

# Bayard Rustin

*On His Own Terms*

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## Introduction

On Wednesday, November 20, 2002, three hundred fifty people gathered in the Stetson Middle School Auditorium in West Chester, Pennsylvania to discuss whether or not a new high school should be named in honor of Bayard Rustin (1912-1987), a West Chester native, peace activist, and civil rights strategist. The three and a half hour meeting began with the comments of an African American longtime resident of West Chester: "I grew up in this town. Back then I couldn't swim in the YMCA pool or sit down at the movies. These were the things Bayard tried to get rid of. He was such a beautiful person. He didn't only try to make things better in West Chester but he traveled the world doing wonderful things wherever he went."<sup>1</sup> Another resident spoke two hours later: "Choosing a name for this school is about naming it after someone we want our children to be proud of. Rustin was gay . . . a disgrace to America. I heard one of you homosexuals in here mention something before about God. God didn't invent Adam and Adam. He invented Adam and Eve. So don't you people start using God as your pardoning material."<sup>2</sup>

More than fifteen years after his death, Bayard Rustin still engendered a virtual split among the West Chester community. Setting friend against friend and neighbor against neighbor, he aroused the deepest and ugliest of human sentiments. How-in the same night-could Rustin be deemed both a "devil" and a "saint?" And, most importantly, how could a man who received such little public acclaim and acceptance throughout his lifetime single-handedly rock an entire community?

According to Dorothy Steere, a twentieth century Quaker pacifist, "Bayard Rustin was a beautiful black figure—both inside and out."<sup>3</sup> As a member of the Religious Society of Friends, he lived his life in harmony within the Quaker principles of peace, nonviolence, love and equality.

His personal philosophy developed from pure and simple beliefs: "If I do not see other people as sacred, then I do not see them at all"; "The only way to reduce ugliness in the world is by reducing it in yourself"; "If you don't have compassion for everyone, then you end up having compassion for none."<sup>4</sup>

Throughout fifty years of social activism, Rustin made inestimable contributions to both the radical pacifist and civil rights movements. As a spokesperson for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League, Rustin captivated his audiences, challenged their thinking, charmed them with his semi-clipped British accent, and often persuaded them.<sup>5</sup> As an organizer, strategist, and pioneer in the use of Gandhian civil disobedience, he was one of the most influential black protest leaders in the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Through his work with A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King Jr., Rustin injected Gandhian nonviolence into the heart of the struggle for racial equality.<sup>7</sup> According to historian John D'Emilio, "To survey the landscape of social activism in post-World War II America is like writing a synopsis of [Rustin's] biography."<sup>8</sup>

However, Bayard Rustin remains today "one of history's forgotten men."<sup>9</sup> With the exception of a handful of writings, Rustin has been strikingly absent from the histories of post-1945 social activism.<sup>10</sup> How could this be? Why has Rustin's historical significance been so diluted and obscured? Why has a man of such moral strength been castigated, robbed of his well-deserved acclaim, and cheated out of his proper legacy? And fifteen years after his death, how could the prospect of his name on a building divide an entire community?

Some years before he died, in the summer of 1987, Bayard Rustin mentioned to his dear friend, Sheldon Weeks, "I've belonged to every minority group possible-communist, socialist, radical pacifist, Quaker, black, homosexual."<sup>11</sup> According to sociologist Anthony Monteiro, "At any point throughout American history this is a dangerous combination."<sup>12</sup> Rustin was a Communist during the McCarthy era; He was a gay man in a fiercely homophobic age, and he was an imprisoned conscientious objector during a time when men were expected to fight and die for their country. The controversy occasioned by Rustin's associations did not die with him in 1987. Rather, Bayard Rustin - gay, black, Communist, and pacifist - still continues to challenge many contemporary societal norms and values. Thus, among the overwhelmingly white, conservative, Republican, and upper class community of West Chester, Rustin's

memory has been tarnished by racism, hatred, bigotry, and prejudice. In “Let’s Look to Bayard Rustin for Inspiration,” Moneteiro claimed:

Rustin’s blackness and gayness pose serious challenges to the racial and sexual values of the American middle class then and now. Black masculinity in its heterosexual or homosexual expressions does not sit well with many people in the white middle class. Add to the mix an outspoken and assertive confidence, joined to a radical vision of remaking the world, and Rustin’s memory becomes a little too much for the small-minded.<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly, Bayard Rustin’s legacy must be viewed as a byproduct of his controversial identity. Throughout his career, it forced him out of the spotlight and behind the scenes of the civil rights movement. After his death, it besmirched his name and memory. This paper will discuss how Rustin’s controversial character conditioned the reaction of others to him, defined his identity, molded his career, and tainted his legacy. By outlining the years from Rustin’s birth in 1912 to the pinnacle of his civil rights career, the 1963 March on Washington, I hope to assess the devastating and overarching paradox embracing Rustin’s life—how a man who selflessly and tirelessly devoted over fifty years to the nonviolent struggle for racial equality and social justice could be so marginalized, vilified, and misunderstood.

