

# EXHIBIT E

## **A Brief History of Race Relations in Kansas**

Shawn Leigh Alexander  
September 6, 2024

### **I. Qualifications**

I am a Professor and Chairperson of African and African American Studies, and the Director of the Langston Hughes Center at the University of Kansas. My curriculum vitae is attached as Appendix A.

I received my Ph.D. and Masters from the W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts-Amherst and my additional Masters in African American World Studies from the University of Iowa. I have previously served as the first Cassius Marcellus Clay Post-Doctoral Fellow in the Department of History at Yale University.

I am a member of the African American Intellectual History Society, American Historical Association, Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Organization of American Historians, and Southern Historical Association.

I have authored and edited several books, book chapters, journal articles, and encyclopedia entries on a range of topics, including early African American civil rights activity, racialized violence and lynchings; and Black intellectual history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. I have presented on these topics, across the country, over 80 times.

Counsel for Antoine Fielder asked me to prepare a historical report of the treatment of Black residents of Kansas, including in the criminal legal system.

## II. Introduction

The historical narrative of Kansas is often told, or remembered, as one of struggle against slavery and segregation, giving the illusion that the land of John Brown was, and is, a space free from racism and discrimination. Yet throughout the history of the Free State, Black Kansans have lived a separate existence that has denied them the representation and rights enjoyed by white Kansans. At Kansas' founding and in the years after, Black Kansans were often the victims of racial terror and violence that aimed to keep Black Kansans apart from the rest of the community.

This forced separation could be found in every aspect of life.<sup>1</sup> Black Kansans were forced to live in segregated neighborhoods and to attend segregated schools. They were pushed to segregated sections of hotels, restaurants, and theaters. They were regularly turned away from institutions that purported to provide care, such as white hospitals or churches. And this discrimination infected every aspect of Kansas's criminal legal system, including the death penalty, which has been used disproportionately against Black men in Kansas, often on behalf of white female victims, and follows a direct historical line of disproportionate police violence and lynchings against Black men.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Chafe, William Henry, "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study," 34 *Journal of Southern History* 402-19 (August 1968); Cox, Thomas, *Blacks in Topeka, 1865-1915: A Social History* (Louisiana State Univ. Press 1982); Cunningham, Roger D., *The Black Citizen-Soldiers of Kansas, 1864-1901* (Univ. of Missouri Press 2008); Eick, Gretchen Cassel, *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954- 72* (Univ. of Illinois Press 2001); Etcheson, Nicole, *Bleeding: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Univ. Press of Kansas 2004); Klassen, Teresa C. and Johnson, Owen V., *Sharpening of the Blade: Black Consciousness in Kansas, 1892-97*, 63 *The Journalism Quarterly* 298-304 (1986); Campney, Brent M. S., *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927* (Univ. of Illinois Press 2015); Painter, Nell Irvin, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (Univ. Press of Kansas 1986); Peavler, David J., *Drawing the Color Line in Kansas City*, 28 *Kansas History* 188-201 (Autumn 2005); Pendleton, Jason, *Jim Crow Strikes Out: Interracial Baseball in Wichita, Kansas, 1920-1935*, 20 *Kansas History* 86-101 (Summer 1997); and Woods, Randall Bennett, *A Black Odyssey: John Lewis Waller and the Promise of American Life, 1878-1900* (Regents Press of Kansas 1981).

<sup>2</sup> Bolton, Kenneth, and Feagin, Joe R., *Black in Blue: African-American Police Officers and Racism* (Routledge 2004); Epp, Charles R., Maynard-Moody, Steven, and Haider-Markel, Donald P., *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship* (Univ. of Chicago Press 2014); Johnson, Devon, *Deadly Injustice: Trayvon Martin, Race, and the Criminal Justice System*, (New York Univ., 2015); *Police Brutality: An Anthology* (Jill Nelson ed. Norton 2000); Pegues, Jeff, *Black and Blue: Inside the Divide between the Police and Black America* (Prometheus

### III. Antebellum and Civil War Periods, 1820-1865

The history of statehood in Kansas is intertwined with the country's battle over slavery. In 1820, the United States consisted of 24 states equally divided between free and slave states.<sup>3</sup> This balance was disrupted by Missouri's petition to become the 25<sup>th</sup> state to join the burgeoning country, as a slave state.<sup>4</sup> In order to hold together a tenuous union, Congress passed the Missouri Compromise which established that all states and territories north of Missouri's southern border would prohibit slavery and all states and territories to the south of Missouri's border would allow slavery. This created a fragile balance that lasted 34 years, until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.<sup>5</sup>

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, which allowed the residents of both territories to vote on whether they would allow slavery, was proposed by presidential hopeful, Illinois Senator Stephen Douglas, with the stated goal of using popular sovereignty to heal divisions.<sup>6</sup> This angered abolitionists across the country who had been promised under the terms of the Missouri Compromise that both Kansas and Nebraska would be free territories.<sup>7</sup> The Act implicated the fragile balance of power between the North and South, rendering a few thousand Western votes central to the character of the nation. This proposed doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" would ultimately spark the Civil War<sup>8</sup> and has been described by historians as "the most fateful single

---

Books 2017); Rabinowitz, Howard N., *The Conflict between Blacks and the Police in the Urban South, 1865-1900*, 39 *Historian* 62-76 (November 1976); and Ritchie, Andrea J., *Invisible No More: Police Violence against Black Women and Women of Color* (Beacon Press, 2017).

<sup>3</sup> Muehlberger, James P., *Reflections on Lincoln's Kansas Campaign*, 78 *J. Kan. B. Ass'n* 110, 25 (2009).

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> *Id.*; Forbes, Robert Pierce, *The Missouri Compromise and Its Aftermath: Slavery and the Meaning of America* (North Carolina Press 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Muehlberger, *supra* note 3, at 25; Nicole Etcheson, *supra* note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Muehlberger, *supra* note 3, at 25-26.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* at 25; and Etcheson, *supra* note 1.

piece of legislation in American history.”<sup>9</sup>

In the Spring of 1854, immigration traffic to Kansas swelled. Free state and pro-slavery national organizers rushed people into the Kansas Territory to influence the voting.<sup>10</sup> Ironically, the emigrants who journeyed to Kansas were primarily influenced by land, not a particular cause.<sup>11</sup> However, motivation did not matter as Kansas became part of the unfolding drama between South and North and the settlers became surrogates for the bigger existential issues.<sup>12</sup> The high stakes and lack of established law enforcement network led to vigilantism and informal militias as new residents fought each other in violent elections.<sup>13</sup> Kansas soon received the nickname of “Bleeding Kansas” in eastern newspapers.<sup>14</sup>

Among the most famous of these violent incidents was the May 1856 sack of Lawrence by pro-slavery forces hailing from Missouri, who burned and looted the town.<sup>15</sup> This was followed four days later by the retaliatory Pottawatomie murders—led by John Brown—of five pro-slavery men.<sup>16</sup> Three years after the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law, the territorial legislature drafted the Lecompton Constitution, which explicitly endorsed slavery and protection for slaveholder rights, despite the growing majority of anti-slavery settlers.<sup>17</sup> Kansas voters rejected this

---

<sup>9</sup> Drake, Ross, *The Law That Ripped America in Two*, Smithsonian Magazine, May 2004, available at <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-law-that-ripped-america-in-two-99723670/>

<sup>10</sup> Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26.

<sup>11</sup> Drake, *supra*.

<sup>12</sup> *Id.*

<sup>13</sup> *Id.*; Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26.

<sup>14</sup> Muehlberger, *supra* at 26; Jonathan Halperin Earle and Diane Mutti Burke, *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border*. University Press of Kansas, 2013; Etcheson, *supra*; and Thomas Goodrich, *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-1861*. Stackpole Books, 1998.

<sup>15</sup> Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26; Drake, *supra*.

<sup>16</sup> Etcheson, *supra* note 1; Goodrich, *supra* note 14; Earle, Jonathan, ed. *John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford St. Martins, 2008; Horwitz, Tony. *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked the Civil War*. 1st ed. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2011; Reynolds, David S. *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights*. 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 2005

<sup>17</sup> Earle, Jonathan, *Kansas Territory, the Election of 1860, and the Coming of the Civil War: A National Perspective*, Kansas City Public Library, available at <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/essay/kansas-territory-election-1860-and-coming-civil-war-national-perspective> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

constitution in 1858,<sup>18</sup> and ultimately, Kansas emerged from this bloodshed as a free state in 1861.<sup>19</sup> Just a few months later the Civil War began.<sup>20</sup>

The beginning of the Civil War marked a surge in Kansas's Black population, as slaves fled across the border from Missouri to Kansas in ever increasing numbers.<sup>21</sup> In 1862 the Leavenworth Daily Times called this migration a "stampede" noting that parts of Missouri were "almost denuded" of Black people.<sup>22</sup> Many Black migrants settled in the multi-racial Quindaro settlement, initially located in present-day Kansas City, Kansas.<sup>23</sup> Quindaro quickly became a thriving port town home to abolitionists and an Underground Railroad station for slaves escaping from Missouri.<sup>24</sup>

The Black population grew from 627 in 1860 to 12,641 in 1865.<sup>25</sup> In 1862, the First Kansas Colored Volunteers was formed and by October of 1864, aggressive, often coercive, recruiting of Black men into the Union army was in full force.<sup>26</sup> By the end of the war, the Kansas troops "were accompanied by hundreds of Negroes, many of whom were serving as teamsters, cooks, and even soldiers."<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*

<sup>19</sup> *Id.*

<sup>20</sup> *Id.*

<sup>21</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1.

<sup>22</sup> Leavenworth Daily Times, Aug. 15, 1863 at 3.

<sup>23</sup> Tony O'Brien, *Quindaro, Kansas, Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*, Kansas City Public Library, available at <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/encyclopedia/quindaro-kansas> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>24</sup> *Id.*; Coulter, Charles E., *Take up the Black Man's Burden: Kansas City's African American Communities, 1865-1939*. University of Missouri Press, 2006; Miller, Diane E. "Wyandot, Shawnee, and African American Resistance to Slavery in Ohio and Kansas." Dissertation, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2019, at 152-155.

