerning this case. I do not believe this person will change one iota. I do not think he can change. Severe punishment will not change this man's idea. I feel that it is highly advisable to get on with the trial. We have been too long on this part of it, and ought to get to the conclusion by adopting a tolerant attitude, because the conduct of the defendant is not contumacious. His conscience orders him to obey what he considers the law of God."⁵⁶

This appeal did not impress the judge. During the trial Druffel addressed McCrackin sharply, saying, "You are capable of making very pious utterances in the papers every day and then you come here and will not speak . . . You are guilty of willful and malicious--leave out malicious--defiance of the order of this court." Later in the court proceedings, the judge revealed his frustration and fear: "We tried to be lenient. He refused to plead, to sign a recognizance bond. If this conduct is allowed to stand everyone in the United States would adopt the same attitude." Shortly thereafter, Druffel asked McCrackin accusingly, and it seemed at the time irrelevantly, "Do you belong to the Fellowship of Reconciliation?"⁵⁷ The question was an important clue to Judge Druffel's political and philosophical biases. He did not get an answer to his question and proceeded to find McCrackin guilty of willful contempt for failing to honor a summons to appear in court and testify. The sentence was indefinite: McCrackin would have to remain in jail until he purged himself of contempt by walking into court and making a plea. About this McCrackin later wrote: "There have been times when I have been guilty of sins for which I felt the need of purging. But in this case I have no sense of sin and do not feel that I have held the court in contempt."⁵⁸ The judge must have known that an indefinite sentence might mean putting McCrackin in jail permanently. Two stubborn men were in battle here, each with his own system of beliefs, and each armed with his own weapon. McCrackin seemed to be the immovable object up against the irresistible force of the legal system.

Immediately after Druffel pronounced sentence, shouting bailiffs moved to clear the crowded courtroom. The onlookers, mostly supporters of McCrackin, did not hasten to leave. Finally, marshals wheeled McCrackin out of the courtroom through the overflowing crowd. At this point, many broke spontaneously into the hymn "Faith of Our Fathers." McCrackin could hear Ernest Bromley's strong voice above the general din and found it reassuring. A verse from the song resonated in McCrackin's mind: "Our fathers, chained in prisons dark / Were still in heart and conscience free."⁵⁹

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Months later, as a federal prisoner at Allenwood, Pennsylvania, McCrackin wrote in his journal about this period in his life, which appeared to be full of darkness and despair:

The most exalted spiritual experience I have had since my first arrest was the day at court when I was sentenced for contempt. It began as I was wheeled through the hall. As I passed by friends began singing, "Faith of our fathers living still . . ." I could still hear their voices as I was wheeled into the Marshal's office and into the cell. As I sat on the cot I felt a buoyancy of spirit and an assurance deep within, unmixed with any doubt, that out of this struggle some great good would come. This assurance has never left me.⁶⁰

On November 28, a few days after this contempt conviction, Bishop Hobson visited McCrackin in jail and informed him that the process of removing him as director of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House was under way. McCrackin's refusal to honor the court had been the last straw in a long series of public embarrassments for the bishop. Hobson would not find removing McCrackin an easy task, since the current board members were staunch supporters of the pastor. The Episcopal diocese and the Cincinnati Presbytery had to replace the entire governing board of the neighborhood house in order to remove McCrackin.

By this time McCrackin's case had come to the attention of several national groups concerned about social justice. A telegram was sent to President Dwight Eisenhower by a group of prominent supporters, including A. J. Muste of the FOR, John McKay, president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and John N. Sayre, then an Episcopal priest from New York City. Norman Thomas, a prominent socialist, also signed the letter, which urged that the president bring this case to the attention of the Department of Justice on the grounds that McCrackin's prosecution on a matter of conscience had gone beyond the public interest.