### **Quaker Upbringing**

“On September 11th, if there were Quakers on board flight 93, what would they have done? Sit on their hands? Twiddle their thumbs? Let a plane land on the White House?” —West Chester Resident, 2002<sup>14</sup>

When Bayard Rustin wanted to empathize with troubled youth, he would sometimes claim he came from a fatherless home.<sup>15</sup> In 1912, his father, Archie Hopkins, disappeared after having a brief relationship with his mother, fifteen year old Florence Rustin.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, Bayard was raised by his grandparents, Julia and Janifer Rustin, along with eight aunts and uncles in West Chester, Pennsylvania.<sup>17</sup> Raised as a member of the Religious Society of Friends in the late nineteenth century, Julia worked hard to instill Quaker values of peace, love, and equality in her children and grandchildren.<sup>18</sup> Although the Rustin family formally be-

longed to the local Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, all of the Rustin children were heavily influenced by Quaker principles and ideals.<sup>19</sup>

These pure and simple Quaker values served as a strong moral foundation which later touched every aspect of Rustin's life and career. In fact, not long before he died, Rustin wrote, "My activism did not spring from my being black. Rather, it is rooted fundamentally in my Quaker upbringing and the values imparted on me. Those values were based on the concept of a single human family and the belief that all members of that family are equal."<sup>20</sup>

Although West Chester was not free from racism in the early twentieth century, discrimination was more benign than it was in other areas of the United States. Rustin did not experience overt bigotry while attending his integrated high school, West Chester Senior High. Well-liked and popular, he proved to be a gifted tenor, an active member of the French, science, and history clubs, a star runner and football player, and a valedictorian of his 1932 graduating class.<sup>21</sup> However, outside of school, he experienced the harsh brutalities of segregation. Rustin later recalled, "When I went to the movies with my white friends, I always had to sit over on the other side."<sup>22</sup> Choosing to combat the societal ills that directly contrasted with his Quaker ideals, Rustin led a series of protests and strikes during his high school years. A former classmate, Oliver Patterson, remembered, "Bayard's determination was frightening. But we looked up to him as our leader. He was the most progressive person of his age in West Chester. He had a strong inner spirit."<sup>23</sup>

While attending Wilberforce University in Ohio from 1932 to 1933, Bayard Rustin discovered his homosexuality.<sup>24</sup> As he recalled at age seventy-five, the process of increasing awareness was without trauma, mostly because of his grandmother's Quaker tolerance.<sup>25</sup> Throughout his life, Rustin never tried to conceal his homosexuality. His openness about his gay lifestyle sprang from a feeling that he was entitled to be whatever he was, even during a time in America where homosexuality was punishable by law.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, this aspect of Rustin's identity rested at the heart of the conflict that ultimately enveloped his life.

In the mid 1930s, Rustin searched for a political cause worthy of his attention.<sup>27</sup> In New York City, he found nothing more attractive than the activities of the Communist movement, "whose soapbox orators were making an aggressive pitch for black membership."<sup>28</sup> The Party's pro-

gressive stance on issues such as racial injustice initially attracted Rustin to the movement. He formally joined the Young Communist League in 1936, believing that the Communists “seemed to be the only people who had civil rights at heart.”<sup>29</sup> According to Rustin, “they were passionately involved and I was passionately involved so they were ready-made for me.”<sup>30</sup>

However, in June 1941, when the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union, the Party abruptly shifted its focus from civil rights to the war against Hitler.<sup>31</sup> As a Quaker and pacifist, Rustin’s beliefs now directly conflicted with party policy.<sup>32</sup> Disillusioned, Rustin broke his ties with the Communist movement, “and emerged as one of its sterner critics for the rest of his life.”<sup>33</sup> Years later, others severely exploited and distorted Rustin’s brief dalliance with the Communist Party in order to discredit his work and defame his character.

Upon his disillusionment with the Communist Party, Rustin shifted his focus to the predominantly white radical pacifist movement. In 1941, with the world embroiled in a Second World War, Bayard Rustin started work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the American branch of an international organization of Christian pacifists.<sup>34</sup> Led by A.J. Muste, FOR emphasized “total pacifism” as a means for combating war and “sowing the seeds of peace and love” throughout the world.<sup>35</sup> In September, 1941, Rustin joined the FOR staff as the field secretary for youth and general affairs.<sup>36</sup> Ordered by Muste to “spread the message” of anti-war pacifism and to “stimulate the organization of local groups and cells,” Rustin criss-crossed the United States organizing new pacifists and making a persuasive case for the radical ideology.<sup>37</sup>

In opposition to World War II and racial oppression in America, Rustin and his fellow radical pacifists of FOR adopted nonviolent direct action (NVDA), the same tactic that was being utilized at the time in India by Gandhi and the Indian freedom movement against the British Empire.<sup>38</sup> NVDA differed from pacifism in its roots and principles. While pacifism was simply a refusal to participate in evils such as war, the originators of NVDA sought “points of contact where the evil could be actively opposed and perhaps ended—all without violence and without destroying the opponent either physically or mentally.”<sup>39</sup> The model was Gandhi’s, but its adaptation to combat racism in American society was Rustin’s.

In 1941, Rustin compiled a Lesson Plan on Non-Violent Direct Action. He began by acknowledging that struggle and conflict are present

in all phases of life and nature. Traditionally, man has used violence to solve problems. However, he observed, "Non-violent action is not an attempt to do away with conflict, but a technique for peacefully solving it. The real choice is between violent and non-violent method."<sup>40</sup> There are two fundamental principles upon which faith in non-violent direct action is based: "The belief that good will is the most powerful and constructive force at work in human relationships and the belief that progress depends on changes in man's attitude and environment at the same time."<sup>41</sup> Those who face conflicts with non-violent tactics have three aims: "The first is to achieve social, economic, or political rain; to so behave during the struggle as to gain the respect and sympathy of the exploiters; to gain, by moral integrity, the sympathy and support of third parties and observers."<sup>42</sup>