<sup>25</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 17.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* ("Colored men have been forced at the point of the bayonet to leave their employment and their homes, and compelled to volunteer... In some cases men have been held up by their thumbs and thus tortured till they have consented") (quoting Leavenworth Evening Bulletin, August 19 and 10, 1864). *See also*, Spurgeon, Ian Michael. *Soldiers in the Army of Freedom: The 1st Kansas Colored, the Civil War's First African American Combat Unit*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Castel, Albert, *Civil War Kansas and the Negro*, 51 *Journal of Negro History* 2 (April 1966).

#### IV. Reconstruction Backlash and Exodus, 1866-1889

Following the end of the war, white Kansas mirrored the trends in the rest of the country and began to retreat from its promise of equality for Black residents.<sup>28</sup> This retreat accelerated in the decade following the war. Between 1866 and 1874, lynch mobs executed at least 25 Black men in sixteen incidents.<sup>29</sup>

In 1879, former slaves began a widely-publicized mass migration to Kansas from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, who were soon dubbed Exodusters.<sup>30</sup> Much of this later movement was predicated by the worsening racial climate in the South after the failures of Reconstruction, but there were some events in the late 1870s that pushed the migration even more. First and foremost was the economic disaster caused by the boll weevil and the crop failure of 1878. This burst of migration, referred to as Kansas Fever, was pushed by, among other things, the myth of Kansas and the lore of John Brown. Although the rate of arrivals gradually began to slow, they continued their trek into Kansas through 1881.<sup>31</sup>

Black migrants tended to settle at greatest concentrations in the Northeast, as the formerly enslaved had done in earlier waves. This trend continued into the next several decades along with an increasing concentration of Black populations in a handful of major urban areas.<sup>32</sup>

The influx of Black populations during the Exodus accompanied a growing, racist fear among white people that there would be a corresponding spike in job competition, taxation, contagious disease, and crime.<sup>33</sup> As a May 1879 Junction City Tribune article put it, “if the

---

<sup>28</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 45.

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* at 25.

<sup>30</sup> Painter, *supra* note 1; Campney, *supra* note 1 at 63.

<sup>31</sup> Painter, *supra* note 1; Campney, *supra* note 1 at 63.

<sup>32</sup> *Id.* at 76.

<sup>33</sup> Randall B. Woods, *Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The “Color Line” in Kansas, 1878-1900*, 14 W. Historical Quarterly 2 (1983).

movement continues, the north must use shot-guns in self-defence [sic].”<sup>34</sup> During the Exodus there were at least seven threatened lynchings documented.<sup>35</sup> There was also a documented killing in 1879, where the residents of Fort Scott hung and burned the body of Bill Howard, a Black man and alleged outlaw.<sup>36</sup> These acts of violence were accompanied by “sundown” policies in rural areas, requiring Black people to leave by sundown or risk bodily harm and death.<sup>37</sup>

In the aftermath of the Exodus, white Kansans continued this pattern of racialized violence, killing eight Black men in five incidents between 1882 and 1889.<sup>38</sup> In 1882, after the body of David Bausman, a white man, was found drowned, a white mob with nooses in hand took three African American men—Pete Vinegar, Isaac King, and George Robertson—from the Douglas County jail in Lawrence and hanged them from a bridge stretching over the nearby Kaw River.<sup>39</sup> The mob left them to hang until the next morning. In 1887, Richard Woods—a Black youth accused of assaulting and raping a fifteen-year-old white girl in Leavenworth—was taken from the county jail by a mob of white men who tied him by the neck to a pommel of a saddle and dragged him for more than a mile. Black men accused of raping white women were lynched near Hiawatha in 1889, Topeka in 1864, and Paola in 1883, among others. In Sedgwick County, there was a documented race riot in August of 1887 and a threatened lynching of Tom Collins in May of 1888.<sup>40</sup> Lynchings, threatened racial violence, and race riots were orchestrated by whites to be spectacles, their public nature rendering them a tool of control and terror against the broader Black

---

<sup>34</sup> Campney, *supra* at 65.

<sup>35</sup> *Id.* at 66.

<sup>36</sup> *Id.* at 65; 75.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.* at 66; *Racist History Still Haunts Hays and Other Kansas Towns* Kansas News Service, March 2, 2021, available at <https://kansaspublicradio.org/kpr-news/racist-history-still-haunts-hays> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>38</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1 at 69.

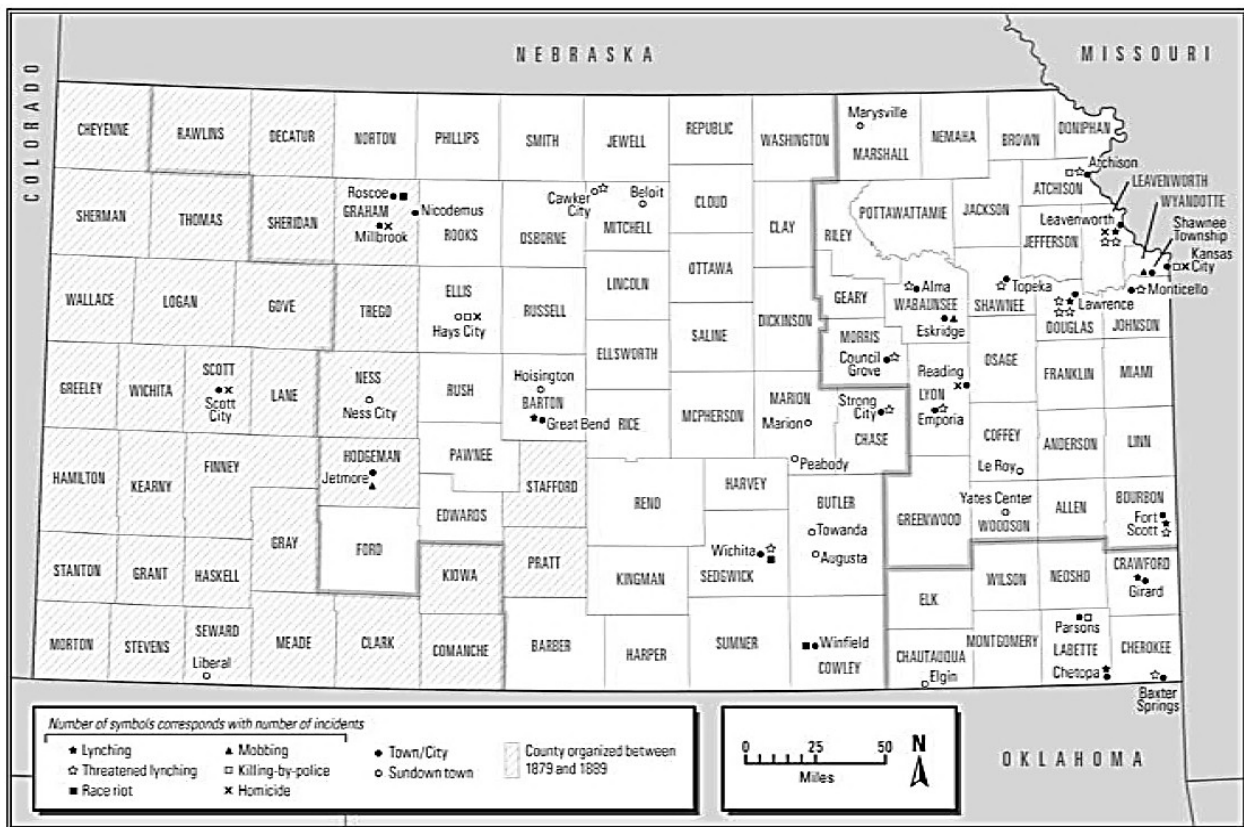
<sup>39</sup> Ursula Minor, *Lawrence seeks justice for three men lynched 138 years ago at Kansas River bridge*, Kan. Reflector, Dec. 8, 2020, available at <https://kansasreflector.com/2020/12/08/lawrence-seeks-justice-for-three-men-lynched-138-years-ago-at-kansas-river-bridge/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>40</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1 at Appendix 1.



community.<sup>41</sup>

Figure 1: Racialized Violence during the Kansas Exodus and its Aftermath, 1879-1889



Source: Campney, *supra* note 1 at 66 (Map prepared by Erin Greb).

Following the Exodus, white anxiety about miscegenation, specifically between Black men and white women, surged, and allegations of sexual assault against Black men correspondingly surged.<sup>42</sup> Increasingly, white Kansans portrayed the alleged victims as paragons of white womanhood and conflated their alleged attacks with an attack on whiteness itself, landing on lynching as the only proportional punishment.<sup>43</sup> One historical account of lynchings in Kansas identified rape as the third largest suspected offense for lynchings, and noted that lynchings for rape accusations were overwhelmingly carried out against Black men: “Rape, which holds third

<sup>41</sup> *Id.* at 31.

<sup>42</sup> *Id.* at 75.

<sup>43</sup> *Id.*

place in Kansas as a cause for lynching, brings in the race problem, as here the ratio of negroes to whites is four to one.”<sup>44</sup> The author of this account calculated the four to one ratio of lynching victims by including five white men who were lynched for the combined suspected crimes of rape and murder.<sup>45</sup> If the analysis is limited to those individuals lynched who were suspected of rape only, the ratio is even starker: thirteen Black men were lynched and only one white man was lynched for suspected rape between 1860 and 1930.<sup>46</sup>

## V. “Bloody Nineties,” 1890-1902

The wave of racialized violence continued in Kansas between 1890 and 1902. In 1892—the worst year for lynchings in the United States—Black lynching victims accounted for more than half of the 241 known lynchings nationwide.<sup>47</sup> In Kansas, of the fifty-three men lynched between 1881 and 1927, Black victims disproportionately accounted for 18 lynchings, or almost 34 percent.<sup>48</sup> The lynching of Hugh Henry in Larned in 1892, and the local newspaper’s account of the event, is an especially disturbing example not only of the racialized violence, but the public’s racialized assumptions of guilt which inspired many of the lynchings.<sup>49</sup> After he was accused of attacking a white woman in her room, a mob broke Henry from the jail and hanged him from a telegraph pole.

