



# **CALL ME MAC: A BIOGRAPHY OF JUDGE MAC SWINFORD**

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## CALL ME MAC: A BIOGRAPHY OF JUDGE MAC SWINFORD

Professor William H. Fortune

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### I. MAC SWINFORD

Appointed to the bench in 1937, Mac Swinford was a Kentucky federal judge for almost thirty-eight years. On the evening of Monday, February 3, 1975, after a day in his favorite court (the federal court in Covington), a walk in his favorite city (Cincinnati) and a meal in his favorite restaurant (Caproni's), Mac was stricken with a major heart attack; he died in the hospital in the early hours of February 4. It is appropriate that he spent the final day of his life as he had spent so many days – presiding over a jury trial. On that Monday, he presided over the lawyers' final arguments in a case held over from the previous Friday, instructed that jury, sent the jurors home for the night, and empaneled a second jury for a case to be tried the following day. He figuratively died "on the bench," doing what he was born to do.

Mac was a judge's judge. As fellow judge B.T. Moynahan described him, "Tall and erect in physical bearing, with a heavy shock of steel grey hair, he not only acted, but also looked like a judge; indeed he would have been a classic prototype for a judge in a Hollywood thriller."

### II. CYNTHIANA

It's about a mile up Pike Street from the Harrison Deposit Bank in downtown Cynthiana to Battle Grove Cemetery at the edge of town. On the right, as one drives up Pike Street from downtown, is a modest frame Victorian-style house, and, on the left, directly across the street, is a white-columned house. Except for vacations, college, and six months in Covington, Mac Swinford spent his entire life on Pike Street, growing up in the Victorian house owned by his parents, and raising his own family in the white-columned house across the street. For twenty-five years, he maintained a third floor walk-up office in downtown Cynthiana, first in the Harrison Deposit Bank and later in the Farmers National Bank, most days walking home for lunch. In death, he rests beneath a simple stone in Battle Grove Cemetery.

### III. M.C. SWINFORD

Mac's father, M.C. Swinford, was a prominent lawyer, successful businessman, and politician. He was a puritan – he did not smoke, drink, or gamble, and "had no hobbies and enjoyed no sports and knew nothing about them." After M.C. died at ninety-five, Thaxter Sims, who had succeeded Mac as M.C.'s partner, wrote, "I never once saw him even idle in his office with his feet on the table or in a relaxed state of mind, except after he retired at about eighty-five years of age. He believed in straight chairs for the office and especially for reading, and he did not permit a newspaper or magazine in his office ..."

#### **IV. MAC AND THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**

He had a deep appreciation for "The University;" engravings of the school adorned the walls of his home study, and, on visits to the campus with family members, he liked to point out the room "on the lawn" in which he'd lived while a student. He loved "The University," not only for the education he received there, but for its traditions and architecture (he remodeled the Pike Street house to resemble a house in Charlottesville he admired).

#### **V. PRACTICING LAW AND MARRIAGE TO BENTIE PETERSON**

In a second floor walk-up office next to Swinford and Swinford, separated only by a party wall, was the law office of Hanson Peterson, and in that office was Hanson's young daughter, Benton (called "Bentie"), one of the first women to be admitted to the practice of law in Kentucky. Bentie and Mac had similar backgrounds and mutual interests (Bentie also had put up Barkley signs in the 1926 campaign). They fell in love and were married in the Peterson home on November, 17, 1927, beginning a partnership that was to produce five children and last almost fifty years.

#### **VI. YELLOW-DOG DEMOCRAT**

While still in school in Virginia, Mac filed to run in the Democratic primary for Harrison County representative to the Kentucky General Assembly. "Before finishing college, I longed for the public forum of legislative halls and announced for the Kentucky legislature."

When he feared his nephew's wife, Frances Swinford, might stray from the fold, Mac would say, "Frances, if you ever vote for anyone other than a Democrat, your coffee will never taste good again." Within the family, Harrison County's Republican Pike (leading to Mac's Red Gate Farm) is still sometimes called "Bad Name Pike."