According to Rustin, this nonviolent direct action could be employed whenever there is an area of social tension: "Race discrimination and prejudice, labor-capital disputes, denial of civil liberties, and suppression of academic freedom."<sup>43</sup> In order to achieve necessary unity for a program of direct action, the basic behavior pattern must be as follows: "Have no fear, tell the truth, admit their guilt, behave creatively, raise the struggle from a physical to a moral plane."<sup>44</sup> Lastly, Rustin illustrated the kinds of direct action that can be used: "They are non-violent strike, economic boycott, picketing, non-payment of taxes, mass emigration, non-cooperation, and civil disobedience."<sup>45</sup>

### **Draft Dodger**

"I am against naming it after Bayard Rustin, as he was a traitor to the good old United States of America. If we all had felt this way, Hitler would have ruled the world." — West Chester Resident, 2002<sup>46</sup>

Late in 1940, when Rustin appeared before a draft board in Harlem, he was granted classification as a conscientious objector based on his membership in the Religious Society of Friends.<sup>47</sup> Under the Draft Act of that year, those whom the Selective Service recognized as genuine conscientious objectors were given three options: enlisting as noncombatants in the military; performing tasks in civilian works camps; or, upon refusal of the first two choices, incarceration in federal penitentiaries. In a letter written to his Quaker monthly meeting, Rustin encouraged his fellow Friends to accept the conscientious objector status: "The truth is

that war is wrong. Friends generally have a 'peace testimony' which carries with it in our larger society certain recognition and rights. Civilian Public Service, Quaker Emergency Service, and other institutions are our only options given our long stands on war. We must non-violently deal with this conflict."<sup>48</sup>

However, almost three years later on November 13, 1943, when Rustin was ordered by his draft board to report for physical examination—a requirement for conscientious objectors about to be assigned for work in Civilian Public Service Camps—he refused to appear. Changing his course, he no longer wanted a privilege granted chiefly to religious conscientious objectors. He felt that if all conscientious objectors - religious and nonreligious - were not treated equally, he would rather suffer the penalty of federal imprisonment.<sup>49</sup> In his letter to the draft board Rustin wrote:

For eight years I have believed war to be impractical and a denial of our Hebrew-Christian tradition. . . These principles as I see it are violated by participation in war. Believing this, I was compelled to resist war by registering as a Conscientious Objector in October, 1940. However, a year later, I became convinced that conscription as well as war is inconsistent with the teachings of Jesus. I must resist conscription also. . . Conscription is inconsistent with freedom of conscience. It denies brotherhood and separates black from white. Today I feel that God motivates me to use my whole being to combat by non-violent means. . . at the same time the State dictates that I shall do its will; which of these dictates can I follow—that of God or that of the State? Surely, I must obey the law of the State. But when the will of God and the will of the State conflict, I am compelled to follow the will of God. . . I am prepared for whatever may follow.<sup>50</sup>

On January 12, 1944, two months after his defiant reply to the draft board, Rustin was arrested by a United States Marshal in New York.<sup>51</sup> At his trial, he was found guilty of violating the Selective Service Act and sentenced to three years in prison. Eleven days later he was dispatched to the federal penitentiary in Ashland, Kentucky.<sup>52</sup>

While at Ashland, Rustin detested the segregation that existed in the living and dining accommodations. Seeking to "resist this injustice nonviolently," he organized a series of effective nonviolent protests and

strikes.<sup>53</sup>

First he challenged the prison's policy against interracial visiting. At Ashland, a locked gate barred blacks on the ground floor from visiting whites on the floor above.<sup>54</sup> After launching a series of protests with the authorities, he was allowed to fraternize with white conscientious objectors on the upper floor—but only on Sunday afternoons, when they usually listened to a radio concert by the New York Philharmonic.<sup>55</sup> Despite Rustin's success, there were impending consequences he had not anticipated. A white segregationist on the upper floor, inmate Huddleston, was particularly enraged by Rustin's efforts at integration in the prison. One Sunday morning Rustin wandered to the upstairs to listen to the radio concert:

Huddleston went to the utility room and got a stick, the size, in diameter and length, of a mop handle, and came back to hit Bayard over the head. The boys in the room did not know what was going on till Huddleston hit Bayard with a mighty blow. . . They jumped and got between Huddleston and Bayard asked them to stop, which they did. Huddleston continued to beat him with the club.<sup>56</sup>

After the incident, one of the guards sent Rustin downstairs and closed the gate behind him. Thus, "It looked as though all anyone had to do was get a club and commit violence and the Administration would back him up."<sup>57</sup> However, according to the Ashland Prison Newsletter, days later, "Prison warden, E.G. Hagerman, literally apologized to Bayard for the way the Administration had treated him. He went on to say that he appreciated the nonviolent response . . . and that as a vote of confidence . . . he would leave the gate open."<sup>58</sup> Rustin later described his pacifist response to Huddleston's attack as "an example to all of the effectiveness of nonviolent resistance."<sup>59</sup>

Another pointed example of Rustin's nonviolent resistance occurred in May, 1944 when he attempted to counteract segregation in the dining hall. In the Ashland Prison Newsletter, inmate Charles Butcher wrote:

As you know, we have segregation in our dining room. It is a two-fold sort of thing being both divided on the color one and on the basis of men in quarantine. Last night Bayard went to the white table. . . An officer asked him to leave. Bayard told the officer that he could not move voluntarily and asked that

he be allowed to either talk with someone in authority or take his tray of food to eat in his cell. The officer said he would have to move. Bayard said he would not move so the guard and two other officers tried to drag Bayard out of the dining room. Several of us got up at this point and said there was no need to use force on him. After they moved Bayard as far as the exit of the dining room, the officers decided they were wrong for using force. Days later the Administration closed the whole incident without punishment and assured us that they would avoid using force in such situations again.<sup>60</sup>