In 1901, Fred Alexander was accused of attacking a white woman in Leavenworth. The only “evidence” presented against him was a witness who claimed to hear whistling during the

---

<sup>44</sup> Genevieve Yost, *History of Lynchings in Kansas*, *Kansas Quarterly*, 2 199 (May 1933); See also Campney, *supra* note 1.

<sup>45</sup> Yost, *supra* note 44.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*

<sup>47</sup> Bill Sroufe and Gary R. Entz, “*Thy Brother’s Blood*”: William Walthall, Commodore True, and a Thanksgiving Tragedy in Hiawatha 36 *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, Vol. 36, N. 4, 248, available at <https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2013winter.pdf>. (last visited Sept. 6, 2024).

<sup>48</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1 at 84. Black individuals never accounted for more than 3.5 percent of the population after 1890.

<sup>49</sup> *The Tiller and Toiler*, September 16, 1892; Campney, *supra*, at 88-90; 104.

attack and the fact that Fred Alexander liked to whistle. Nonetheless, a white mob attacked the jail and broke Alexander out. The mob then tortured and burned Alexander at the stake behind the main streets of town.<sup>50</sup> In 1902, Montgomery Godley was taken by a mob from the jail in Pittsburg and hanged from a telephone pole. When the rope used to hang Godley broke, a member of the mob proceeded to cut Godley's throat. This gruesome hanging sparked the Kansas legislature to criminalize both lynching and aiding and abetting lynching in 1903.<sup>51</sup>

## VI. Racialized Violence, 1920-1929

In March of 1921, organizers from the Ku Klux Klan ("KKK") undertook a recruitment campaign in Kansas.<sup>52</sup> The Klan targeted Kansas City<sup>53</sup> and Wichita, which was described as the farthest point west Klan recruitment had extended that spring.<sup>54</sup> The Klan's recruitment messaging was simple: join an organization dedicated to advancing the tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, protection of "our pure womanhood," "preventing the causes of mob violence and lynchings," and most generally, "upholding the law."<sup>55</sup> Under this umbrella also fell a virulent "American First" agenda fueled by an anti-immigrant, anti-organized labor credo, and influenced by the nativist and xenophobic attitudes that permeated American politics of the time. This attitude

---

<sup>50</sup> Alexander, Shawn Leigh, *Vengeance without Justice, Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council's Struggle against Racial Violence*, 27 *Great Plains Quarterly* 117-33 (Spring 2007).

<sup>51</sup> Christopher C. Lovett, *A Public Burning: Race, Sex, and the Lynching of Fred Alexander*, 33 *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 94-115, available at [https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2010summer\\_lovett.pdf](https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2010summer_lovett.pdf) (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>52</sup> For more on the history of the Klan see, Alexander, Shawn Leigh, ed. *Reconstruction Violence and the Ku Klux Klan Hearings: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford St. Martins, 2015; Baker, Kelly J. *Gospel According to the Klan: The KKK's Appeal to Protestant America, 1915-1930*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2011; Parsons, Elaine Frantz. *Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan During Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015; Williams, Kidada E. *They Left Great Marks on Me: African American Testimonies of Racial Violence from Emancipation to World War I*. New York: New York University Press, 2012; Chalmers, David M., *Hooded Americanism: The History of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1976); see also "Ku Klux Klan to Be Formed Here," *The Wichita Beacon*, Mar. 18, 1921.

<sup>53</sup> Tim Rives, *The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Kansas: 1921-1930* (1995).

<sup>54</sup> *The Wichita Beacon*, Mar. 18, 1921.

<sup>55</sup> *Id.*

was best represented by President Calvin Coolidge signing in to law the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 and the associated quota system that would remain in effect until 1952.<sup>56</sup>

In Kansas, by the end of 1922, historical accounts estimate that the Ku Klux Klan had around 40,000 members throughout Kansas, as many as 5,000 members living in Wichita,<sup>57</sup> and close to 1100 members in Kansas City.<sup>58</sup> The Black population of Wichita at that time was approximately 5,000 – the same size as the Klan population.<sup>59</sup> The Klan in Kansas employed various strategies to impose their authority upon and instill fear in anyone critical of the advancement of white supremacy and white vigilantism in the state. By 1922 it became common practice for local Klan chapters around the state to issue public threats and take violent action against those who opposed their cause.<sup>60</sup>

During the 1920s the Klan realized great success in leveraging its terror tactics to achieve political influence in the state. The Klan had its hand firmly on Kansas City's most important sources of law enforcement power. It dominated the city's south district court, where Judge (later mayor) McCombs presided alongside other Klansmen.<sup>61</sup> The City of Kansas City and Wyandotte County were among the top ten employers of KKK members in the city.<sup>62</sup> The Klan conducted detective work for the Wyandotte County attorney, who also belonged to the white supremacist

---

<sup>56</sup> Kenneth T Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in The City, 1915-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Chalmers, *Hooded Americanism*.

<sup>57</sup> *Seeking Full Roster of Ku Klux Members*, *The Wichita Eagle*, Nov. 25, 1922; Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930*, 237; 289.

<sup>58</sup> Tim Rives, *The Second Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City: Rise and Fall of a White Nationalist Movement*, Kansas City Public Library, available at <https://pendergastkc.org/articles/second-ku-klux-klan-kansas-city-rise-and-fall-white-nationalist-movement> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>59</sup> Fletcher Powell, *The KKK and Baseball History*, WBUR, May 26, 2012, available at <https://www.wbur.org/onlyagame/2012/05/26/monrovia-baseball> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>60</sup> *Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet in State*, *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, Jul. 7, 1922; *Kansas Will Hold Cities to Account for Acts of Klan*, *Wichita Beacon*, Oct. 3, 1922; *Flogged by Klan, Kansan to Bring \$100,000 Suit: Mayor of Liberty Will Claim Damages Under Mob Law; Governor Denounced Affair*, *The Wichita Beacon*, Oct. 16, 1922.

<sup>61</sup> Rives, *supra* note 53 at 89.

<sup>62</sup> *Id.*

organization.<sup>63</sup>

Most notably, it is estimated that from 1922 to 1927, candidates who were supported by the Klan or were Klan members themselves won more than 136 political races in Kansas City, Kansas, including their most notable success—the election of Klansman Don C. McCombs as Mayor of Kansas City.<sup>64</sup> Mayor McCombs, who occupied City Hall from 1927 to 1947, utilized his appointment power to flood City Hall with fellow Klansmen. McComb appointed known Klansmen Louis S. Harvey as City Attorney and Bina S. Quick Jr. as Secretary to the Chief of Police, and successfully created an intricate bipartisan political apparatus rooted in white supremacy.<sup>65</sup>

The intense and violent presence of the Klan throughout Kansas in the 1920s prompted Governor Henry Allen to order an investigation into Klan gatherings and disturbances around the state.<sup>66</sup> On July 8, 1922, Governor Allen issued a proclamation prohibiting the wearing of masks in public after determining that activities of “bodies of masked men assembl[ing] for... parading and so-called ceremonies” contributed to an atmosphere of fear and intimidation across Kansas.<sup>67</sup> The Governor’s proclamation asserted that the Klan’s masking was “in [Kansas] inseparable with violence and the inescapable effect of it is to create fear and terror in the mind of the citizen.”<sup>68</sup> Though Governor Allen and the Kansas State Attorney General employed various legal and political strategies to deter the surging influence of the Klan in Kansas, the “Invisible Empire” remained staunchly committed to advancing its mission of spreading religious intolerance and racial hatred. Even while facing mounting investigations and lawsuits, Klan members in Kansas

---

<sup>63</sup> Rives, *supra* note 58.

<sup>64</sup> *Id.*

<sup>65</sup> *Id.* at 81-82.

<sup>66</sup> *Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet in State*, Daily Traveler, Jul. 7, 1922.

<sup>67</sup> *Governor Bars Mask Wearing in State By a Proclamation*, Arkansas City Daily Traveler, Jul. 8, 1922.

<sup>68</sup> *Id.*

threatened to mobilize mobs to beat school superintendents who allowed racially integrated school pageants and African Americans who moved into majority white neighborhoods.<sup>69</sup>

Even though the Klan marketed itself to Kansans as a “secret society,” many aspects of the Klan’s statewide operations during the mid-1920s were open and notorious. Court documents filed in the fall of 1922 established that the Klan had offices in Kansas where it sold “paraphernalia, regalia, stationary, jewelry, ... magazines, periodicals, newspapers, circulars, and other printed matter.”<sup>70</sup> In 1924, Kansas City, Missouri hosted the Klan’s second national convention, called the “Klonvocation,” where 5,000 Klansmen from around the country convened to celebrate the organization’s past, present, and future.<sup>71</sup> In 1925, the Klan’s Wichita chapter responded to a public advertisement in the *Wichita Eagle* and challenged the Wichita Monroviens—an all-Black baseball team from the Colored Western League—to a baseball game at Island Park in Wichita.<sup>72</sup> Leading up to the baseball game between the Klan and Monroviens, there were a record number of lynchings nationwide in the first six months of 1925, which prompted the *Wichita Beacon* to announce that “strangle holds, razors, horsewhips, and other violent implements of argument [would] be barred at the baseball game.”<sup>73</sup> The large crowd that filled the stadium watched the Monroviens prevail over the Klan by a final score of 10-8, and the game was described by the *Wichita Eagle* as “the best attended and most interesting game in Wichita.”<sup>74</sup>

The violent doctrine of white supremacy was not limited to formal members of the Klan.

---

<sup>69</sup> Rives, *supra* note 58.

<sup>70</sup> Charles William Sloan, *Kansas Battles the Invisible Empire: The Legal Ouster of the KKK From Kansas, 1922-1927*, 40 *Kansas Historical Society* 393-409 (1974).

<sup>71</sup> Rives, *supra* note 53.

<sup>72</sup> “Who Were the Monroviens? 1925 Monroviens vs. the KKK,” Exhibit at The Kansas African American Museum, June 2021; Jason Todd, *Black History in Wichita: The day the KKK lost a baseball game to the Monroviens*, *The Wichita Eagle*, June 18, 2021.

