Field Report
To: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
From: William Hansen
Tuesday October 23, 1962
Through
Thursday November 1, 1962

I left Atlanta hoping to spend the night in Jackson but when I got there I couldn’t find a soul around. I was so sleepy that I didn’t want to drive any farther so I talked an attendant at an all night gas station outside of town into letting me park the car in his lot and spending the night there. I made it into Little Rock around 9:00 a.m. Wednesday, October 24 and contacted the office of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations [ACHR].

I spent most of Wednesday talking with the people at ACHR. Nat Griswold is the Executive Director, Ozell Sutton is the Associate Director. Sutton is also the national president of the Philander Smith College Alumni Association.

Little Rock, Arkansas has a population of 125,000 people of which approximately 25% is Negro. North Little Rock, a separate city, is separated from Little Rock proper by the Arkansas River. NLR has a population of around 60,000 of which about the same percentage is Negro.

There are three Negro colleges in the area. All of them are very small. The most notable of the three is Philander Smith College. PSC is a Methodist owned and supported liberal arts school. It has an enrollment of approximately 500 students and is coeducational. Arkansas Baptist College is a Baptist seminary of around 300 students. The third college is Shorter Junior College in NLR with an enrollment of just over 200 students.

There also exists in LR an institution known as Little Rock University. LRU is a white only, private, coeducational, liberal arts college that refers to itself as a university. It has no dormitories and consists entirely of students from LR and immediate environs.

In the summer and fall of 1960 there was a short-lived sit-in “movement” in LR. Students from Philander Smith demonstrated at a number of establishments downtown. These consisted mainly of the lunch counters at Woolworth’s, Walgreens, and Blass Department Store. The demonstrations took the form of sit-ins. During the first sit-in the police arrested seven demonstrators for breach of the peace. This was not done at the request of the manager but at the discretion of the police. Subsequent demonstrators allowed to sit at the lunch counter for periods of up to three and four hours. The lunch counters were closed as soon as the students sat down and were kept closed as long as they sat there. The students who were arrested were given stiff fines and sentences of six months in jail and
a fine of $500. The exact reasons for the movement discontinuing are somewhat lost in history. One of the main reasons seems to be a leadership dispute. It seems that a number of the students served in a leadership capacity. The organization at that time was known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The executive committee voted to pursue certain tactics and one of the leaders, William Bush, now the president of Student Government, decided that he didn’t agree and refused to work with the movement any longer. The organization subsequently collapsed. PSC has always been represented at the SNCC meetings in the past most of the time in the person of a fellow by the name of Worth Long. The kids here that have been involved in the movement also feel a certain identification with SNCC. In the summer of 1961 CORE or somebody sent a bus load of Freedom Riders through Little Rock. They were arrested for breach of the peace but the charges were later dropped and they were released. There has since been no interference at the bus stations. Therefore the only thing desegregated about LR are the bus stations, the city buses, and the schools tokenly.

Pine Bluff, Arkansas, is a city of 44,000 people about forty miles southeast of LR. It has a Negro population of over forty percent. There really never has been a movement there of any serious significance. Part of the Dollarway school district takes in some of Pine Bluff. There was a boycott of a Newberry’s lunch counter and store a few years ago that resulted in taking the counter out. During the sit-ins in the rest of the south in 1960 some of the students called a meeting together to plan some sit-ins but the president [Lawrence A. Davis] of the college got

13This is an error. The group was not known as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee until autumn 1960; John A. Kirk, Redefining the Color Line: Black Activism in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1940-1970 (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 145.
14Hansen had met Worth Long at SNCC conferences before coming to Little Rock. Long was credited with “good public relations sense” and the ability to organize that was essential to successful sit-in protests. Kirk, “Origins of SNCC in Arkansas,” 15.
16Desegregation of the Little Rock public transportation system came about in 1956, when a U.S. Supreme Court ruling was misunderstood. Believing that South Carolina Electric & Gas Co. v. Flemming required the integration of public transport, Little Rock (along with Hot Springs, Pine Bluff, and Fort Smith) desegregated, including their interstate bus terminals. Kirk, Redefining the Color Line, 101.
17In fact, Pine Bluff had been the headquarters for the Committee on Negro Organizations (CNO), an organization begun by attorney W. H. Flowers in 1940 that sought political, economic, and social equality for African Americans. One of its primary aims was securing African Americans’ right to vote in Democratic primaries, the only elections that mattered in one-party Arkansas. John A. Kirk, “‘He Founded a Movement’: W. H. Flowers, the Committee on Negro Organizations, and Black Activism in Arkansas, 1940-1957,” in Beyond Little Rock, 56-65.
wind of it and immediately expelled the three ringleaders which included the president of the Student Council and the editor of the newspaper. This action very effectively stifled any further protest action on the part of anyone. As far as I know nothing in the town is desegregated.