In response to these particular incidents, A.J. Muste wrote in a memo, "It seems to have been demonstrated that, where violence is met by non-violence, positive results are obtained and the violence is effectively kept in check."<sup>61</sup>

### **The Turning Point: Pasadena, California and the Aftermath**

"What will our district teach our students about Bayard Rustin? The whole truth? Or just the glorified truth? What will our students say to outsiders who ask 'Who is Bayard Rustin?' —West Chester Resident, 2002<sup>62</sup>

Until the beginning of the 1950's, Rustin's most controversial traits remained largely within his private life. Although one might think that the combination of being African American, homosexual, a draft resister, a radical pacifist, and a Communist would lead to instant disaster, it was not until 1953 that Rustin's controversial background became public.

On January 21, 1953, while Rustin was traveling to promote projects FOR had been developing in Africa, he was arrested in Pasadena, California.<sup>63</sup> Discovered while having sex in a parked car with two other men, Rustin was convicted of violating California's lewd-vagrancy law and sentenced to sixty days in a local jail.<sup>64</sup> Since Rustin's lectures on the West Coast had to be canceled abruptly, word of his homosexuality quickly spread within pacifist circles.<sup>65</sup> From this moment on, Rustin's life and career would never be the same. Rustin's homosexuality incited massive conflict wherever he went. Controversy became a constant reality throughout his civil rights career.

A.J. Muste was devastated by the news from California. He had long known about Rustin's sexual preference but he had always advised Rus-

tin to keep his private life private. Muste questioned whether Bayard could play a prominent role in the radical pacifist movement - grounded in Christian ethics - while leading "an ethically degrading life."<sup>66</sup> As a devout Christian, Muste consequently concluded that Rustin's "conduct in Pasadena had damaged, fatally, his political usefulness to the FOR."<sup>67</sup>

Immediately after Pasadena, the FOR executive board discharged Rustin from the staff. According to David McReynolds, a member of FOR, "Rustin was a great loss. Not only was he the Fellowship's most popular lecturer but he was also a genius at tactical matters. Bayard was being groomed by FOR to become an American Gandhi. The position was cut out for him . . . but it was all destroyed by the incident in California."<sup>68</sup>

After leaving the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Rustin was left desperate and jobless.<sup>69</sup> Fortunately, the War Resisters League had been looking admiringly at Rustin's effective work for the Fellowship of Reconciliation.<sup>70</sup> A majority of the WRL Advisory Council wanted Rustin as the new executive secretary because of his exemplary organizational and leadership skills. However, the proposal was met with controversy in light of the recent Pasadena incident. A series of letters written among the members of the WRL Executive Committee and Advisory Council illustrate the depths and dimensions of this conflict.

On August 31, 1953, "Allan," a member of the WRL Executive Committee, wrote, "I am afraid that Bayard would embarrass the WRL by making passes at the young men and boys he would come in contact with—in the field or in the New York office."<sup>71</sup> On September 1, 1953, Frances Witherspoon wrote to Roy Finch, Chairman of the WRL:

My vote as a member of the Advisory Council, is 'NO' on the matter of making Bayard Rustin WRL Secretary. I do not feel that the recent regrettable episode is far enough in his past. . . to be able to guarantee that there will be no recurrence. . . We pacifists work under the heavy handicap of the public ignorance and prejudice, and I feel it wrong and unfair that we should be asked to take on greater liability.<sup>72</sup>

On September 8, 1953, Edward C.M. Richards wrote to Roy Finch:

To my mind one of the needs of the League is STABILITY. Because of the strong position which we take on war and con-

scription, there is a natural tendency for us all to take on a vigorously critical attitude toward the whole life about us. . . In hiring Bayard or anyone else, therefore, it seems to me that the Ex. Com. Should seriously consider factors which will STABILIZE the life of the man or woman we hire as Secretary. A young, unmarried fellow can do a grand job of some kinds of peace work, FOR A WHILE. But as Secretary of the League, it seems to me, we need to encourage the person taking the job to sober up and assume the responsibilities of living, or personal finance, of a home and family and children which are the common lot of most people.<sup>73</sup>

On October 1, 1953, an unknown member of the WRL Advisory Council wrote, "In speaking with Mr. Muste, he did not have sufficient confidence that Bayard had overcome the personality problems connected with his homosexuality and which have embarrassed the FOR in the past. I don't feel that Bayard could now handle a WRL job without future embarrassment to the League."<sup>74</sup>

These letters reflect the homophobia and bigotry prevalent in the 1950's, even among progressives. At any rate, it was the WRL that rescued Rustin from political oblivion.<sup>75</sup>

Although Rustin was ultimately saved by the WRL, he could not escape the controversy occasioned by his behavior in California. In the spring of 1954, the Pasadena incident came back to haunt him. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) assigned Stephen Cary, a staff officer, to convene a working group of intellectuals to shape a pacifist stance toward the nuclear arms race and the threat of a Soviet-American confrontation.<sup>76</sup> Cary selected the most thoughtful group of pacifist intellectuals he could imagine, including Rustin. Unfortunately, according to Cary, "People at the AFSC urged me to write Bayard off the list. They were embarrassed by his homosexuality, which became public after the matter in California. But I resisted. I told them I didn't give a damn what Bayard was. To me, Bayard was a marvelous human being."<sup>77</sup>