<sup>73</sup> John Rosengren, , (2021).

<sup>74</sup> “Who Were the Monroviens? 1925 Monroviens vs. the KKK,” Exhibit at The Kansas African American Museum, June 2021.

For instance, in March of 1927, two white high school girls in Coffeyville, Kansas, reported to police that they had been raped “by three negroes.”<sup>75</sup> When news of the rape accusation spread through Coffeyville, a lynch mob of between 1,500 and 3,000 people raided a local sporting goods store to collect guns and ammunition before marching to City Hall and the local jail where three Black suspects of the crime had been detained.<sup>76</sup> After false rumors circulated that one of the assaulted girls had died, the lynch mob “commenced to stone any colored person on the streets.”<sup>77</sup> Fearing a violent reaction to the release of the three Black suspects who were cleared of any involvement in the alleged crime, the Mayor and police in Coffeyville frantically phoned Topeka to request the support of the National Guard to repel the white lynch mob.<sup>78</sup> The National Guard then swiftly deployed to Coffeyville, where they occupied for four days to quell the race riots.<sup>79</sup> After months of investigation into the alleged rape, a white car salesman was charged and acquitted of the rape after an all-white, all-male jury deliberated for only fifty minutes.<sup>80</sup> Even after the spectacles of Klan cross burnings, public threats of violence, and lynch mobs faded from the public eye after the 1920s, Klan-elected policymakers preserved the ideology of white supremacy and racialized violence forever shaping Kansas’s state carceral and capital punishment systems.

## VII. History of Racial Bias in the Criminal Legal System

Throughout the history of Kansas, equality under the law and due process were realities only for Black Kansans of property and influence, and even then, not universally. The poor and undereducated, that is the vast majority of African Americans in the state from the nineteenth into

---

<sup>75</sup> Newman, Geoffrey, *Forgetting Strength: Coffeyville, The Black Freedom Struggle, and Vanished Memory*, 41 *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 169 (2018).

<sup>76</sup> *Id.* at 169.

<sup>77</sup> Newman, *supra* note 75, at 174.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.*

<sup>79</sup> *Id.* at 176.

<sup>80</sup> *Id.* at 180; *Jury Acquits Kennedy in 50 Minutes: Accused Man Freed of Assault Charge . . . Detective Davis Bore Brunt of Defense Counsel’s Attack*, *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, July 20, 1927.

the twenty-first century, encountered discrimination at virtually every stage of the legal process.

Black Kansans have been more likely than whites to be arrested as suspects; more likely to be convicted; and have been almost certain to receive longer sentences. In May 1890, for example, two men—one white and one Black—were convicted of an identical crime of selling liquor.<sup>81</sup> The white man was pardoned, while the African American man received both a jail term and a fine. Extreme and disparate sentencing can be also seen when the white-edited *Leavenworth Herald* insisted that a Black man who had recently been convicted for breaking into a white citizen's house and stealing a bottle of wine, be sentenced to twenty-six years in prison.<sup>82</sup> Others were incarcerated for taking food; often the value of stolen items was increased so that the Black offender might be convicted for grand larceny rather than a misdemeanor. As a result of these racial disparities in arrests and sentencing, a disproportionate number of inmates in the state prison in Lansing—approximately 25% of the prison population throughout the late 19th Century—were Black.<sup>83</sup>

Moreover, throughout the course of Kansas's history, whites accused of crimes against African Americans have been less likely to be convicted; and if found guilty, whites often receive a lighter sentence than if the offense had been committed against a white person. One such failure to hold a white person accountable for a crime occurred in 1936-37. In 1936, Cleo Mosler of Parsons, Kansas shot Fred Harvey Smith, a fifteen-year-old African American boy. Though eyewitnesses saw Mosler shoot Smith in broad daylight in the center of town, no charges were brought against Mosler. A few months after the incident, Topeka-based Elisha Scott, a prominent African American attorney and member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), took up the case; and despite being able to bring Mosler to trial in 1937,

---

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., *Topeka Capital*, November 23, 1890; *Afro-American Citizen*, March 25, 1892; *Kansas City Gazette*, September 23, 1897.

<sup>82</sup> *Leavenworth Herald*, April 4 and May 1, 1896.

<sup>83</sup> Woods, *supra*.



and eyewitness testimony naming him as the shooter, Scott nonetheless failed to gain a conviction.<sup>84</sup>

Incidents of violence have marked interactions between police and Black Kansans for much of the state’s history. “[B]etween 1893 and 1908, policemen killed at least seventeen Black people across the state.”<sup>85</sup> The rates of killings of Black Kansans by the police has remained disproportionately high throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> And even when interactions with police do not result in Black civilian deaths, the results can have a profound ripple effect.

In the spring of 1980, hundreds of police officers and civilians clashed in response to officers reportedly harassing and throwing a Black man to the ground near 21<sup>st</sup> Street and Grove Avenue. This event engulfed the neighborhood surrounding the incident for hours and resulted in dozens of injuries.<sup>87</sup> Despite these demonstrated consequences of disparate policing, a lack of official avenues for change persisted into the millennia. By the end of 2017, Kansas law enforcement had declined to substantiate any of the 592 racial profiling complaints made over the previous five years.<sup>88</sup>

Sentencing disparities have also persisted. The Kansas legislature acknowledged as much in establishing the Kansas Sentencing Commission, directing the commission to develop guidelines “which reduce sentence disparity, to include, but not be limited to, racial and regional biases which may exist under current sentencing practices.”<sup>89</sup> Additionally, in its December 2020

---

<sup>84</sup> *Capital Plaindealer* (Topeka, Kan.) 1936.

<sup>85</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 133.

<sup>86</sup> *Fatal police violence by race and state in the USA, 1980-2019: a network meta-regression*, 398 *Lancet* 1239–55, Oct. 2, 2021, available at [https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736\(21\)01609-3/fulltext](https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(21)01609-3/fulltext) (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>87</sup> David Condos, *Kansas’ History of Racist Violence Often Proves Too Heavy for Words*, available at <https://klcjourn.com/kansas-racist-violence-history/>; *Wichitans Reflect on 1980 Riots in Response to Incident of Police Brutality*, KWCH, Jun. 1, 2020, available at <https://www.kwch.com/content/news/Wichitans-reflect-on-1980-riots-in-response-to-incident-of-police-brutality-570941311.html> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>88</sup> Kelsey Ryan, *Filing a complaint over police racial profiling in Kansas? Don’t expect much*, *Kansas City Star*, Dec. 17, 2017, available at <https://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-government/article190119129.html>.

<sup>89</sup> K.S.A. 74-9101(b)(1).

Initial Report, the Governor’s Commission on Racial Equity and Justice observed that the disparate impact of Kansas’s criminal justice system on Black and Brown communities “begins with policing and continues through pretrial detention, the trial process, sentencing, community supervision, and postconviction collateral consequences.”<sup>90</sup>

And today, while the Black population of Kansas is approximately six percent, African Americans account for thirty-one percent of those held in the state’s prisons and jails.<sup>91</sup>

### **VIII. The Death Penalty in Kansas<sup>92</sup>**

The racial disparities in the administration of justice in Kansas discussed above extend to legal executions. The administration of the death penalty in the state of Kansas is impossible to separate from a racially discriminatory and disproportionately punitive criminal legal system, but also from a long-demonstrated, particular culture of ambivalence toward the death penalty in Kansas.

The first execution in the Kansas Territory was of John Coon, Jr. in 1853, a 15-year-old boy and member of the Wyandot Nation who was executed by firing squad for the murder of Curtis Punch in a drunken brawl. The United States forcibly removed the Wyandot Nation from their lands in Ohio in 1843 and relocated tribal members to Kansas City, Kansas, where large numbers of the tribe died from a lack of provisions, flooding, and disease.<sup>93</sup>

One of the earliest statutes authorizing the death penalty in the territory of Kansas was

---

<sup>90</sup> Governor’s Commission on Racial Equity & Justice, Initial Report 22 (Dec. 2020).

<sup>91</sup> Prison Policy Initiative, *Racial and ethnic disparities in prisons and jails in Kansas*, available at <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/KS.html>. (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix B, Kansas Executions 1853 to Present.

<sup>93</sup> See, e.g., *Kansas Territory September 30, 1843*, Wyandot Nation of Kansas, available at <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/kansas-territory-september-30-1843/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024) (describing, through a letter by Rev. James Wheeler, the maladies that Wyandot tribal members faced during their forced relocation, including outbreaks of measles, diarrhea, and “the death of nearly all the younger part of their children”); *Wyandots in Kansas Territory 1844*, Wyandot Nation of Kansas, available at <https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/wyandots-in-kansas-territory-1844/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024) (describing the Great Flood of 1844).

directed toward the protection of slavery. Prior to achieving statehood, the territory of Kansas passed an Act to Punish Offences Against Slave Property which enumerated the crime of aiding or assisting a rebellion or insurrection of slaves or freemen, including through written or printed words, and imposed the penalty of death for this transgression.<sup>94</sup> The same division over slavery that divided white settlers and emigrants of Kansas could be found among members of the Wyandot Nation.<sup>95</sup> Although some of the Wyandot tribal leaders were pro-slavery, many members of the Wyandot tribe were strong abolitionists.

When Kansas formed as a free state in 1861, it authorized the death penalty for acts of treason.<sup>96</sup> The following year, the state enacted a death penalty for persons convicted of first-degree murder.<sup>97</sup> The federal government carried out its first execution at Leavenworth, Kansas in 1861, when it executed Joseph Raymond, a Hispanic soldier, for stealing a coin and watch from a bar owner during a time of war. Raymond's fellow soldiers, both of European descent, who joined him in the armed break in of the bar and "took all the liquor they could find" were not executed.<sup>98</sup>

The state of Kansas carried out its first execution in 1865 against John Hendley, a white man convicted of killing a white property owner. The next year, Kansas executed two Native American men, Ernest Wa-tee-cha and Benjamin Lewis, both for the murder of white men. Kansas went on to carry out three additional executions against white men, all for murders of white men: Martin Bates in 1867 for the murder of Abel Polley; Scott Holderman in 1867 for the murder of John Carver, and Melvin Baughn in 1868 for the murder of Jesse Dennis.