#### **VII. BECOMING U.S. ATTORNEY**

Mac and M.C. worked hard for the Democrats in 1932, and Mac worked to cement his relationship with Barkley. He telegraphed congratulations to Barkley after the keynote speech, assured him that all was well politically in Harrison County, and invited Barkley to have dinner and spend the night when he came to town to help Harrison County Democrats kick off the fall campaign.

Soon after the election, M.C. and Mac started a letter-writing campaign to promote Mac for appointment as United States Attorney. They solicited recommendations from friends and political supporters, prefacing requests with a disclaimer of personal ambition: "A number of my friends throughout the state have been urging me ..."

## **VIII. FOX-HUNTER**

Mac and his friends hunted foxes by sitting in a field in the middle of the night listening to their hounds, each man claiming to be able to recognize his hound by the sound of its voice

As a young man, Donald Fryman, one of Mac's tenants, went on several of Mac's hunts. Interviewed in 2009, Fryman said they would take the dogs up to the "Chapel Church on the ridge and sit there and listen to the dogs." About two or three in the morning they'd go home and go to bed, trusting the dogs to find their way back. Sometimes they did; sometimes they didn't.

Fox-hunters need foxes, and Mac imported foxes when the native stock was insufficient. A 1934 letter refers to catching a den of foxes in Robertson County and "liberating them" in Harrison County, and a 1937 letter refers to an order by the Kentucky Division of Game and Fish (presumably at Mac's request) for twelve red foxes from the Minnesota Fur Ranch in Frost, Minnesota. What poultry farmers thought of "liberating" foxes in rural Harrison County can only be imagined. While there are no letters of outrage in Mac's files, there is a letter from Mac to a farmer friend enclosing a two dollar check "to cover the damage to your chickens."

## **IX. GO-TO POLITICIAN**

Because he was politically connected and held a political office, Mac was believed to be an effective go-to person for those seeking political jobs.

Democrats throughout the state asked Mac for help in landing federal jobs. They believed Mac had influence in Washington, and he gave credence to that belief by writing letters to Barkley, Logan and Vinson asking them to help loyal Democrats who had been locked out of federal jobs in Republican administrations.

## **X. BECOMING FEDERAL JUDGE FOR THE EASTERN AND WESTERN DISTRICTS OF KENTUCKY**

He was just thirty-six years old, had no judicial experience, and only three years' experience as district attorney. Furthermore, he and Judge Ford were from adjacent counties in central Kentucky. To the extent that patronage was to play a part in the appointment, it could be expected that Barkley and Logan would select a worthy Democrat from eastern or western Kentucky rather than another central Kentuckian.

Mac wrote Barkley often – perhaps too often – to seek a favor, ask for advice, or extend a compliment, but the senator apparently did not regard Mac's letters as imposing on their relationship. Perhaps he was flattered by the attention; perhaps he saw himself in Mac – both men were friendly, story tellers, ambitious, small town lawyers, and highly partisan Democrats. Barkley probably admired Mac's ambition in going after the judgeship (that Ford was appointed to) less than a year after he had become district attorney, and he probably admired Mac's energy – a family man, prosecuting, traveling around the state, campaigning, practicing a little law and a lot of fox-hunting. In any case, Barkley must have

decided that Mac should get the appointment, and Logan went along. Interviewed years later, Mac was asked how one gets to be a federal judge. He replied, "It's sheer luck; sheer luck in having friends like Barkley and Logan."

## **XI. RIDING CIRCUIT**

This was the pattern. On Sunday afternoon Mac would drive to the town (except for Covington) in which court was to be held the next day. Litigants, witnesses, jurors and potential indictees would jam the courthouse on Monday morning. Mac would empanel a grand jury first thing and start hearing motions in civil cases. By noon the grand jury would return indictments, and he would then take guilty pleas and set cases for trial. During the week he would try whatever cases, civil or criminal, were ready to be tried. When a jury retired to deliberate, he would empanel another jury for the next case on the docket. On Friday he would wrap matters up and head back to Cynthiana, returning the next week if necessary to finish the docket. In Mac's day books, there is scant evidence of discovery disputes and no evidence of pre-trial conferences or mediation. Motions were heard at trial and most discovery disputes were resolved by the parties. If a case was ready to be tried, it was tried; if it wasn't ready, it was held over to the next call of the docket. He came to town to take guilty pleas and try cases, and he left town when the pleas had been taken and the cases had been tried or settled.