That summer, Cary's group assembled at Haverford College for a week-long conference which produced a seventy-page document, later published as *Speak Truth to Power*.<sup>78</sup> When *Speak Truth to Power* appeared as a booklet, Rustin was not listed among the coauthors, despite the fact that he was the driving force behind its creation. Cary remembered:

Bayard reminded us of his arrest on the West Coast . . . and

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urged that his name not be included among the writers of the document. He said, 'It will be a valuable publication, and my name on it right now will be hurtful to circulation.' I said, 'Bayard, you know this thing could not have been written without you.' Before he left Haverford, he sang two beautiful spirituals to us: 'Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen' and 'There is a Balm in Gilead.' The effect was overwhelming. And then he said, 'Gentlemen, I'm at peace. It's been a wonderful week. Just leave my name off.'<sup>79</sup>

Rustin's refusal to put his name on *Speak Truth to Power* reflected a noble selflessness which would resurface throughout the remaining years of his life—a constant sacrifice of personal glory and credit for the sake of the greater good.

### **A Driving Force Behind the Scenes**

Before the Pasadena incident in 1953, Rustin had been a visible figure among pacifist circles and civil rights organizations. As field secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and a nonviolent direct activist, he was constantly in the spotlight—leading others by example. However, Pasadena precipitated a devastating shift in Rustin's career. After Pasadena, he became a largely behind the scenes figure. Although partially attributable to his leadership style, "that fused Quaker and Gandhian influences into a seamless modesty that never drew attention to himself," much of this was forced upon him by his controversial identity.<sup>80</sup> However, instead of withdrawing from the movement in anger or resentment, Rustin, again for the sake of the greater good, selflessly accepted his role. As an expert tactician in nonviolent direct action, a brilliant organizer, and an advisor to Martin Luther King Jr., Rustin became a driving force behind the scenes of the civil rights movement. He began his fight for civil rights in Montgomery, Alabama.

In response to the arrest of Rosa Parks, the Montgomery Improvement Association, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, launched its famous boycott of all city buses in December 1955. The energy that sustained the boycott was King's adoption of nonviolent direct action.<sup>81</sup> However, King, then twenty-six, had little experience with its application.

In February 1956, Bayard Rustin was asked to go to Montgomery, Alabama to assist in the boycott. Despite King's academic exposure to Gandhi's philosophy, he had much less experience with non-violent pro-

test than Rustin had at that point in time.<sup>82</sup> In many ways, Rustin was the ideal emissary—"The leading African American Gandhian in the nation, whose career testified to his commitment."<sup>83</sup>

Rustin's efforts, however, proved problematic. His controversial background was not widely accepted among the black civil rights leaders in Montgomery.

In a cloak-and-dagger scenario whose details remain obscure, pacifists and civil rights leaders in Montgomery met, telephoned, and dispatched letters with dizzying speed. Rustin, they argued, was a danger to the movement. It was not only, or even primarily, that he was a New Yorker who had once been associated with the Communist Party. Rather, his arrest in Pasadena, still a vivid memory, would compromise his effectiveness and subject the Montgomery movement to serious peril. They were adamant that Rustin should return home.<sup>84</sup>

According to John D'Emilio, "It is a tribute to Rustin's personal charm, charisma, and skill as a strategist that he survived these machinations and emerged as King's closest advisor."<sup>85</sup>

Ostensibly, Rustin was not the ideal figure to lead the struggle for civil rights. It was not that he lacked the skills or the ability—he was just too controversial. In contradistinction, Reverend King proved to be the perfect icon. He possessed the intelligence, charisma, and eloquence necessary to lead the movement. According to Rustin, "King had been chosen. A divine hand had been laid upon him."<sup>86</sup> Consequently, as King's closest advisor, Rustin made his contributions to the civil rights movement through Dr. King.

King was not in any sense a committed Gandhian when Rustin arrived. There were guns in his home, and the men who were guarding his house were armed. Rustin felt these were out of place in the home of a Gandhian leader.<sup>87</sup> Rustin remembered, "It seemed to me, that King had read about Gandhi, and that his reading had tilled the ground, creating a readiness for his gradual deepening in the philosophy of nonviolence. But he still did not fully understand."<sup>88</sup>

Rustin spent the rest of the 1950s, on leave from the WRL, advising King about Gandhian techniques.<sup>89</sup> Throughout this period, King rarely made a decision of any consequence without first consulting Rustin.<sup>90</sup> Rustin devised a plan for King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to develop a nonviolent civil rights movement throughout the South.<sup>91</sup> Rustin organized a Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington in May

of 1957 at which King gave his first speech to a national audience.<sup>92</sup> Additionally, in 1958 and 1959, he drew the plans for two youth marches for school integration. These demonstrations gave King and the civil rights movement a national platform and forced the Eisenhower administration to meet with civil rights leaders.<sup>93</sup> From behind the stage curtain, Rustin shaped and molded the course of the civil rights movement.