---

<sup>94</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act to Punish Offences Against Slave Property*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209559/text> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>95</sup> See Miller, *supra* note 24 at 120-133.

<sup>96</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act Defining and Providing for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Therein Named*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208566> (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

<sup>97</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act Regulating Crimes and Punishment of Crimes Against the Persons of Individuals*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208567> (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

<sup>98</sup> R. Michael Wilson, *Legal Executions in Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma Including the Indian Territory: A Comprehensive Registry*, p.62 (2012).

August 9, 1870, marked a turning point for the administration of the death penalty by Kansas state authorities.<sup>99</sup> On that date, authorities hanged William Dickson, a white man, in a large public spectacle before an audience that included children. State law at the time forbade public executions and the corresponding controversy resulted in the passing of new regulations on executions<sup>100</sup> and a thirty-five-year lapse in the state administration of the death penalty. Beginning in 1872 and continuing through 1907, when Kansas repealed the death penalty, no governor signed a death warrant.<sup>101</sup> The only executions in Kansas between 1870 and 1907 were by the federal government. Federal authorities executed two Black men, Jake and Joe Tobler, in a joint hanging in Sedgwick County in 1888 and then turned their corpses over to the Wichita medical society.<sup>102</sup>

As lynchings declined and became less publicly palatable, legislators across the western and southern states began to propose a state sanctioned alternative—a more rigorous application of the death penalty.<sup>103</sup> Kansas, however, historically ambivalent about the death penalty, defeated the proposed law when it came to a vote in February 1901.”<sup>104</sup>

Kansas Governor Hoch described the basis for his opposition to the death penalty in a 1906 letter:

The law in this state provides for a death penalty, but leaves its execution optional with the Governor after the prisoner has been confined in the penitentiary for one year... I believe capital punishment brutalizes mankind and contributes to the crime it was invented to prevent... and I have no doubt whatever that Kansas is freer from crime of this character because of the humane attitude of our advanced civilization on the subject.<sup>105</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Michael Church, Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Capital Punishment, 1870-1907*, Kansas Memory, Jan. 24, 2008, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/blog/post/28195390>. (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>100</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *1872 Death Penalty Statute*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kshs.org/km/items/view/208598> (last visited Sept 2, 2024).

<sup>101</sup> See Galliher, James, & Galliher, John, "Deja Vu All over Again:" *The Recurring Life and Death of Capital Punishment Legislation in Kansas*, 44 *Social Problems* 369, 373 (1997).

<sup>102</sup> Wilson, Michael R, *Legal Executions in Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma Including the Indian Territory* McFarland & Co., Inc., 2012, at 2217-54.

<sup>103</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 149.

<sup>104</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 149-50.

<sup>105</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Governor Edward W. Hoch to Governor Fletcher D. Procter*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208786/text> (last visited Sept. 2 2024).

The Kansas legislature passed legislation abolishing capital punishment in Kansas and it was Governor Hoch who signed into law on January 30, 1907.<sup>106</sup> This law remained in effect for 28 years, surviving attempts to reinstate the death penalty in 1927, 1931, and 1933.<sup>107</sup> The next execution in Kansas did not take place until 1930 when the federal government executed Carl Panzram.

Reinstatement attempts ultimately succeeded in 1935, more than seventy years after the last state administered execution.<sup>108</sup> But support for the death penalty remained far from universal. In 1944, the warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary resigned rather than be forced to carry out an execution. Among his reasons: “an execution accomplishes only what revenge can accomplish” and “capital punishment is a lack of social statesmanship.”<sup>109</sup> Despite his protests, the state of Kansas executed 15 people between 1944 and 1965.<sup>110</sup> In total, between 1930 and 1965, state, federal, and military authorities executed 45 people in Kansas during 26 executions. Black men accounted for 12 of those 45 men.<sup>111</sup> The last execution in Kansas took place in 1965.

Further executions were halted by the United States Supreme Court’s decision in *Furman v. Georgia*, which invalidated capital punishment schemes throughout the country—including in Kansas—over arbitrariness and racial bias in its administration. Kansas did not reinstitute capital punishment after *Furman* until 1994.<sup>112</sup> Governor Finney did not sign the bill due to her personal

---

<sup>106</sup> *Id.*

<sup>107</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc’y, *An Act Relating to Crimes and Penalties*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208792> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>108</sup> Church, *supra* note 7.

<sup>109</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc’y, *Warden Amrine’s Statement*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208824> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>110</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc’y, *An Act Relating to Kidnapping in the First Degree*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208832> (last visited Sept. 2, 2022).

<sup>111</sup> WILSON, *supra* note 10, at 2254-2900; Death Penalty Information Center, Executions in the U.S. 1608-2002: The ESPY File 132-134, available at <https://files.deathpenaltyinfo.org/legacy/documents/ESPYstate.pdf> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>112</sup> Galliher, *supra* note 9, at 376.

opposition to the death penalty, but allowed the bill to take effect despite her opposition.<sup>113</sup> In the 22 legislative sessions prior to the 1994 reinstatement, 48 different death penalty bills were introduced, but defeated.<sup>114</sup> Among the factors that seems to have heavily influenced the 1994 reinstatement include a 1993 high profile murder of nineteen-year-old white woman, Stephanie Schmidt, in an affluent Kansas City suburb.<sup>115</sup> Since the passage of the 1994 bill, 15 people have been sentenced to death in Kansas, four of whom were Black. All but one was sentenced to death for the murder of at least one white victim. There are currently nine men sentenced to death in Kansas, three of them, or thirty-three percent Black, in a state with a total Black population of only six percent.<sup>116</sup>

## **IX. The Codification and Lingering Effects of Segregation in Kansas**

### *1. Education*

One thing often missed when people discuss Kansas and race relations—praising themselves for John Brown and being one of the locations for the cases in *Brown v. Board of Education*—is the fact that segregation did exist in Kansas education. It is why the NAACP chose Topeka for one of the locations to use as a test case. When Kansas wrote its original constitution in 1859, few African Americans lived in the state, and the state did not segregate the schools.<sup>117</sup> Attitudes began to change as the Black population rose in the state. By 1867, the state legislature enacted a law stipulating that the tax monies collected for school purposes be kept separate, and

---

<sup>113</sup> Kan. Hist. Soc’y, *An Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments and Procedures Relating Thereto*, Kansas Memory, available at <https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209194> (last visited Sept 2, 2024).

<sup>114</sup> Galliher, *supra* note 9, at 376.

<sup>115</sup> *See id.*; *Service Celebrates Life of Slain College Student Stephanie Schmidt*, KMBC NEWS, <https://www.kmbc.com/article/service-celebrates-life-of-slain-college-student-stephanie-schmidt/3677213> (last updated Jul. 21, 2013).

<sup>116</sup> Prison Policy Initiative, *Racial and ethnic disparities in prisons and jails in Kansas*, <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/KS.html>; NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., *Death Row U.S.A.* 51 (2021).

<sup>117</sup> Campney, *supra* note 1, at 40.

that each race was to benefit from only those facilities and instructors from which they could pay directly. A year later, when Kansas ratified the 14th Amendment, the legislature concluded that the amendment did not apply to public education and made no attempt to alter the state's legally mandated system of segregation.<sup>118</sup>

Over the next decade however, the state would struggle with which position it would take on education: integration or segregation. In 1874, a provision was passed that prohibited state institutions of higher education from making “any distinction on the account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”<sup>119</sup> Then four years later, the state would strike the word white from the educational clause, seemingly ending educational segregation. The very next year however, Kansas lawmakers once again reversed themselves when they decided that cities with 10,000 people or more (first class cities) had the authority to establish separate primary schools for white and Black students.<sup>120</sup>

After 1879, cities of the first class did generally provide separate schools for Black students. In Leavenworth, for example, Black children of elementary school age were educated either in the North Leavenworth or South Leavenworth segregated Black school, where the buildings were visibly inferior to those structures reserved for whites.<sup>121</sup> In 1889, one observer described the Black school in the northern part of the city as a “hut” situated in a “low, dirty-

---

<sup>118</sup> Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas, 1880-1935*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010; Thom Rosenblum, *The Segregation of Topeka's Public School System, 1879-1951 National Park Service*, August 28, 2021, <https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/topekasegregation.htm> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024); Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown V. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (Knopf, 1976).

<sup>119</sup> Morgan J. Kousser, Working Paper, *Before Plessy, Before Brown: The Development of the Law of Racial Integration in Louisiana and Kansas*, Division of the Humanities & Social Sci., Calif. Institute of Tech (Oct. 1988).

<sup>120</sup> Files re: *Brown v. Board vs. Topeka Board of Education (1954)*, Kansas Historical Society; Carper, James C. The popular ideology of segregated schooling: Attitudes toward the education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900, *Kansas History*, Winter 1978; Richard Kluger. *Simple Justice*; Waldo E. Martin, Jr. *Brown V. Board of Education: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford Books, 1998.

<sup>121</sup> Woods, *supra* note 1, at 55.

looking hollow close to the stinking old mud creek, with a railroad running almost directly over the building.”<sup>122</sup> Earlier, in Topeka, the future site of the state and federal case on segregated schools, officials rented a small frame building to be used for primary school; Black students were taught in the attic while whites learned the three r’s in the more spacious, ventilated lower room.<sup>123</sup>

Cities of second-class status, those larger than 2,000, but smaller than 10,000, such as Fort Scott, were divided into wards.<sup>124</sup> Each ward had its elementary school, and since Black Kansans were concentrated in one of the two areas of the city *de facto* segregation in education resulted. Grade schools in some of the smaller Kansas towns—such as Hiawatha or Emporia—were fully integrated, but facilities within these mixed institutions were usually white.<sup>125</sup> In a few small communities the white backlash that followed the exodus of 1879 led to segregation where integration had previously existed. In Olathe, for example, a second-class city, with just over 2,000 residents in 1870 had integrated schools, but after several hundred African Americans migrated to the area during the exodus, the school board elected to create separate schools with segregated teaching staffs.<sup>126</sup> Similar to segregated schools in first class cities, those that had separate facilities in smaller towns did not create equal buildings and opportunities, but rather imposed a separate and unequal educational system on the Black residents of their communities.<sup>127</sup>

There were different disadvantages for Black students to attending an integrated school. “One white schoolteacher in Lawrence discriminated in the manner and degree of punishment he administered; he whipped white transgressors with a switch and black with a cowhide.”<sup>128</sup> Black author, poet, and thinker, Langston Hughes, who attended primary school in Lawrence, would

---

<sup>122</sup> *Id.*

<sup>123</sup> *Id.*

<sup>124</sup> *Id.*

<sup>125</sup> *Id.*

<sup>126</sup> *Id.* at 123.