There is in PB a college known as Arkansas Agricultural, Mechanical, & Normal. This is an all Negro, coeducational, state school with an enrollment of 2300 students. The town, at first glance, seems quite a bit like Albany.

According to the people at ACHR the situation here in LR is rather contradictory. They feel that the only answer is direct action or the threat of it. Consequently they feel that the students are the only ones to supply this type of action and since they haven’t been doing anything maybe SNCC can get something organized. The most vulnerable point in LR’s armor seems to be its image. Prior to 1957 five new industries a year moved into Little Rock. Since 1957 not one moved into the area until last year and that was the only one. It was reported that the Chamber of Commerce went out and “bought” it. Since 1957 the city has been laboriously trying to rebuild its completely shattered image. There is indication that they might consider capitulating to demands rather than suffer through another outbreak of racial trouble. Arkansas on the whole is in bad shape. They lost two Members of Congress in the last census and the Census Bureau predicts that they will lose two more in the 1970 census. There is not one dental school, public or private, in the entire state.

Late Wednesday afternoon I contacted Worth Long, a PSC student who has attended most of the SNCC conferences in the past. He mentioned that there was to be a meeting that night on the campus of students interested in reorganizing the sit-ins. Evidently there have been irregular meetings of the old organization that functioned during 1960. They have an Executive Committee and a chairman, William Bush. Election of new officers is supposed to be coming up soon. At the meeting there were seven students present; four seniors, one junior, and two freshman. We talked mainly about what course of action the students were going to take and when they were going to do it. At this time there seems to be no great groundswell of feeling and enthusiasm among the students. I also explained SNCC: what it had been doing lately, what it planned to do in the future, what it stood for, and the general structure of the organization. It

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18At this point, only one industry, Jacuzzi Brothers, had moved into Little Rock since 1957. Seen from an economic standpoint, Little Rock could not survive another racial confrontation, such as the sit-ins. It needed new industries and capital and had to promote itself as having outgrown massive resistance. Kirk, Redefining the Color Line, 139.
was decided to test the Woolworth's lunch counter [at Fourth and Main] the next day.

Around 11:30 a.m. on Thursday, October 25, a student named Bert Strauss, Bush and myself went down to the lunch counter. The strategy was to look as inconspicuous as possible in terms of looking like a test case. All three of us entered separately. I took a seat at the counter first, ordered and was served a cup of coffee. Bush sat down about five seats away from me and requested service. Strauss stayed at another counter and watched the proceedings. One of the waitresses got a Negro bus boy to come over and tell Bush that Negroes were not served there. After about ten minutes of sitting Bush got up and went to see the manager. He asked him if the store policy was not to serve Negroes. The manager replied that it was not the policy of the store not to serve Negroes but the policy of the city.

The most significant thing about the whole incident was the absolute lack of tension at the counter when Bush was sitting there. In fact no one even knew he was there until a waitress when serving the woman next to me said something about troublemakers. The woman then looked at Bush sitting there and went back to her eating without even changing expressions. After Bush had been sitting there for about five minutes a woman came up, without noticing Bush, and sat down next to him. After sitting down she gave him a brief glance and paid no more attention to him. The whole incident gives the indication that there would be no widespread consternation among the white community if Negroes were served at the lunch counters. We are hoping that we can talk to the store manager and convince him that the best course that he could take would be to just quietly open up the counter without forcing the students to sit-in. This would not let any opposition have a chance to solidify.