In the winter of 1960, the eruption of Southern sit-ins, inspired by Rustin and King's Gandhian techniques, promised to change the whole political equation.<sup>94</sup> Nonviolent direct action was now the cutting edge tactic of the black freedom struggle. Rustin's reputation as an experienced and committed Gandhian should have made him a preeminent figure in this emerging mass movement. However, his influence with King, and in the civil rights movement, was compromised when Adam Clayton Powell, a Democratic Congressman representing Harlem, successfully "manipulated Rustin's Achilles Heel—his homosexuality—to keep him out of the loop of those strategizing and organizing the civil rights struggle."<sup>95</sup>

Early in July, Dr. King received a startling message from a source close to Powell: unless King fired Rustin and canceled a proposed demonstration at the Democratic National Convention, Powell would announce publicly that King and Rustin were involved in a sexual relationship. Through Powell's outrageous charge was without substance, King felt it was still potentially damaging. A few days later, King informed Rustin that it would be advisable for him to sever all connections with the civil rights movement and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.<sup>96</sup> Although this was a crushing blow to Rustin, he quietly resigned. At the time he explained to the *New York Courier*:

I cannot permit a situation to endure in which my relationship to Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is used to confuse and becloud the basic issues confronting the Negro people today. I cannot permit a situation to endure in which the best elements of the Negro leadership are attacked as a result of my relationship to them...Those who have worked with me during my twenty years in the movement know that I have never sought high position or special privilege, but have always made myself available to the call of the leadership. Congressman Powell has suggested that I am an obstacle to his giving full, enthusiastic support to Dr. King. I want now to remove that obstacle. I have resigned as

Dr. King's special assistant.<sup>97</sup>

Rustin had just fought his way back from pariah status and had graciously accepted a role out of the spotlight. He had molded and nurtured King's career as the "invisible guiding hand" behind many civil rights initiatives.<sup>98</sup> But yet again, he found himself marginalized.

### **Back in the Circle**

After the controversy with Powell, Rustin returned to his peace work. Early in 1963, he and A. Philip Randolph, an old friend and fellow civil rights activist, discussed the possibility of a mass march on Washington for jobs and freedom.<sup>99</sup> Eventually, King lined up behind it, and moderate organizations supported the march as well.<sup>100</sup>

A. Philip Randolph declared Bayard Rustin the chief director of the march. Not surprisingly, Roy Wilkins, chairman of the NAACP, tried to veto Rustin's role as director because of the Pasadena arrest. According to James Haskins, "Randolph finessed the move by accepting the role of director on the condition that he choose his own assistants."<sup>101</sup> He promptly named Rustin the deputy director of the march and turned over the organizing to him.

Unfortunately, Rustin would by no means be granted this title without controversy. For years, J. Edgar Hoover of the Federal Bureau of Investigation had kept a close eye on the civil rights movement, secretly feeding damaging information to key segregationists.<sup>102</sup> Now the FBI worked overtime, scrutinizing the Washington march as they looked for "subversive connections."<sup>103</sup> Most of Bayard Rustin's FBI files were from 1963—perhaps indicative of the efforts taken to prevent the March on Washington. Rustin's affiliation with the Communist Party was mentioned in every single one of his files. In the file from October 4, 1963, it was noted that "Rustin attended the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA in 1957 as one of the eight 'so called' noncommunist observers."<sup>104</sup>

Upon receiving this information, Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, a staunch segregationist, criticized Rustin's past Communist affiliation.<sup>105</sup> However, "most of it was old news and generated little interest, though it did spark worry in civil rights circles."<sup>106</sup> On August 13, Thurmond attacked again, this time targeting Rustin, who by then had been dubbed "Mr. March-on-Washington" by the press.<sup>107</sup> Thurmond re-

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iterated Rustin's Communist ties and his conviction on "sex perversion" charges in Pasadena. According to John D'Emilio:

By this time one might think that Rustin was inoculated against feeling on this issue. Yet Thurmond's charge represented something new. In 1953, pacifists had been made privy to Rustin's arrest, but the event was a throwaway item in local papers. In 1960, the conflict with Powell rippled through the nation's press, but the substance remained unnamed. Now the labeling process was clear and ubiquitous. Rustin was named a pervert before an audience of tens of millions.<sup>108</sup>

However, the outcome of the latest controversy was remarkable: "Because the accusation was so public, because it was leveled by a segregationist, and because it came just two weeks before an event on which the movement was banking so much, civil rights leaders had to rally to Rustin's defense."<sup>109</sup> Addressing a press conference, Randolph stated, "I am sure that I speak for the combined Negro leadership in voicing my complete confidence in Bayard Rustin's character, integrity, and extraordinary ability."<sup>110</sup>

The March on Washington on August 28, 1963, was the crowning achievement of Bayard Rustin's career. With only two months to organize the march, Rustin proved to the world that he was a first class organizer, strategist, and tactician.

Rustin spent countless hours arranging police security and imported a supplementary force of four thousand volunteer marshals from New York. He recognized that the psychology of peace was fragile and that there was no telling what might happen if attackers burned one of the two thousand buses headed toward Washington. It was Rustin's obsession to make sure that no flaw in the arrangements permitted discomfort to flare up into violence. He drove his core staff of two hundred volunteers to pepper the Mall with several hundred portable toilets, twenty-one temporary drinking fountains, twenty-four first-aid stations, and even a check-cashing facility. Over the vast march area, Rustin had signs posted high enough to be read by someone jammed in a crowd. 'If you want to organize anything,' he said, 'assume that everybody is absolutely stupid. And assume yourself that you're stupid.' He was determined to move the masses of people into Washington after dawn and out again before dusk.<sup>111</sup>

The march was hugely successful. More than 250,000 people—blacks, whites, men, women, Jews, Gentiles, Muslims unionists, children, and elders—gathered at the Nation’s Capital to demand civil rights legislation and to listen to Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech.<sup>112</sup> The success of the march surpassed the organizers’ most ambitious hopes. For Rustin, the march exemplified successful mass nonviolent protest: “In the course of two months the Kennedy’s had shifted from hostility to endorsement. Members of Congress, who had initially rejected invitations to participate, ended by clamoring for a place on the platform. All the major civil rights organizations, including the most conservative, united a front and thus explicitly had lined up behind mass action.”<sup>113</sup>