## **XII. HE TRIED CASES!**

Following are statistics from two representative years, 1943 and 1959. In 1943, he tried fifty cases: forty-three were jury trials, seven were bench trials; thirty-four were civil, sixteen were criminal; five were settled during trial and there were no hung juries. In 1959 he tried forty-two cases: thirty were jury trials, twelve were bench trials; thirty-four were civil, eight were criminal; five were settled during trial and there were three hung juries. In addition to trials, the day books for those years report numerous hearings, research and opinion writing – seven opinions published in 1943 and eleven opinions published in 1959.

The 1959 day book shows two bench trials on March 3 in Bowling Green, two jury trials on June 2 in Pikeville, two jury trials on July 8 in Covington, the same in Bowling Green on September 23, and two juries out at the same time in Covington on December 18.

## **XIII. DOING WHAT HE THOUGHT WAS RIGHT**

Anna Buer invented and patented a collapsible push cart for carrying groceries. Montgomery Ward made and sold a similar cart. Alleging patent infringement, Buer sued Montgomery Ward, which responded that Buer's patent was invalid because the design of the push cart was obvious and lacked "invention." In sustaining the patent, Mac quoted at length from Anna Buer's testimony – how the idea had come to her, how she had worked on it at night after fixing dinner for her family, and how she had persuaded the War Production Board to allow her to purchase hinges and rivets for the carts ("I explained to them what I was trying to do to help those families who like myself – husbands were then gone – they had no cars – gasoline was rationed ..."). Mac wrote, "It is not too much of an

overstatement to attribute to them (inventions of this kind) an important place in that domestic tranquillity which is so necessary to our national existence. I am much impressed with the idea this plaintiff had. Simple though it was, it had not been given to the public before. It is invention in its best sense. She should not be deprived of the fruits of her initiative." However, the spoil-sports on the Court of Appeals thought otherwise. The Court unanimously held that Anna Buer's patent was invalid for lack of invention.

#### **XIV. HOME LIFE**

Mac was often on the road during the week but always home for church and Sunday dinner. In a 1972 interview his daughter, Sally, was quoted as saying, "I don't remember a weekend that he wasn't home." Family members share memories of the Sunday dinner ritual: Mac sat at the head of the table; Bentie sat at the foot of the table; and children, relatives and guests arranged themselves down the sides of the table. The children (and later the grandchildren) said grace. (Bentie told a 1971 interviewer, "We have the most blessed food in town.") Then Mac carved the meat, plates were passed, the family ate, and conversation ensued. Mac guided the discussion, which could last for hours and range over many topics. Children were encouraged to express themselves and to support their arguments with facts; a child's bold assertion might be followed by a trip to the library to "look it up" in one of the many available reference books. Remembering those dinner conversations, Alice Jane commented, "We always had good discussions ... we had the right to think the way we wanted." In 1971, Mac was quoted as saying, "I have never tried to inhibit the thinking of my children. We discussed things out, trying to arrive at the truth of the matter, whether public questions or domestic problems."

#### **XV. THE CAMP**

At a foreclosure sale in 1937, Mac paid \$5,846 for a 242 acre farm on the Main Licking River. With wood taken from several abandoned houses, he built a cabin near the river where he and his family spent time every summer. In the days before air conditioning, Kentucky's federal courts closed (except for the clerk's office) for most of the month of August, allowing the Swinfords to spend that month at the cabin.

With the help of the children, Mac painted the gates red and named the farm Red Gate Farm. The daughters' happy childhood memories are largely from summer vacations at "The Camp," as the family called the cabin on Red Gate Farm. The cabin was (and is) primitive. There's no running water and, of course, no inside bathroom. It was electrified in 1947; before that time, the family used coal oil lamps, and Bentie worked magic with a coal oil stove and an old-fashioned ice box.

The family loved life at The Camp. They rode horses, swam in the river (Mac taught all the children to swim), sang, read, played ping-pong and games, and sat outside after dinner to look at the stars and listen to Mac's stories.