<sup>127</sup> *Id.*

<sup>128</sup> *Id.*



openly write about the discrimination he faced in the local school system, including teachers making derogatory statements about Black students.<sup>129</sup> Others throughout the state also exposed the bigotry of their teachers, both in verbal abuse and in grade discrimination. A further example of in-school discrimination at mixed schools was found when a white instructor in Gladden installed separate water buckets for white and Black students.<sup>130</sup> When several Black students drank from the designated white buckets, the teacher expelled them from school.<sup>131</sup> Finally, even at all-Black schools many Black leaders questioned whether students were properly instructed, suspecting it was the charge of regional school boards to neglect Black students, thus inhibiting their progress which would keep them out of the mixed high schools and in turn limit their professional options.<sup>132</sup>

In 1905, the Kansas State Legislature passed a law exempting Kansas City, Kansas, from a state law forbidding segregated high schools.<sup>133</sup> In the spring of 1904, a homicide unrelated to the Kansas City, Kansas High School (KCKHS), sparked racial tension in the school and the community. During the final months of the school year there were numerous protests in and around the school which led to an attempt by the white community and the school board to unconstitutionally expel and ultimately ban Black students from attending the high school in the future. In 1905, before the opening of the new school year legislation, House Bill No. 890, was passed to allow for the creation of a Black high school in the community; the Manual Training High School, later named Sumner High School. Before Sumner was built, Black and white students attended KCKHS for a final academic year in a divided day format, white students attending in

---

<sup>129</sup> Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea: An Autobiography* (A. A. Knopf 1940); Arnold Rampersad, *The Life of Langston Hughes* (Oxford University Press 1986).

<sup>130</sup> Woods, *supra* note 1, at 123.

<sup>131</sup> *Id.*

<sup>132</sup> *Id.*

<sup>133</sup> Sumner High School, *University of Kansas Libraries*. <https://exhibits.lib.ku.edu/exhibits/show/education/sumner> (last visited Sept. 6, 2024).

the morning and Black students going to classes in the afternoon.<sup>134</sup> The following year, 1906 eighty Black students opened the new Sumner High School, an all-Black institution that lasted for decades until it closed in 1978, 24 years after *Brown v. Board*, under a federal mandated plan to integrate schools in Kansas City, Kansas.<sup>135</sup>

Kansas City also has a uniquely sordid history of educational discrimination against Mexican children. By the 1920s, the population of Mexican immigrants in Kansas had surged to upwards of 10,000.<sup>136</sup> Unlike Black children, Mexicans were not mentioned in state segregation statutes, likely because the federal government classifies them as racially white.<sup>137</sup> They attended school with white students until 1924, but like Black students, received a markedly disadvantaged education. Children in all years through eighth grade—the highest offered to Mexican children, despite white and even Black students receiving high school educations—crammed into basement rooms of white schools.<sup>138</sup> One report tells of seventy-two Mexican children of all ages, speaking no English, packed into a basement to receive an “education” from a single teacher who spoke no Spanish.<sup>139</sup>

This continued until 1924, when white parents began to demand total segregation. Two incidents fueled calls for formal segregation of Mexican children. First, in September 1924, a race riot nearly erupted in the neighborhood of Rosedale when four Mexican children were denied admission to Major Hudson Elementary School altogether.<sup>140</sup> The following year, four students

---

<sup>134</sup> School History, *Sumner Academy of Arts and Science*. <https://sumner.kckschools.org/about/school-history> (last visited Sept. 6, 2024).

<sup>135</sup> Sumner High school, *supra* note 133; Peavler, *supra* note. 1; Holm, Carsten. “*A Lackadaisical Attitude Bordering on Indifference*”: *Desegregating Kansas City, Kansas, 1954-1997*. (Univ. Kansas, 2023).

<sup>136</sup> *How The 1951 Flood Ended The ‘Shameful Legacy’ Of Segregation in Kansas City, Kansas*, NPR in Kansas City, October 6, 2019, <https://www.kcur.org/show/up-to-date/2019-10-06/how-the-1951-flood-ended-the-shameful-legacy-of-segregation-in-kansas-city-kansas>.

<sup>137</sup> *Id.*

<sup>138</sup> Cleary, Robert, *The Ku Klux Klan and their Influence on the Education of Mexicans in Kansas City, Kansas, 1922-1925* at 17 (2021), SURFACE at Syracuse University, Libraries' and Librarians' Publications.

<sup>139</sup> *Id.* at 16-17, citing “John J. Ingalls School Notes,” *Kansas City Kansas Republic*, 18 March 1921, at 4.

<sup>140</sup> Cleary, *supra* at 18-25.

tried to attend Argentine High school, but white parents threatened them with violence.<sup>141</sup> This led to a long fight by Saturnino Alvarado, the father of the children, involving the Mexican Consulate, until his children could finally attend the school in 1926.<sup>142</sup> The fervor to expel Mexican children was inextricably linked to the KKK's complete overtaking of Kansas City government at that time and the racial hate the Klan fueled in the city.<sup>143</sup>

Educational segregation and discriminatory practices would continue for decades. In the 1940s, Wichita Bar Association and NAACP member, Z. Wetmore sued the local Board of Education, forcing them to close the small three-room schoolhouse they were using for Black education in the city. He also argued against building two new schools, L'Ouverture and Dunbar, in predominately Black neighborhoods in fear such a move would lead to increased segregation. Following this victory Wetmore continued his plans and strategy to end educational segregation in Wichita and the entire state. In 1948, however, the Kansas NAACP decided to use Topeka as their battleground. Using much of Wetmore's plans, Charles Scott and others in Topeka put forth their case, and in 1951 the national office of the organization got involved. The Topeka case became one of the five cases that became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. There, the Court held segregation in education was not constitutional.<sup>144</sup>

Despite the ruling however, desegregation in Kansas schools, like schools throughout the country, was not a swift action. Indeed, Wichita, and other first, and second class, school districts remained segregated for decades. In 1963, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare conducted a study of Wichita schools where they concluded that the uneven representation in the

---

<sup>141</sup> *Id.*; *Remembering the 4 Mexican Americans Who Challenged School Segregation at Argentine High School, KSHB 41* (Kansas City, Kansas), October 6, 2019, <https://www.kshb.com/news/local-news/hispanic-heritage-month/remembering-the-4-mexican-americans-who-challenged-school-segregation-at-argentine-high-school>.

<sup>142</sup> *Id.* For more detail on the struggle for equality for Mexican children in education, see Cleary, *supra*.

<sup>143</sup> *Rives, supra* note 58.

<sup>144</sup> *Wichita Bar Association Deskbook*, 12-13; Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice*.

city's schools continued and ordered the school board to end segregation immediately.<sup>145</sup> Again, immediate was not a reality. The local NAACP, led by Chester Lewis, and others, continued to call for the city to end segregation, mainly practiced based on residential patterns.<sup>146</sup> In the 1967-68 school year the board devised a plan to end segregation, and institute a busing plan to move students, mainly Black students, to white schools. In the fall of 1970, the plan went into effect, and over the next five years the board would close Fairmount, Little, Isely, and Dunbar, all schools in predominately Black neighborhoods to force, one-sided, integration in the district.<sup>147</sup> This process of dislocation placed the burden of integration solely on Black, rather than white students.<sup>148</sup>

## 2. *Housing*

Residential segregation, *de jure* and *de facto*, that allowed cities, in the past and currently, to practice segregated education, was a major factor in Kansas. African Americans living in cities throughout Kansas, no less than Black residents of northern and southern states, faced residential segregation and discrimination in public services. African Americans who came to Kansas in the 1860s and 70s and purchased homes in Topeka, Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Atchison, Lawrence, or some other eastern town tended to cluster, but they were not explicitly excluded from all white neighborhoods. The thousands of African Americans who poured into the state during the Exodus heightened the white community's desire to see Black residents restricted to certain sections of a particular city and leading to the creation of segregated communities that would lack resources, examples of which are Mississippi Town in Juniper Bottoms, Rattlebone Hollow in Kansas City, Remondsville and Tennessee Town in Topeka, and the northeast sector of Wichita. It is unclear what percentage of Black residents in each given community triggered segregation of Kansas

---

<sup>145</sup> Judith R. Johnson and Craig L. Torbenson, *African American Experiences in Wichita, Kansas*, 21 *Kansas History: A Journal of The Central Plains* 4, 228 (1998).