A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin had envisioned the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom as a climax of the direct-action civil rights movement. Later events proved their accuracy. Never again would so many people be of such like mind and so determined to demonstrate peacefully. Rustin had given them this opportunity. So important was his role, that *Life* magazine featured him and A. Philip Randolph on the cover of its September 6 issue. Before he died, Rustin declared, “The March on Washington was one of my most beautiful periods of work in my life.”<sup>114</sup>

### **Conclusions**

It is fitting to end this discussion of Bayard Rustin’s life with the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom because it best demonstrates his skill, intellect, and dedication. Here was a man of great integrity, commitment, passion, courage, and honor. He viewed all people as human beings—as soul mates. His actions were fueled by his “love of life, his compassion, and his ability to empathize with the suffering of every human being.”<sup>115</sup>

He could not stay away from any place where people were brutalized and victimized, where democracy’s promise of civil and human rights was denied or distorted.<sup>116</sup> According to the late Albert Shanker, former President of the American Federation of Teachers, “Because he had courage and integrity he abhorred racism wherever he found it, he fought for the right of a white man to be principal of a Harlem school and for the rights of black and white teachers to due process in New York City, just as he had fought for the end of Jim Crow in the South.”<sup>117</sup> He inspired awe among all those who knew him and led a lifelong struggle

to create a world of justice, peace, and harmony.<sup>118</sup>

Unfortunately, although Bayard Rustin was a man of pure, simple, and solid morals, he was never fully recognized as such. As an openly gay man, Rustin was deemed a “sexual pervert.” As a former member of the Communist Party, he was considered a traitor to democracy. As an imprisoned conscientious objector during World War II, Rustin was viewed as a disgrace to the United States. To mainstream America, it did not matter that Rustin joined the Communist party to fight for civil rights. It did not matter that he was imprisoned as a radical pacifist during World War II because he believed conscription of any kind was a violation of human rights.

Throughout his life, Rustin set his own standards and created his own rules. He defined himself and would not let others do so.<sup>119</sup> As recently as two years ago, the community of West Chester, Pennsylvania was forced to deal with Bayard Rustin on his own terms, and many had to recognize their own fears and vulnerabilities concerning race and sexuality.<sup>120</sup> Rustin believed in democracy. He knew America could be great—but only if she confronted her demons.<sup>121</sup> So, just as he wished to change his world for the better, his memory ultimately impelled the West Chester community to acknowledge his greatness.<sup>122</sup> In early January, 2003, after an acrimonious battle in the community, the West Chester District Area school board decided to name the new high school Bayard T. Rustin Memorial High. The building is currently under construction and will be ready for opening in the fall of 2006.

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>2</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Dorothy Steere, [Cover letter for postcard from Bayard Rustin to Douglas Steere], 38, Special Collections, Magill Library, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

<sup>4</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>5</sup> Leonard S. Kenworthy, “Bayard Rustin Crusader for Racial and Social Justice,” in *Living in the Light: Some Quaker Pioneers of the 20th Century*, 193.

<sup>6</sup> August Meier, *Bayard Rustin Papers* (Bethesda, Maryland: University Publications of America, 1988), 2.

<sup>7</sup> John D’Emilio, “Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism,” in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), 80.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Sheldon Weeks, "Bayard Rustin-Radical Pacifist Quaker," *Friends Journal* 38 (November 1998): 28.

<sup>12</sup> Anthony Monteiro, "Let's Look to Bayard Rustin for Inspiration," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 15, 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Anthony Monetiro, "Let's Look to Bayard Rustin for Inspiration," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 15, 2002.

<sup>14</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>15</sup> Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 1.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> James Haskins, *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Hyperion Books for Children, 1997), 4.

<sup>20</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1997), 16.

<sup>21</sup> Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 16.

<sup>22</sup> James Haskins, *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement*, 24.

<sup>23</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 24.

<sup>24</sup> Wilberforce, where Rustin registered on September 14, 1932, is among the oldest black colleges in the United States. Founded by white Methodists in 1856, it was named after William Wilberforce, the prominent English abolitionist and parliamentarian. Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 32.

<sup>25</sup> Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 9.

<sup>26</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Troubles I've Seen*, 35.

<sup>27</sup> Prior to this, Rustin had been asked to leave both Wilberforce University and Cheyney State Teachers College due to "naughty misbehavior." Rustin later accounted for "making a mistake" during those years "out of youthful carelessness." It has been speculated that Rustin's homosexuality was the driving force behind his discharge. James Haskins, *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement*, 25.

<sup>28</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 45.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> In early 1941, the Communist Party had assigned Rustin to organize and lead a campaign against segregation in the military. However, he was ordered to disband this campaign when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Hitler's invasion now required a Soviet-American solidarity against Germany. A continuation of the flight for desegregation in the military would disrupt the American "military machine" and hurt the prospects for an effective Soviet-American alliance. Thus, defending the Soviet Union against Hitler became more important than the fight for civil rights. Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 26.

<sup>32</sup> Evan Wolfson, "Bayard Rustin," in *Invisible Giants: Fifty Americans that Shaped the Nation but Missed the History Books*, ed. Marc C. Carnes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 240.

<sup>33</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 56.

<sup>34</sup> FOR was born directly after the outbreak of World War I. Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 32.