Mac walked and later drove around the farm (later expanded to three farms) in his second hand International Harvester Scout, chewing tobacco and talking in

country vernacular (what Sally calls his "shore nuff" persona) with his tenants and neighbors. He often used the folding chair he kept in the back of the Scout to sit for a while on "Meditation Ridge," a wide hilltop that overlooks the Licking River and the river bottoms.

## **XVI. THE INQUISITORS CLUB**

While holding court in Owensboro in February, 1943, Mac attended a meeting of the Owensboro Investigators Club as the guest of Ben Ringo, a local attorney. After the meeting he wrote in his day book, "I plan to see if something of this kind can be started in Cynthiana." In September of that year Mac started a men's research and discussion club, patterned on the Owensboro club ... The name initially selected was "Research Club;" however, at Mac's suggestion, the name was changed to "Inquisitors Club" and so it has been over the years.

Mac used the Inquisitors Club as a medium in which to refine his political philosophy. His "original papers," copies of which are in his files, reveal a man who believed in the Constitution and Bill of Rights as a perfect embodiment of the rule of law; who believed the Constitution and Bill of Rights are based on Christian principles and a belief in God; who believed the United States should exercise moral leadership in the world; who believed that disputes between nations should be decided, not by war, but by international diplomacy; and who believed the nations of the world should renounce exploitation of other nations. During thirty-two years in the Club, he wrote eighteen papers, all but one political, most focusing on foreign policy issues.

## **XVII. LIFE ON THE ROAD**

From 1937 to 1963, when he became chief judge of the Eastern District, Mac held court at least twice a year in Owensboro, Bowling Green, Pikeville, Catlettsburg, and Covington. If possible, at each location he stayed in the same room in the same hotel, recording in his day book that, on arrival, he had been "assigned my usual room."

One gets the impression from Mac's correspondence and day books that he thoroughly enjoyed trips to "his" courts. He had comfortable routines, favorite restaurants, and friends who sought him out in every town. Though slowed by a series of ailments (gall bladder in 1955, hernia in 1958, diverticulitis in 1959, and heart attack in 1964) he displayed remarkable energy for a man of any age. He rarely went to bed before 11:30 pm, and, in the company of court personnel and friends, he went out most nights after dinner – to stage shows, movies, and sports events of every kind.

Pikeville was special, almost a second home for Mac. As district attorney, he had represented the government in the lawsuit to condemn (take by eminent domain) the land on which the federal courthouse was built; as judge, he dedicated the courthouse and presided over the first case tried there. Pikeville lawyers and businessmen treated him like royalty. From his day books and correspondence, one gets the impression that Pikeville slept between federal court sessions and woke up when Mac came to town.

## **XVIII. GAMBLING CASES**

In the early 1960s, Mac's most significant cases were the northern Kentucky gambling cases. Featuring a world-class aquarium on its attractive river front, 21st-century Newport, Kentucky, is a family-friendly place with hardly a trace of the days when the city provided entertainment of a type unavailable in staid Cincinnati across the river. In the 1940s and 1950s, however, gambling and prostitution were carried on openly in the bars and restaurants of Newport and other northern Kentucky communities.

To give a 21st-century reader an idea of how wide-open Newport was in its heyday, consider the evidence produced at the 1962 federal tax evasion trial of Frank "Screw" Andrews concerning the numbers operation at the Sportsman's Club: six girls recording bets, approximately \$8,500 a day coming in, and dual books, with federal taxes paid on about a quarter of the profit.

Until the 1960s, northern Kentucky reform efforts went nowhere. Police refused to arrest, grand juries refused to indict, prosecutors refused to prosecute, and judges refused to punish. In February 1959, the SAC (Social Action Committee) presented evidence of open gambling and prostitution to a Campbell county grand jury. An openly hostile grand jury reported that it could find no gambling or other vice anywhere in Newport. The grand jurors were suffering from a peculiar eye condition common to grand juries and public officials in Newport for almost three decades. The affliction, known as "Newport Eye," prevented public officials and grand juries from seeing gambling in their midst.