<sup>146</sup> *Id.*

<sup>147</sup> *Id.*

<sup>148</sup> *Id.*

towns, but it clear that residential segregation existed in towns that had a Black population totaling 7 percent or more. Such historic and continued residential segregation has led to increased inequalities in Kansas and the rest of the nation.<sup>149</sup>

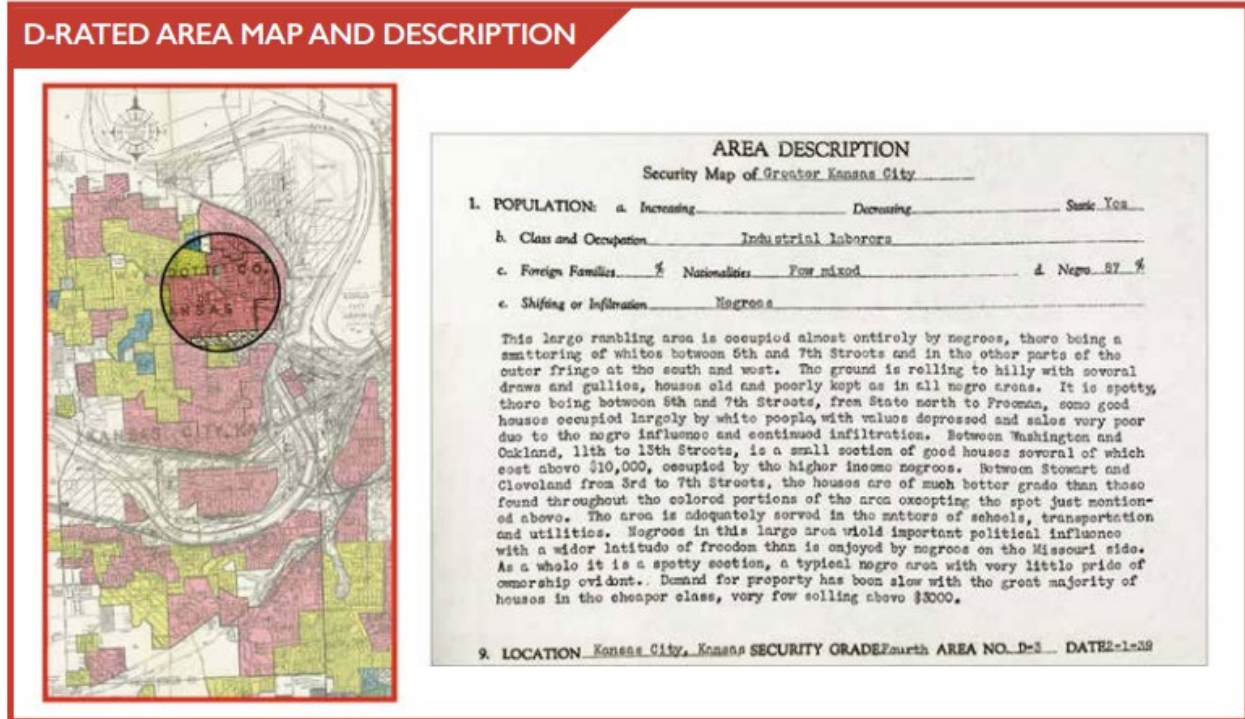
Redlining played an important role the segregation of Kansas City, as well as other Kansas cities.<sup>150</sup> In the post-civil war period, private covenants restricted the sales or lease of homes and apartments to white residents and legally prohibited the sale or lease of houses to Black residents. These patterns were entrenched through 1935 and 1940 by maps created by the Home Owner's Loan Corporation ("HOLC") that defined areas of the city in categories ranging from "desirable" to those so unadvisable for lending they were deemed "hazardous." The hazardous areas were colored red on the maps. The HOLC assessment forms required assessors to calculate the percentage of Black residents in the neighborhood as one of the determinative criteria for assigning the neighborhood rating. Accessor map notes for Kansas City (Figure 2) reflect the map drafters' notes describing neighborhoods with Black residents as undesirable.

---

<sup>149</sup> Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018). K. Fox Gotham, *Separate and Unequal: The Housing Act of 1968 and the Section 235 Program*, *Sociological Forum* 15, 13–37 (2000); Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor, *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership* (Univ.of North Carolina Press 2019).

<sup>150</sup> Mid-America Regional Council, *The History of Racial Discrimination in Housing Still Impacts the Kansas City Region Today*, <https://www.marc.org/news/economy/history-racial-discrimination-housing-still-impacts-kansas-city-region-today> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

Figure 2



Source: David Norris & Mikyung Baek, *Health Equity Action Transformation Report*.<sup>151</sup>

The notes in this area description reflect the use of race to define hazardous neighborhoods. The area description refers to Kansas City (D3) as a "spotty section, a typical negro area with very little pride of ownership evident" with the value of homes "depressed and sales very poor due to the negro influence and continued infiltration."<sup>152</sup> Similar notes describe another neighborhood (D13) as a neighborhood "occupied largely by negroes, a few Mexicans, all a very shiftless class."<sup>153</sup>

The Federal Housing Authority adopted these HOLC risk ratings as national lending standards, locking in these structural forms of segregation for decades to come, artificially deflating the property values of the racially segregated Black communities and creating a cycle of

<sup>151</sup> David Norris & Mikyung Baek, *Health Equity Action Transformation*, 4-5, 44 (2016), available at [https://wearewyandotte.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CHC\\_HeatReport\\_1228.pdf](https://wearewyandotte.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CHC_HeatReport_1228.pdf) (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>152</sup> See Mapping Inequality, Redlining in New Deal America

<sup>153</sup> *Id.*

disinvestment.<sup>154</sup> The redlined areas from the Kansas City, Kansas HOLC maps correlate today with high poverty neighborhoods with Black and Latino populations, high rates of unemployment, and the lowest opportunity rankings in the Kansas City metro area.<sup>155</sup> These areas have fewer trees, more industrial pollution and environmental toxins, and an aging sewer system that spills into Jersey Creek in Northeast Kansas City.<sup>156</sup>

Redlining was responsible for the creation of segregated neighborhoods in Wichita as well. From the origins of the community, African Americans have been concentrated and isolated in the northeastern sectors of the city, bounded by Oliver Street to the east, Broadway Boulevard to the west, Central Avenue to the south, and 29<sup>th</sup> Street to the north.<sup>157</sup> Viewing the federal government's descriptions of the region for the Home Owner's Loan Corporation between 1935 and 1940, that area of the city was deemed hazardous, and a location that they defined as one with Black "infiltration," therefore making it undesirable to offer loans in the region and maintaining lower property values and racially segregated communities.<sup>158</sup> Between 1950 and 1960 population increases and increased commercial activity forced some Black residents to relocate to a district that bordered the stockyards and refineries, characterized by fewer city services and noxious

---

<sup>154</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 224; Mid-America Regional Council, *The History of Racial Discrimination in Housing Still Impacts the Kansas City Region Today*, <https://www.marc.org/news/economy/history-racial-discrimination-housing-still-impacts-kansas-city-region-today> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>155</sup> CHC *Heat Report*, [https://wearewyandotte.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CHC\\_HeatReport\\_1228.pdf](https://wearewyandotte.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CHC_HeatReport_1228.pdf), pp. 7, 11, 14, 18, 42; Bonita Gooch and The Voice, *WYCO Has a Systemic Racism Problem They Want to Address*, Feb. 8, 2023, <https://www.communityvoiceks.com/2023/02/08/the-wyco-health-department-is-launching-an-ambitious-initiative-to-help-dismantle-systemic-racism-a-public-health-crisis-with-a-series-of-engagement-sessions-that-include-free-dinner/> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>156</sup> Laura Ziegler, "Redlining made climate change worse in Kansas City, Kansas, but new generations are fighting back," June 2, 2022, <https://www.kcur.org/news/2022-06-02/redlining-made-climate-change-worse-in-kansas-city-kansas-but-new-generations-are-fighting-back>; Andrew Bahl, *Wyandotte County residents cite past discrimination, future impact as debate rages over redistricting*, Topeka Capital-Journal, April 10, 2022, <https://www.cjonline.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/04/10/impact-controversial-congressional-maps-looms-large-kansas-city-diverse-wyandotte-county/9471585002/> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>157</sup> *Id.* at 223-24.

<sup>158</sup> *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*, Univ. of Richmond, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/37.692/-97.366&city=wichita-ks>; Rothstein, *The Color of Law*; Mark Lopez and Richard Rothstein, *Segregated by Design*, A Silkworm Studio Film, 2019.

fumes.<sup>159</sup> Such a condition has continued into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. When one looks at the current demographics and census maps, the majority of Wichita’s Black population lives in this same northeastern section of the city (Figure 3 and Figure 4):

Figure 3

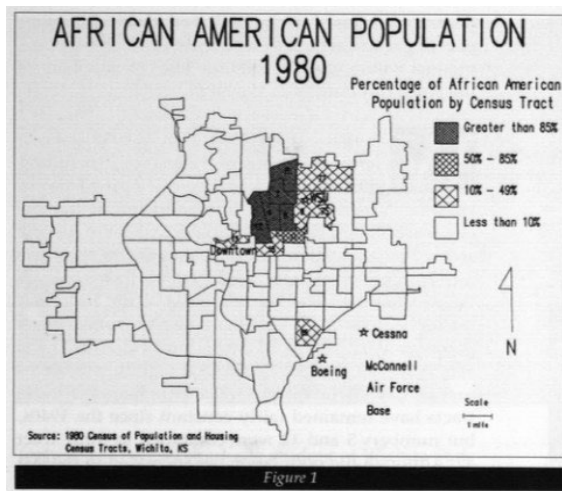
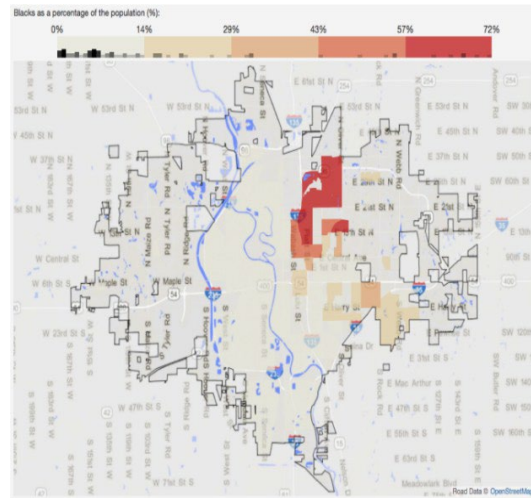


Figure 4



Sources: Johnson & Toberson; *The Chung Report*.

In Kansas, just as in other areas throughout the country, residential segregation was the product primarily of white hostility and a lack of legal protections rather than Black self-segregation. “To people living outside Kansas this may seem strange but is nevertheless true,” declared the editor of the *American Citizen* in 1889.<sup>160</sup> “There are houses and vacant lots in and near [the city of Topeka] “where no negro can rent or buy at any price let him be ever so talented cultured or refined and there are others where if he rents or buys his life and property are in danger.”<sup>161</sup> Topeka based minister, John R. Davis was once warned via a note on his door to leave the white suburb of Oakland or suffer irreparable damage to his health, and complained that many of Topeka’s finest white citizens—teachers, lawyers, and doctors—would rather move into the

<sup>159</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 225-26.