On Thursday night Bush and I went to see a Rev. William Gentry. Rev. Gentry is the head of the Wesley Foundation at Little Rock University. He has been working with the Methodist Student Movement for a number of years. We indicated a desire to set up some sort of meeting between the students at LRU and PSC. He said that there were a few students that he thought would be interested in something of that sort. We arranged for me to meet Rev. Gentry on the campus the next morning for the purpose of meeting some of the students. He said that Father James Drain, the head of

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19 Bert Strauss was a student at Philander Smith College.
the Newman Club on campus, would also be interested in this type of thing. I met the two reverends on Friday October 26 and we met some of the students. They did indicate an interest in what we had in mind but also were afraid of what might happen if the wrong people found out what they were doing. Five or six of the kids did say that they would come to a meeting, however. Rev. Gentry and Father Drain also said that there were others that they would contact. No definite date was set for the meeting but I intend to call Rev. Gentry in a few days.

There was another meeting of the PSC students on Friday afternoon. One of the main things covered was that there is now an organization known as the Student Freedom Movement (SFM). The executive committee consists of those seven students that had been meeting all along.

On Friday night Ben Grinage, a member of the SFM exec. com., and I drove down to Pine Bluff to see what kind of people we could interest there in doing something. We kind of wandered around the Arkansas A M & N campus talking to people. We got together a few students for a meeting including the VP of the Student Government, the editor of the school paper, the president of the Student Union, and the president of the sophomore class. We talked about SNCC, Pine Bluff, the movement, segregation, and other connected items. They expressed a definite concern about starting something in PB. They are also concerned about being expelled from school. They do want us to come back for another meeting . . .

A mass meeting was to be held in the Wesley Chapel near the campus on Monday. Bush didn’t ask Rev. [Negail] Riley for permission so Rev. Riley got mad and the meeting had to be cancelled. I found this out when I got back into town. As a result the Executive Committee and I went to see Rev. Riley Wednesday night. After soothing all the ruffled feelings the committee decided to ask a lawyer to come to the meeting along with a few adults the next night. The lawyer would explain the legal ramifications of the planned action and the adults would be able to tell a little about the feeling of the adult community concerning sit-ins. Bush disagreed with the rest of the committee saying that this was exclusively a student operation and it was none of the adults business. Because the committee went ahead with

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21 The Newman Club is a Catholic student organization.
22 Ben Grinage was a student at Philander Smith College as well as a Methodist minister. He would become an integral part of the Arkansas Project as it spread across the state, eventually becoming its director after Hansen stepped down. Holly McGee, "'It Was the Wrong Time and They Just Weren't Ready': Direct-Action Protest in Pine Bluff, 1963," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 66 (Spring 2007): 18-42 (republished in Wallach and Kirk, *Arsnick*, 35-53).
23 On Riley, see Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 152.
the plan to invite these people Bush said he wasn’t going to come to the meeting. I have noticed this in other meetings with these kids that if Bush doesn’t get his own way he threatens to take his marbles and go home. This is indicated also in what I heard about why the 1960 sit-ins stopped. The big reason why he is needed is that he carries a great deal of influence with the students. At the meeting on Thursday, November 1, Bush did show up for the meeting. He also brought with him a plan for what the SFM should do. His plan was not adopted in total so he resigned (a la De Gaulle). Without his help it will be much more difficult to mobilize the students but it will be done anyway . . .

Hansen

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Field Report
To: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
From: William Hansen

Friday November 2, 1962
I'm learning to utilize the Sherrod technique. In order to get a rapport with the local people in Terrell County [Georgia] one picks cotton. At Philander Smith College, especially when it's Homecoming week-end, one builds floats, which is what I did Friday until two o'clock Saturday morning. If I must say so myself, we did a pretty good job. The float that I helped to build won the first prize.

Saturday November 3, 1962
I have given in to the Homecoming fever. That is all anyone around here is thinking about now anyway. Civil rights and sit-ins are a lost cause until the week-end is over so I went to the football game this afternoon and watched old P.S.C. get shellacked for the eighth straight time this year. That is one pathetic football team.