In the early 1960s, a number of forces came together to clean up northern Kentucky. The main reform group, the Social Action Committee (SAC) pressed for the removal of corrupt officials; Kentucky Attorney General John Breckinridge took some responsibility for local law enforcement; and U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy took on organized crime syndicates identified by the Kefauver Committee ten years earlier. The defining event was a clumsy attempt to frame George Ratterman, a Cincinnati high school football star who had quarterbacked Notre Dame and the Cleveland Browns before becoming a Newport businessman.

Trial began in Mac's court on June 5, 1962, and was front page news for three weeks. April Flowers was the star witness. Dressed in a "sedate yellow frock with a white purse and matching gloves," she testified that Carinci had pulled her from her act and directed her to the hotel room where a completely clad Ratterman was passed out on the bed, that the officers had entered and arrested her and Ratterman, and that she had lied at Ratterman's police court hearing on instructions from Carinci and Lester.

In their appeal, Lester and Buccieri argued that, as private citizens, they could not be guilty of a conspiracy to violate the federal criminal rights statute, 18 U.S.C. §242, since the statute requires that the defendants' actions be "under color of state law," and the only state actors – the police officers – were acquitted. In a 2-1 decision, a panel of the Court of Appeals rejected this argument and upheld the convictions.

## **XIX. KENTUCKY LAWYER**

At some point – at least as early as 1959 – Mac began to toy with the idea of writing a book that would be both a tribute to Kentucky lawyers and an anthology of his favorite lawyer stories. He worked in longhand on legal pads, and his daughter, Sally, secretly borrowed the legal pads and typed the first draft of the manuscript as a surprise 1959 Christmas gift.

Proud of the book and caring not at all about royalties, Mac gave away the author's copies and bought additional copies for friends and relations. He attended book signings, sent books to fellow judges and political figures, and succeeded in having the book reviewed (favorably) by the major Kentucky newspapers. (In an ambitious, but unsuccessful, attempt for national and international publicity, at Mac's suggestion, W. H. Anderson sent review copies to the New York Times and London Times.) The book was written to be read and enjoyed and, from the many letters of congratulations and thanks (many letter writers had received gift copies), it's clear that Mac hit the mark.

What is Kentucky Lawyer? It is not a scholarly book; it is not an autobiography; and it contains only snippets of Mac's personal and professional convictions. In small part, the book is a paean to lawyers ("Those bearing the name of lawyer are by their profession like plumed knights, committed to its preservation and defense in the finest sense") but, as Judge Siler noted in his forward to the 2008 edition, the book is primarily a collection of tales lawyers have told for years. In the oral tradition of story-telling, Mac was a master. He collected stories on scraps of paper and refined them in the telling and re-telling. When he published Kentucky Lawyer, he made his version of the stories the "official" version and made Kentucky Lawyer a canon of sorts for Kentucky lawyers.

## **XX. FARMING**

As time passed, Mac gradually shifted his focus to the business side of Red Gate. In his day books, entries describing tobacco production and cattle sales increase as entries describing fox-hunting decrease. He became a hands-on farmer, working alongside his tenants, Red Carter and Jed Fryman. Mac kept the farm accounts to the penny and went to the farm every weekend (except when he was out of town) to check on matters and help out as needed.

Mac's reward was intangible; he loved the farms (eventually three farms and over 800 acres) and relished being able to slip into his "shore nuff" persona on Saturday morning and announce he was leaving for "Mouth of Cedar." Russell ("Butch") Case, the tenant on Nipperrine in the early 70s, remembered Mac "as the most caring person I ever knew ... a lot of pride in his cattle ... always chewed tobacco when he came ... got the feeling he didn't do that everywhere."

## XXI. THE DESEGREGATION CASES

- A. Interviewed in 2003, both Virginia Prather, his long-time secretary, and Tee McGarvey, his long-time court reporter, remembered the school desegregation cases as Mac's most important cases. He was the judge most responsible for carrying out the mandate of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), in Kentucky.
- B. The Adair County Case, Willis v. Walker, 136 F.Supp. 177 (W.D. Ky. 1955) – the first school desegregation case in Kentucky.
- C. The Lexington School Case, Jefferson v. Board of Education of Fayette County Kentucky, 344 F.Supp. 688 (E.D. Ky. 1972). – and its unintended consequences.
- D. The Kentucky High School Athletic Association Case, Alston v. Kentucky High School Athletic Association, #2274, (E.D. Ky. 1971), and its intended (?) consequence.