Over the Thanksgiving weekend, McCrackin managed to get out a message from jail, which was relayed to a Peacemaker gathering in Detroit:

With no intention of dramatizing the situation, I think the lines "Stone walls do not a prison make, Or iron bars a cage" express part of my feeling regarding tonight. You will be there and I will be here. But on a very deep level we will be together, for our togetherness is in our common commitment that there is no other way open which we can take than the way of reconciliation and active goodwill expressed in the Spirit of non-violence and complete forgiveness.⁶¹

While in jail for contempt of Judge Druffel's court, McCrackin awaited trial on an issue related to his war-tax resistance. His December 12 trial involved a charge of contempt of the Internal Revenue Service. Again McCrackin did not participate in the proceedings, and the case quickly went to the jury, which took only minutes to decide that he was guilty of contempt of the IRS.

Soon after hearing that he had been removed as director of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, McCrackin was finally sentenced by Druffel to six months in the federal prison at Allenwood and ordered to pay a \$250 fine. The sentence was for contempt; the real issue of tax resistance was never directly addressed in court. This, of course, was no accident. The IRS did not want to risk losing a case like this and setting a precedent for conscientious objection to war taxes, and it wanted to limit the publicity surrounding the case. In his remarks on the sentencing, Druffel berated McCrackin for his membership in the FOR and Peacemakers, "with those of

overwhelming Soviet sympathies." Druffel denounced him as a "pacifist agitator," an epithet that McCrackin would probably acknowledge to be true. Druffel went on to say, "I don't know of any more pious way to be a traitor than that." McCrackin did not respond to Druffel's hateful words. He said only, "It is my earnest prayer that the government will stop its war preparation and honor the consciences of those who would stop these evils."⁶²

People who had been actively involved in the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, Fellowship House, or any of McCrackin's other projects, those who knew him well, were appalled at the way he was treated in the press and in the courtroom. The Committee for Freedom of Conscience was especially disturbed at Druffel's accusation of disloyalty, treason, and guilt by association. It seemed in the tradition of Senator Joseph McCarthy, and, as was the case with McCarthy's victims, the person and the groups vilified had little or no chance to defend themselves. Druffel's statement that he had not gone into "whether or not he [Mr. McCrackin] is a card-carrying Communist" was especially offensive. The committee thought Judge Druffel's comments might be reason enough to overturn his ruling, but its real concern was "not so much with the legal as with the moral and ethical aspects of the judge's conduct, which constitutes coercion of an individual's freedom of belief and association, and jeopardizes public confidence in 'due process' and equality before the law."⁶³

Shortly after McCrackin started serving his sentence at Allenwood Federal Prison, Druffel revealed that he was so overwhelmed by the phone calls criticizing his handling of the case that he had had his phone disconnected. For information on McCrackin, he said, he had relied on three sources: the American Legion, the Circuit Riders, and Representative Gordon Scherer of HUAC-the vanguard of McCarthyism in Cincinnati, and the tools of Georgia's Governor Marvin Griffin and Ed Friend.⁶⁴

Governor Griffin, Ed Friend, and their cohorts had apparently won the first battle in this war. Maurice McCrackin was in prison; his career was in ruins. He had been removed as director of the Findlay Street Neighborhood House, and forces within the Cincinnati Presbytery were trying to get him removed from his pastorate and the ministry.

On December 1, 1958, Maurice McCrackin spent his fifty-third birthday fasting in a Cincinnati prison cell. Outside, a dozen Peacemakers passed out literature and carried signs saying, "Happy Birthday, Mac," "Reliance on Violence Is Leading America to Destruction," and "I Don't Want to Buy Guns and Bombs."⁶⁵ These days he had a great deal of time to reflect on his life, career, and vocation. His pilgrimage through life had been interesting, surprising, rewarding, and yet sometimes, as now, fraught with pain. When he considered the terrifying bout of depression he had suffered while a missionary in Iran in the 1930s, he was astonished at the strength of his mind and spirit, the courage of his convictions that he had demonstrated throughout this year of crisis. He attributed much of this strength to the Lord's grace, and to the outpouring of support from his community of friends.