<sup>35</sup> A.J. Muste (1855-1967), born Abraham Johannes Muste in the province of Zeeland, the Netherlands, came to the United States in 1891 when the Muste family settled in Grand Rapids, Michigan. In 1940, his views of total pacifism and absolute non-violence elevated him to executive director of FOR. In the following years of his career, he was to become its most renowned leader. A.J. Muste: Papers 1920-1967, (Swarthmore College Peace Collections Website, accessed 20 October 2002.); available from <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace/DG026-050/dg050muste.htm>: Internet.

<sup>36</sup> His base salary was fifteen dollars a week—raised a year later to \$18.75. Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 72.

<sup>37</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Troubles I've Seen*, 51.

<sup>38</sup> By 1942, most leading activists in the Fellowship of Reconciliation were also disciples of Mahatma Gandhi. Almost all of them had been drawn to Gandhian philosophy and methodology by their readings of such influential texts as Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience; Gandhi's autobiography; *My Gandhi*, by John Haynes Homes; and *War Without Violence*, by Krishnalal Shridharani. Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 62.

<sup>39</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 51.

<sup>40</sup> Bayard Rustin, "Lesson Plan on Non-Violent Action," 1941, FOR Files, Box 51, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>47</sup> Rustin had formally joined the Religious Society of Friends in 1936. Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 15.

<sup>48</sup> Bayard Rustin, to Friend, 15 August 1942, FOR Files, Box 51, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>49</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 60.

<sup>50</sup> Bayard Rustin, to Gentlemen of the Draft Board of New York, 16 November 1943, FOR Files, Box 51, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>51</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 90.

<sup>52</sup> Ashland was one of a handful of prisons that the government used to house conscientious objectors during World War II. James Haskins, *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement*, 29.

<sup>53</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 92.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Tom Ritchie, "Bayard Rustin," Prison Newsletter, July 1944, FOR Files, Box 52, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 108.

<sup>60</sup> Charles Butcher, *Prison Newsletter*, July 1944, FOR Files, Box 52, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>61</sup> A.J. Muste, "Memo on Visit to Ashland, Kentucky, Federal Correctional Institution," 27 July 1944, Bayard Rustin Files, Box 1, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Li-

brary, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>62</sup> Speaker at West Chester Public Meeting, West Chester, Pennsylvania, 20 November 2002.

<sup>63</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 83.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>67</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 154.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 165.

<sup>69</sup> Trying to find Bayard work after his release from FOR, Dr. Ascher, Rustin's psychiatrist after the Pasadena incident, first contacted the Religious Society of Friends. However, he found them to be completely unsympathetic. When the subject was first mentioned, they were excited about having a person like Bayard work for them. But as soon as they found out that he was homosexual, they backed off. "People who preached love and humane tolerance were completely intolerant when it came to sexuality." Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 74.

<sup>70</sup> The War Resisters League (WRL), officially founded in 1923, stood for the proposition that "war is a crime against humanity." Members of the WRL pledge "not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive non-violently for the removal of all causes of war." War Resisters League (Swarthmore College Peace Collections Website, accessed 27 November 2002); available from <http://www.swarthmore.edu/library/peace/DG026-050/DG040WRL.html>; Internet.

<sup>71</sup> Allan, to Jim, 31 August 1953, WRL Files, Box 12, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>72</sup> Frances Witherspoon, to Roy Finch, 7 September 1953, WRL Files, Box 12, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>73</sup> Edwards C.M. Richards, to Roy Finch, 8 September 1953, WRL Files, Box 12, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>74</sup> To Executive Committee and Advisory Council Members, 1 October 1953, WRL Files, Box 12, Swarthmore College Peace Collections, McCabe Library, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania.

<sup>75</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 173.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>80</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of the Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 86.

<sup>81</sup> This was the same nonviolent direct action that had been used in the early 1940s by Rustin and other radical pacifists. Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 98.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>83</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 86.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 189.

<sup>87</sup> John D'Emilio, "Bayard Rustin, Civil Rights Strategist," *The Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review* (Summer 1999), 1.

<sup>88</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 189.

<sup>89</sup> "Bayard Rustin: Civil Rights Leader" (Website, accessed 28 October 2002); available from <http://www.wuite.101.com/article/cfm/quakerism/13859>: Internet.

<sup>90</sup> Rustin was King's senior by 17 years. Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> The Baptist ministers of the SCLC did not want Rustin as director of the organization; instead, he became a "special assistant" working in New York. The Baptists did not want a homosexual running an organization rooted in Christian principles. John D'Emilio, "Bayard Rustin, Civil Rights Strategist," *The Harvard Gay and Lesbian Review*, 1.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>96</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 230.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Asa Philip Randolph, born in Florida in 1889, was president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the first African American trade union in the U.S.. Twenty-three years older than Rustin, he was a veteran of civil rights and labor causes and one of the most respected African American figures in his time. James Haskins, *Bayard Rustin: Behind the Scenes of the Civil Rights Movement*, 87.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>102</sup> Kenneth O'Reilly, *Black Americans: The FBI Files* (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1994), 388.

<sup>103</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 90.

<sup>104</sup> Kenneth O'Reilly, *Black Americans: The FBI Files*, 389.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 382.

<sup>106</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 82.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 90.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

<sup>111</sup> Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-63* (New York: Simon and Schuster Publishing, 1988), 873.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> John D'Emilio, "Homophobia and the Trajectory of Postwar American Radicalism," in *Modern American Queer History*, ed. Allida M. Black, 90.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, 5.

<sup>116</sup> Albert Shanker, "Where We Stand," *The New York Times*, August 30, 1987.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Anthony Monteiro, "Let's Look to Bayard Rustin for Inspiration," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 15, 2002.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.