Sunday November 4, 1962
We had a meeting tonight at which Worth Long was elected chairman of the Student Freedom Movement. The feeling of the Executive Commit-

24 Charles Sherrod had been the field secretary and director of SNCC in southwest Georgia and played a major role in the Albany Movement. Born and raised in Petersburg, Virginia, he joined SNCC in 1960, part way through earning his bachelor's degree in divinity at Virginia Union University. Part of Sherrod's "technique" was for SNCC members and volunteers to participate in local activities to gain the trust of African Americans. Hogan, Many Minds, One Heart, 38-39, 204; Jimmy B. Fenison, "Sherrod, Charles," www.blackpast.org/?q=aah/sherrod-charles-1937 (accessed January 8, 2012).
tee [is] that it might be possible to talk the Woolworth manager into opening the lunch counter if we could ever get hold of him to arrange a meeting. He seems to be trying to avoid us. We have been trying for almost two weeks to get hold of him by phone and arrange an appointment, unsuccessfully of course, so tomorrow four of the kids are going down to the store and try to catch him there. If this doesn’t work, the sit-ins are scheduled to start this coming Wednesday around noon. There will be a meeting of all students interested in Wednesday’s action on Tuesday night.

Monday November 5, 1962

The four students designated as negotiators are Worth Long, Fran Blackman, Ben Grinage, and Bert Strauss. The reasons for these four being chosen are interesting, I think. Worth Long was chosen because he is chairman and because he talked to the manager over a year ago when the signs saying “white” and “colored” were removed from the drinking fountains. Fran was chosen because the other three negotiators are men and she’s a cute little thing which may soften some of the hostility that the manager may have. Ben was chosen because he is a licensed Methodist minister who pastors a little church about thirty miles outside of L.R. while he is going to school. He will, of course, be introduced as REV. Ben Grinage. Bert was chosen because he had been an observer on the test case last week and can testify first hand to the fact that there was an absolute lack of any kind of excitement on the part of the white customers when a Negro sat down next to them at the counter.

The four negotiators went to the manager’s office at 12:00 today. He wasn’t there so three of them stayed in his office while Worth went out onto the floor to look for him. When Worth found him the manager didn’t want to talk but Worth emphasized the fact that there were plenty of people concerned about the problem of the lunch counter and that maybe a solution could be reached by discussing it and that would not necessitate any kind of public action that would result in unpleasantries and hard feelings. Finally the manager agreed to go up to his office and talk to the kids.

At first he wasn’t even inclined to consider their request but then Fran told him, “The students are pretty worked up about this and we can’t hold them off much longer so you had better do something soon.” This gave the impression that the negotiators were the campus moderates and that they were doing the Woolworth Co. a favor by holding the student body back long enough to hold the conference. The manager then stopped talking the tough line and started getting defensive and saying that the blame lay on the community customs and not on the Woolworth Co. or the manager. The man then wanted to stall a couple of weeks before giving an answer but the students said that they had to bring [one] back to campus by Wednesday at the latest. The manager then said that he would tell them one way or an-
other by Wednesday and that they should come back to see him then at noon.

We are moving under the assumption that the man is not going to open up. The plan, at this point, is to demonstrate only at the Woolworth counter. The way it will operate is that, while the negotiators are talking to the manager, the other students will enter the store and act like shoppers. If the negotiations fail a signal will be given and all the students will immediately take places at the lunch counter.

We are faced with the difficulty of convincing students intellectually, of the worth of sit-ins. As soon as the initial action takes place it will become much more real to all the students and, as a result, they will participate with an issue to rally around that is not abstract.

At this point we are having a problem with students who don’t want to go to jail. If arresting the people who are sitting-in is the way Woolworth’s is going to react we may have a problem getting people. Therefore, it may be necessary for some people to stay in jail to set an example.25

A difficult situation is arising in that a number of times I have been asked by some of the students what I am going to do when the sit-ins start. It is becoming difficult to continue talking to these kids about sitting-in, organizing them to do so, and then not go with them when they go downtown. At this point the most emphasized thing that can be done in terms of the movement is to sit-in and, if necessary, go to jail. I am afraid that my relationship with these students may deteriorate if I don’t go with them. I would appreciate any comments you might have on this situation.