McCrackin found himself at middle age in a prison cell, with no clear vision of a future. All of this for trying to live the faith he had learned at his mother's knee, trying, in the words of the novelist Charles Sheldon, "to do as Jesus would do." The ethic and tradition in which he was raised was one of service and sacrifice; the possibility of martyrdom or the cross was always there. Like Clarence Jordan, the great Baptist preacher and founder of Koinonia, McCrackin

63

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knew that he could not just be a *voyeur* of the cross or an *admirer* of Jesus. Full discipleship meant walking "In His Steps," wherever that might lead.⁶⁶

Notes for Chapter 6

1. Highlander's social goals were recognized even by its enemies. See E. H. Alexander, "The Highlander School Unmasked," *American Mercury*, July 1959, p. 149.
2. "In 1940, Highlander had informed all the unions it served in the South that the school would no longer hold worker's education programs for unions which discriminated against blacks." Frank Adams, with Myles Horton, *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander* (Winston-Salem, N.C.: J. F. Blair, 1975), p. 100.
3. Myles Horton's wife, Zilphia, and folk singer Pete Seeger modified the words and tune slightly, creating the song we know today. Adams, *Unearthing*, pp. 75-76; Thomas Bledsoe, *Or We'll All Hang Separately: The Highlander Idea* (Boston: Beacon, 1969).
4. Interview with Myles Horton, July 1986.
5. Other luminaries present included Dr. Alonzo G. Moron, president of Hampton Institute; Dean Charles Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute; Professor John Hope II of Fisk University; John Thompson, University of Chicago chaplain and former Highlander staffer; and Wilma Dykeman Stokely, the author. Ed Friend and the Georgia Education Commission, "Highlander Folk School: Communist Training School, Monteagle, Tenn." broadside, October 1957. McCrackin's personal files and the Highlander archives, New Market, Tennessee.
6. Bledsoe, *Or We'll All Hang Separately*, pp. 96-98; interviews with Myles Horton and Maurice McCrackin, July 1987.
7. Tapes of these speeches, recorded by McCrackin, are available at the University of Tennessee Library, Special Collections, Knoxville, Tennessee.
8. Transcript of an audio-tape made by Maurice McCrackin. Transcribed by Fred Kerber, Ellen Evans, and Robert Coughlin.
9. Adams, *Unearthing*, p. 126.
10. Interview with Maurice McCrackin, June 1986. Julia, widowed the previous year, was now living with her brother.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Horton and McCrackin, interviews, July 1987.
13. Howell Raines, *My Soul Is Rested* (New York: Putnam, 1974), p. 437.
14. Friend and GEC, "Highlander Folk School." Errors are left intact in this excerpt.
15. John Popham, "Leaders Defend School in South," *New York Times*, December 22, 1957; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, p. 436.
16. "Martin Luther King Jr. Meets the Press," transcript, *Meet the Press*, NBC, March 28, 1965.
17. Horton interview, July 1986.
18. McCrackin interview, June 1986.
19. Lowman was elected executive secretary of the Circuit Riders around 1951. This group was described by the *Cincinnati Enquirer* at the time as a "newly organized Methodist group to oppose socialistic and communistic programs in religion and education." A 1960 *Enquirer* article discusses a 600-page book that had just been published by the Circuit Riders and quotes Lowman as saying, "Here is where you can read who did what, when and where in support of a Communist cause." He describes the Circuit Riders as a group that "exposes socialistic, pro-communistic and other un-American groups which exploit American education and religion for their cause." "New Book Exposes List of Communism Backers," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, January 20, 1960.
20. Cited in the *Peacemaker*, October 4, 1958, p. 5.
21. McCrackin interview, June 1986.
22. *Cincinnati Post*, October 7, 1957.
23. "Minister Under Fire for Integration Stand," *Peacemaker*, October 21, 1957, p. 2. Emphasis added.
24. *Christian Century*, October 30, 1957, pp. 1275-76.
25. "Cincinnati Groups Rally to Support of Rev. McCrackin's Integration Stand," *Peacemaker*, November 18, 1957, p. 2.
26. *Ibid.*
27. "Presbytery Weighs Removal of McCrackin," *Peacemaker*, February