## XXII. OTHER CASES

- A. The TWA Crash, Reidinger v. Trans World Airlines, 329 F.Supp. 487 (E.D. Ky. 1971); Miller v. United States, 378 F.Supp. 1147 (E.D. Ky. 1974).
- B. Maine Chance, Pessin v. Keeneland Association, 45 F.R.D. (E.D. Ky. 1968); Pessin v. Keeneland Association, 247 F.Supp.513 (E.D. Ky. 1967).
- C. Reapportionment, Baker v. Carr, 369 U.S. 186 (1962); Reynolds v. Sims, 377 U.S. 533 (1964); Abate v. Mundt, 403 U.S. 182 (1971); Hensley v. Wood, 329 F.Supp. 787, 792 (E.D. Ky. (1971).
- D. Deep Throat, Miller v. California, 413 U.S. 15 (1973); Hamling v. United States, 418 U.S. 87 (1974) – first application of the community standard test.
- E. Burning the ROTC Building, Bright v. Nunn, 448 F2d 245 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1971).
- F. The draft cases (1970-72), United States v. Daniels, 429 F.2d 1273 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1970); United States v. Griffin, 434 F.2d 740, 742 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1970); United States v. Dudley, 436 F.2d 1057, 1059 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1971); United States v. Daniels, 446 F.2d 967, 971 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1971); Noe v. United States, 472 F.2d 86 (6<sup>th</sup> Cir. 1972).

## XXIII. THE CYNTHIANA PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND THE SCHISM

Mac's golden years were tarnished by the 1971-73 schism in the Cynthiana Presbyterian Church. He had spent his life in the church, two of his daughters had been married there, and his grandchildren had been baptized there. He had been either a deacon or an elder (the Presbyterian term for a member of the church's governing body) for most of his adult life. He had authored a centennial

history of the church (A History of the Cynthiana Presbyterian Church, 1829-1929). He had, for forty years, taught the Men's Discussion Class on Sunday mornings, regularly drawing an audience of thirty or more, many coming from other Cynthiana churches.

Mac was personally responsible for hiring the minister, Eurie Smith, who engineered the schism. The dissidents lost the battle over the church property; however, the fallout was extensive. After the Court of Appeals decision, a majority of congregants left the church to form the Covenant Presbyterian Church, which eventually became a member church of the Presbyterian Church in America, a theologically conservative branch of presbyterianism.

The schism hurt and embarrassed Mac. He had chaired the committee that hired the man who tore apart the church he loved. He had trusted Eurie Smith, and he believed that Smith had betrayed his trust. The church had lost half its members and was in a form of receivership, with decisions made, not by elected members of the congregation, but by the Presbytery Administrative Commission with the help of former church officers who had not resigned. However, thanks to the able and constructive efforts of commission chair Ed Payne Miller, interim pastor Sumpter Logan, and staff member William McAtee, the Cynthiana Presbyterian Church emerged from receivership in less than a year, and Mac lived to see the installation of a new pastor, James Erwin, in September, 1974. In recognition of Mac's long and extraordinary service, on December 1 of that year the church made him "Elder for Life," an honor that might have provided some solace for the anguish caused by the events of the past three years.

#### **XXIV. A FITTING TESTIMONIAL**

Bob Rankin, an Enquirer reporter, ended his column about Mac with these words:

He was a keen fan of the Reds, and once, when I obtained box seats for him and his son for a game, he vowed it was the best time of his life. He ordered soft drinks all around though some would have preferred beer or hard liquor, but not in front of the judge. Oh, they will replace him. There will be a mighty scramble among local jurists for the job. But no one will ever look that much like a judge, or act that much like a judge, or combine those characteristics of a hound-dog man, farmer, and good friend that Judge Swinford had – they don't make men or judges like that anymore.