Tuesday November 6, 1962

Today is Peggy’s birthday and I spent a considerable amount of time wishing I could spend it with her.26 Besides doing that I went around L.R. and met a few people that I thought could help us. It seems that when the sit-ins were going on two years ago the Negro YMCA here said that if the students ever wanted a place to meet they could use the Y facilities. I went over to see if that were still true. The lady told us that we could use it but she wasn’t the most enthusiastic person I’ve ever met.

25The SNCC technique known as “jail, no bail” was popularized by James Lawson, who had spent his childhood in Ohio and moved to Nashville in 1959 for divinity studies at Vanderbilt University. By the time he joined SNCC, he was already well trained in the use of nonviolent direct action through his association with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and CORE, his refusal to serve in the Army during the Korean War, and his training in Mahatma Gandhi’s policy of satyagraha. Activists sought to put pressure on jails in the South by refusing to pay bail for arrests that would not have been made if African Americans had the rights to which they were entitled. “Jail, no bail” was also a realistic response to SNCC’s perpetual lack of funds. Carson, In Struggle, 22-28.

26Peggy was Hansen’s girlfriend at the time.
I also went over to see the people at the Urban League. The UL seems to be relatively active here in LR. They voluntarily went off the Community Chest list of member organizations during the school crisis so as not to take a chance on hurting the drive. Since then they have not been able to get back on and that maybe why they are able to be a little more "controversial." They don't have to depend on the white folks' money.

We had a meeting of all those who were to go on the demonstration tomorrow to brief everyone on their respective function.

Wednesday, November 7, 1962

The way we had it arranged today was for the negotiators to go with Worth in this car. The others went with me in the "SNCC" car. The negotiators went in first to talk with the manager. I left the other kids out in the car and went inside also. When Worth and the others left the manager, Mr. George Slaton, they went over to the lunch counter and sat down. I went outside and motioned for the others to come in. They do so and took seats at the counter. The lunch counter manager immediately turned out the lights and stopped serving food to anyone. The white customers who were already eating were allowed to finish their food and then left. In about ten minutes everyone but the eleven students had left the counter. The kids immediately took out their books and started studying. A small crowd gathered but no incidents took place. The temper was one of curiosity rather than anger. A number of people in the store were muttering things like "damn niggers" but they didn't look like they wanted to riot about it. Quite a few people who came in and saw the colored counter blamed the students because they weren't able to get anything to eat. However, a number of people didn't pay attention to the students and sat down at the counter after it was closed and wanted to get something to eat. One amusing, and noteworthy, incident happened when a white teenager came in and sat down near Worth. Seeing no waitresses he turned to Worth and said "Where are the waitresses?" Worth replied that he didn't know what was going on either and that he had sat down at the counter and asked for a cup of coffee when the waitresses turned off all the lights and closed the counter. The white boy commented, "That's silly," got up and left. He evidently didn't know what was going on.

Immediately after the students sat down I called the two dailies, the Arkansas Democrat and the Arkansas Gazette, the UPI, the AP, and the TV and radio stations. They showed up almost immediately. The police came

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a little later but just walked up and down. The manager didn’t ask them to do anything. All this time I kind of wandered about the store trying to find out people’s attitudes. At 2:00 p.m. all the students got up and left the store.

I found out later that the manager had told Worth that he was working out a solution to the problem and that the counters would be opened. When Worth asked him for some indication as to when this would happen the manager said he couldn’t give a date. The reply was, “How are we going to go back to that campus and tell a thousand waiting students that you’re just working on it.” That statement is interesting because Philander Smith only has an enrollment of five hundred.

We had a mass meeting tonight in the student union and over fifty students say that they want to participate now.

Another interesting development is that now President Crockett is behind the students. He called Worth in this afternoon and told him that he was disappointed that Worth had not notified him before the students sat-in but that he fully supported him. This is a radical change of viewpoint in the last three days. Evidently President Crockett (his first name is David, no kidding) figure that if you can’t beat them join them.

We got good coverage from the news media. The TV stations all carried films of the sit-ins as did the radio stations. The wire services sent out stories. Enclosed is a copy of the UPI story that Worth went down and got. Also enclosed is an early edition of the morning Gazette. More to come. Much more.