- 15, 1958, p. 4.
28. There was some irony in this situation. For years, members of Knox Church, many of them women, had worked closely with McCrackin in the Findlay Street Neighborhood House. There were no women serving on the Session that petitioned the Presbytery to remove McCrackin.
 29. Letter to Church Members, September 12, 1957. Cincinnati Historical Society.
 30. "Presbytery Censures, Retains McCrackin," *Peacemaker*, March 1, 1958, p. 3.
 31. Ibid.
 32. "Presbytery Weighs Removal of McCrackin." McCrackin's opponents within the church, however, did not give up their efforts to silence him. Their persistent attacks are covered in detail in Chapter 9.
 33. "Community Chest Backs McCrackin," *Peacemaker*, March 1, 1958, p. 2.
 34. Popham, "Leaders Defend School in South."
 35. Horton interview, July 1986.
 36. Maurice McCrackin, "Pilgrimage of a Conscience," manuscript. Cincinnati Historical Society.
 37. Ibid.
 38. "UA Head OK's Offer to Limit Chest Gift," *Cincinnati Post*, September 8, 1958.
 39. "Legion Snubs UA; Post is Beneficiary," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 11, 1958.
 40. "UA Head OK's Offer to Limit Chest Gift."
 41. Interview with Maurice McCrackin, March 2, 1987. See also Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, eds., *Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States* (Philadelphia: New Society, 1987), p. 107. Bishop's noncooperation was so thorough that he went 426 days without voluntarily taking food and water (he had to be force-fed). He even refused to use the toilet while a prisoner. When he was finally given his unconditional release, he had to be carried out of jail.
 42. "Rev. McCrackin Fasts as Case Is Referred to Federal Grand Jury," *Peacemaker*, October 4, 1958, pp. 1-2.
 43. Ibid.
 44. "God and Taxes," *Time*, September 22, 1958, p. 64; "Balking Cleric Carried," *New York Times*, September 13, 1958: Additional coverage of this affair was found in the *Christian Century*, the *Peacemaker*, and the Cincinnati papers.
 45. "Findlay May Ignore UA; Launch Own Fund Drive," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, September 13, 1958.
 46. Interview with Marion Bromley, July 1986.
 47. "Rev. McCrackin Fasts as Case Is Referred to Federal Grand Jury," p. 5. Emphasis added.
 48. Ibid., p. 1. The phrase "God alone is Lord of Conscience" is from the Presbyterian Westminster Confession. McCrackin felt that this principle was not being honored by many in the Presbytery in his case.
 49. Maurice McCrackin, "Hatred of War Made it Impossible to Obey," *Peacemaker*, October 25, 1958, p. 3.
 50. Ibid.
 51. McCrackin interview, June 1986.
 52. Berry was later elected to Cincinnati City Council and eventually served as mayor.
 53. Maurice McCrackin, "Statement from Jail by McCrackin," *Peacemaker*, December 6, 1958, p. 5.
 54. "McCrackin Jailed 'Indefinitely' as Friends Rally to Support," *Peacemaker*, December 6, 1958, p. 1.
 55. Ibid., p. 3.
 56. Ibid., p. 3.
 57. Ibid., pp. 2, 3.
 58. McCrackin, "Statement from Jail by McCrackin," *Peacemaker*, p. 5.
 59. "McCrackin Jailed 'Indefinitely' as Friends Rally to Support," p. 3.
 60. Prison journal, 1958-59, manuscript, Cincinnati Historical Society.
 61. "Detroit Peacemaker Conference Discusses Walk, McCrackin, Taxes," *Peacemaker*, December 6, 1958, p. 1.
 62. "Tax Man Cometh in America," *Christian Century*, February 19, 1958, p. 213.
 63. Statement issued by members of the Committee for Freedom of Conscience, December 17, 1958.
 64. He told this to Dr. Herrick Young, president of Western College in Oxford, Ohio, Cornell Hughson, and the Reverend Fred Sturm, all of the Oxford Fellowship of Reconciliation, when they visited him in his chambers. "Three Visit Judge Druffel," *Peacemaker*, January 31, 1959, p. 1
 65. "McCrackin Jailed 'Indefinitely' as Friends Rally to Support," p. 4.
 66. The reference is to Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps*.