#### **XXV. MAC'S "DIAGNOSTIC TEST FOR LIBERALISM"**

- A. All Forms of Racial Segregation and Discrimination Are Wrong
- B. Everyone Is Entitled to His Own Opinion
- C. Everyone Has a Right to Free, Public Education

- D. Political, Economic or Social Discrimination Based on Religious Belief Is Wrong
- E. In Political or Military Conflict It Is Wrong to Use Methods of Torture and Physical Terror
- F. A Popular Movement or Revolt against a Tyranny or Dictatorship Is Right, and Deserves Approval
- G. The Government Has a Duty to Provide for the Ill, Aged, Unemployed and Poor if They Cannot Take Care of Themselves
- H. Progressive Income and Inheritance Taxes Are the Fairest Form of Taxation
- I. If Reasonable Compensation Is Made, the Government of a Nation Has the Legal and Moral Right to Expropriate Private Property within Its Borders, Whether Owned by Citizens or Foreigners
- J. We Have a Duty to Mankind; that Is, to Men in General
- K. The United States, Even if Limited in Accomplishment, Is a Step in the Right Direction
- L. Any Interference with Free Speech and Free Assembly, Except for Cases of Immediate Public Danger or Juvenile Corruption, Is Wrong
- M. Wealthy Nations, Like the United States, Have a Duty to Aid the Less Privileged Portions of Mankind
- N. Colonialism and Imperialism Are Wrong
- O. Hotels, Motels, Stores and Restaurants in Southern United States Ought to Be Obligated by Law to Allow Negroes to Use All of Their Facilities on the Same Basis as Whites
- P. The Chief Sources of Delinquency and Crime Are Ignorance, Discrimination, Poverty and Exploitation
- Q. Communists Have a Right to Express Their Opinions
- R. We Should Always Be Ready to Negotiate with the Soviet Union and Other Communist Nations
- S. Corporal Punishment, Except Possibly for Small Children, Is Wrong
- T. All Nations and Peoples, including the Nations and Peoples of Asia and Africa, Have a Right to Political Independence when a Majority of the Population Wants It
- U. We Always Ought to Respect the Religious Belief of Others

- V. The Primary Goal of International Policy in the Nuclear Age Ought to Be Peace
- W. Except in Cases of a Clear Threat to National Security or, Possibly, to Juvenile Morals, Censorship Is Wrong
- X. Congressional Investigating Committees Are Dangerous Institutions, and Need to Be Watched and Curbed if They Are not to Become a Serious Threat to Freedom
- Y. The Money Amount of School and University Scholarships Ought to Be Decided Primarily by Need
- Z. Qualified Teachers, at least at the University Level, Are Entitled to Academic Freedom: that Is, the Right to Express Their Own Beliefs and Opinions, in or out of the Classroom, without Interference from Administrators, Trustees, Parents or Public Bodies
- AA. In Determining Who Is to Be Admitted to Schools and Universities, Quota Systems Based on Color, Religion, Family or Similar Factors Are Wrong
- BB. The National Government Should Guarantee that All Adult Citizens, Except for Criminals and the Insane, Should Have the Right to Vote
- CC. Joseph McCarthy Was Probably the Most Dangerous Man in American Public Life During the Fifteen Years Following the Second World War
- DD. There Are No Significant Differences in Intellectual, Moral or Civilizing Capacity among Human Races and Ethnic Types
- EE. Steps Toward World Disarmament Would Be a Good Thing
- FF. Everyone Is Entitled to Political and Social Rights without Distinction of any Kind, such as Race, Color, Sex, Language, Religion, Political or other Opinion, National or Social Origin, Property, Birth or other Status
- GG. Everyone Has the Right to Freedom of Thought, Conscience and Expression
- HH. Everyone Has the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression
- II. The Will of the People Shall Be the Basis of the Authority of Government
- JJ. Everyone, as a Member of Society, Has the Right to Social Security
- KK. Everyone Has the Right to Equal Pay for Equal Work
- LL. Everyone Has the Right to Form and to Join Trade Unions

MM. Everyone Has the Right to a Standard of Living Adequate for the Health and Well-Being of Himself and of His Family, and the Right to Security in the Event of Unemployment, Sickness, Disability, Widowhood, Old Age or other Lack of Livelihood in Circumstances beyond His Control