Hansen

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Field Report
To: Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
From: William Hansen
Monday November 26, 1962

We had a just jolly trip back from Nashville that included getting chased out of a gas station in Brownsville, Tennessee because we goofed up their segregated lavatory system. The generator on the car conked out

Dr. Roosevelt David Crockett became president of Philander Smith College in the summer of 1961. He had been a student there; F. Erik Brooks and Glenn L. Starks, Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An Encyclopedia (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood, 2011), 78.
in DeValls Bluff, Arkansas so we had to limp into Little Rock at about 5:30 in the morning, with no headlights. Such fun.

The negotiators from the Student Freedom Movement met this morning with the downtown businessmen. It seems that there is a reluctance to act in opening up the lunch counters.

The SFM executive committee met tonight and decided to go into action on Wednesday.

Worth and I went over to Shorter College in North Little Rock to see what we could recruit for Wednesday. They expressed a desire to go but indicated, also, that they weren’t particularly willing to make any great sacrifices. First of all they wanted assurances that they wouldn’t be thrown in jail and that they wouldn’t get beaten. They also said that they would need the permission of the administration. Shorter College is going to take a lot of work.

Tuesday November 27, 1962

We gathered together a group of students to work in the campaign of Dr. Morris Jackson.29 He is a Negro running for the L.R. School Board. The election is next Tuesday, December 4th.

We had a mass meeting in the Student Union Building at which time we told the students of the breakdown in negotiations and the start of sit-ins again the next day. The plans are to sit-in a Woolworths, Walgreen’s, McLellens, and Blass’ Department Store.

Wednesday November 28, 1962

At 11:30 nine people took seat at the Walgreen’s lunch counter [at Fifth and Main]. The proprietor immediately roped off the counter and booths and put up a sign saying “This counter is closed in the interest of public safety.”

At 12:30 I got up to take some students back to school for class and pick up some others who were just out of class. When we returned we joined the others at the counter. At 1:30 some other students got up to go to class. When one of the students that was leaving wanted to come back into the roped off area to say something that he forgot to say before he left the manager wouldn’t allow him to do so. The manager got rather nasty at that point so Worth and I decided to find out just what he would do if someone refused to leave. We went out into the other side of the store and then returned to the counter. The manager then told us that we would have to leave and we refused. He called the police and we were arrested for “fail-

29Hansen is referring to Dr. Maurice Jackson, a founding member of the Council on Community Affairs (COCA), a local civil rights organization. In 1959, he had attempted to run for the Little Rock school board but was persuaded by the local African-American elite to abandon his campaign. This was his second attempt to be elected to the board; Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 140, 151.
ure to leave the premises at the request of the proprietor.” We were then taken to the Little Rock County Jail and booked. One of the cops came back to the cells and started that same “nigger-lover” junk they did in Albany but nothing happened. About an hour later they put me in the solitary cell where I remained for the duration of my visit.

A mass meeting was held back at the campus which the entire student body attended.

Thursday November 29, 1962

About thirty students came down to our trial which was supposed to be at 9:00 but due to missed signals with our lawyer he had to ask for a continuance. It was granted and the date was set for Friday, December 7th.

When the students got back to the campus from the courtroom they reformed and had a protest march from the Philander Smith campus to the downtown area. They marched down one side of Main St. and back up the other side. About five o’clock in the afternoon another march was held. Over one hundred students participated in that one.

All day there was much behind the scene activity. Phone calls were going all over the place trying to stop further demonstrations. A group of Negro leaders met in the evening to discuss the situation. They voted to back the students fully and also kick in the $1000 to get Worth and I out of jail.

Friday November 30, 1962

We were released from jail this morning. During the course of the afternoon further contacts were made with the people downtown. The upshot of the whole situation seems to be that the people downtown have agreed to open up the lunch counters at Walgreen’s, Woolworth’s, McLellen’s, and the restaurant at Blass’ Department Store. This will happen on January 2, 1963. They have also agreed to talk about the dates for opening up the theatres and the hotels. We, in turn, will stop demonstrating.

In the afternoon I took Rev. Riley to the airport because he was leaving town for the weekend. I had been followed by the police all day. Upon leaving the airport I was stopped by six cops in three cars. They made me get out of the car and went threw that cops and robbers routine of frisking me. Then they ransacked the car. It ended up with them taking me to the station on suspicion of armed robbery. They released me about three hours later.