<sup>160</sup> Randall B. Woods, *Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The "Color Line" in Kansas, 1878-1900*, 14 *W. Historical Quarterly* 2, at 191 (1983).

<sup>161</sup> *Id.*



worst white slums than live in communities with African American residents.<sup>162</sup> Moreover, any white who dared stand up for a Black family to have the right to live where they wanted would be denounced and ostracized. It was not until 1970 that Kansas added discrimination in housing to the original 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, explicitly rendering illegal thwarting home ownership on the basis of race.<sup>163</sup>

Black communities throughout the state of Kansas experienced discrimination in the distribution of municipal funds and services. Cities of various sizes would privilege white communities over Black districts, often leaving the community with poor roadways, unpaved, or unkept sidewalks, and overall poor maintenance of city services.<sup>164</sup> If the community lacked a segregated, or independent fire department, they additionally had to wait for services as white fire departments ignored or delayed their response time to certain areas of the city.<sup>165</sup>

Such disregard for Black communities has continued and can be seen in similar disrepair in infrastructure. The creation of food deserts prevented Black Kansans from accessing healthy and affordable food options. The failure to clean up old abandoned industrial sites has blighted Black neighborhoods, and the creation of roadways that divided communities has brought in more pollution with the increased traffic through the region.

The building of highways allowed for a new, legal tool of segregation in a time where courts outlawed traditional means of systemic racial discrimination.<sup>166</sup> In the words of Deborah N. Archer, although billed as an opportunity to remove ‘blight,’ “highways often tore through

---

<sup>162</sup> *Id.*

<sup>163</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 232; *see also* Andre M. Perry, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger, *The Devaluation of Assets in Black Neighborhoods Brookings Institution* (2018); Tracy Jan, *Redlining was banned 50 years ago. It is still hurting minorities today.*, Wash. Post, March 28, 2018; Michelle Tyrene Johnson, *Past Housing Discrimination Contributed to Wealth Gap Between Blacks and Whites in Kansas City*, NPR, Aug. 10, 2018.

<sup>164</sup> Woods, *supra*, at 191.

<sup>165</sup> *Id.*; *see also* Johnson and Torbenson, *supra*.

<sup>166</sup> Archer, Deborah N., ‘White Men’s Roads Through Black Men’s Homes’: *Advancing Racial Equity Through Highway Reconstruction*, 73 Vand. L. Rev. 1259 (2020)

once-vibrant communities, ripping the social fabric and inflicting psychological wounds on both those forced to leave their homes and those left behind.”<sup>167</sup> More than 475,000 households and over a million people nationwide were displaced due to interstate highway construction.<sup>168</sup> The interstate “fundamentally restructured urban America” by destroying Black communities nationwide.<sup>169</sup> The construction of two major interstate highways through Black Kansan communities, I-135 in Wichita and I-635 in Quindaro, Kansas City, is a prime example of this pattern.<sup>170</sup> Another similar example is the construction and continued expansion of the Sedgwick County Jail in the heart of Wichita’s historically Black community, enveloping the historic Calvary Baptist Church, now housing The Kansas African American Museum.<sup>171</sup>

Such disregard for Black communities has continued and can be seen in similar disrepair in infrastructure. The creation of food deserts prevented Black Kansans from accessing healthy and affordable food options. The failure to clean up old abandoned industrial sites has blighted Black neighborhoods, and the creation of roadways that divided communities has brought in more pollution with the increased traffic through the region. The construction of I-135 through the heart of Wichita’s Black community is a prime example of this pattern.<sup>172</sup> Another is the construction and continued expansion of the Sedgwick County Jail in the heart of Wichita’s historically Black community, enveloping the historic Calvary Baptist Church, now housing The Kansas African

---

<sup>167</sup> *Id.* at 1265.

<sup>168</sup> <https://www.history.com/news/interstate-highway-system-infrastructure-construction-segregation>.

<sup>169</sup> Archer, *supra*, at 1274. “Although Black neighborhoods were the primary targets of the highways, they were not the only targets. Latinx, Native American, and Asian communities were also harmed by highway development and transportation policy.” *Id.* at 1265 fn. 19.

<sup>170</sup> For Wichita, Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 230-31; for Quindaro, ACLU of Kansas, *Same Water Comin’ Round: Quindaro as a Vision for Kansas*, August 2023 (“Quindaro Report”) at 1.

<sup>171</sup> Eileen Cunniffe, *African-American Museum in Kansas Gives Land Back to City*, Nonprofit Quarterly, Apr. 17, 2014, available at <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/african-american-museum-in-kansas-gives-land-back-to-city/> (last visited Sept. 2, 2024).

<sup>172</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 230-31.

American Museum.<sup>173</sup>

### 3. *Segregation in Public Places*

African Americans who sought accommodations in public facilities encountered exclusion and segregation. Hotels were the common location of controversy, even after the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, requiring equal treatment in places of public accommodations. For example, when Black delegates to the Republican congressional convention arrived in Topeka in June 1886, they were denied rooms at the Coolidge Hotel.<sup>174</sup> In the same year, a Leavenworth innkeeper denied housing to Frederick Douglass. Additionally, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, while touring in 1896, were refused accommodations by three different hotels in Wichita.<sup>175</sup> And, as discussed above, in the years following the Civil War, towns across Kansas—including Hays, Ness City, and Liberal—were completely inaccessible to Black Kansans after sundown. Known as “sundown towns,” the cities were mortally dangerous places for Black people to be after dark.<sup>176</sup>

Kansas restaurants have also been a place where African Americans were either excluded or segregated. Indeed, Kansas was the origin of one of the five cases that went to the Supreme Court to challenge the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. In 1876, a year after the passage of the Act, a man named Bird Gee was physically ejected from the City Hotel Restaurant in Hiawatha.<sup>177</sup> Gee sued the establishment owners and the case slowly made it to the Supreme Court,

---

<sup>173</sup> Eileen Cunniffe, *African-American Museum in Kansas Gives Land Back to City*, Nonprofit Quarterly (Apr. 17, 2014), available at: <https://nonprofitquarterly.org/african-american-museum-in-kansas-gives-land-back-to-city/>.  
Randall B. Woods, *Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The "Color Line" in Kansas, 1878-1900*, 14 W. Historical Quarterly 2, 189 (1983).

<sup>174</sup> Woods, *supra* note 173 at 2, 189.

<sup>175</sup> *Id.*

<sup>176</sup> David Condos, *What The History Of 'Noose Road' Tells Us About Kansas, Race And The Lynchings Of Black Men*, High Plains Public Radio (March 2, 2021), available at: <https://www.hppr.org/hppr-news/2021-03-02/what-the-history-of-noose-road-tells-us-about-kansas-race-and-the-lynchings-of-black-men>

<sup>177</sup> *Hiawatha World*, October 25, 1883; and *Brown County World*, October 25, 1883

where it became one of the cases argued as part of the Civil Rights Cases in 1883. The Court held the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments did not permit Congress to prohibit private racial discrimination.<sup>178</sup> Additionally, restaurants in Coffeyville, Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth, and Wichita also refused African American patrons.

“Segregation was apparently less frequent in restaurants than exclusion, but there were Jim Crow sections in some establishments.”<sup>179</sup> A letter to the editor of the *Leavenworth Advocate* in 1890 from an angry Black customer provides an example of a Jim Crow practice at a restaurant “between 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> streets” where the owners forced Black patrons to retire into a dark room in the rear of the establishment “with a curtain drawn over him as though he was going to have his picture taken.”<sup>180</sup>

Unlike in the South, or even across the border in Missouri, there were not always visible signs signaling Black and white sections or accommodations. Instead as Robert Newby, a current professor of sociology and past participant in Wichita student organizing efforts in the late 1950s put it, “In Wichita there were no signs. Everyone just knew the rules and that you didn’t break them.”<sup>181</sup>

It was not until the summer of 1958 that widespread discrimination in restaurants began to splinter. That summer, the Youth Council of the NAACP organized a sit-in at the lunch counter of Dockum Drugstore, a Rexell pharmacy, on Wichita’s main commercial street.<sup>182</sup> After four weeks of coordinated protests the store manager relented and served the protestors. The group then

---

<sup>178</sup> Valeria W. Weaver, *The Failure of Civil Rights 1875–1883 and Its Repercussions*, 54 J. Negro Hist. 368 (Oct. 1969); Shawn Leigh Alexander, *An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle Before The NAACP* (2012); *The Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 3 S. Ct. 18, 27 L. Ed. 835 (1883).

<sup>179</sup> Stuewe, Paul K., *Kansas revisited: Historical images and perspectives*, Div. of Continuing Educ., U. of Kansas; 2d Ed, 1998.

<sup>180</sup> Woods, *supra* at 33, at 190.

<sup>181</sup> Ronald W. Walters, *The Great Plains Sit-in Movement, 1958-60*, 16 Great Plains Quarterly 287 (1996).

<sup>182</sup> *Id.*

pivoted their protest to the segregated lunch counter of the drug store near their high school.<sup>183</sup> This created a ripple effect among the drug stores in Wichita, as well as the Rexell chain of drug stores across the state, and this visible vestige of discrimination fell, a full two years before the well-publicized Greensboro, North Carolina sit ins.<sup>184</sup>

In social organizations and institutions regarded as non-essential to individuals' health and safety, white Kansans tend to draw the color line more rigidly. Virtually all white churches in the state, and many other organizations and institutions, excluded African Americans well into the 1960s. Theaters and Opera House owners generally insisted on segregating their audiences except when the facility was being used for a political gathering, into the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>185</sup>

#### 4. *Employment*

Although African Americans were generally excluded from white collar jobs in Kansas, virtually all types of skilled and unskilled labor were open to them. Railroads hired African Americans as porters, construction workers, and brakemen. The meatpacking plant houses of Topeka and Kansas City were important sources of employment. In the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries,<sup>186</sup> these plants moved out to smaller Kansas towns such as Garden City and Black and immigrant workers followed the jobs.<sup>187</sup> Black Kansans also found work as hod carriers, carpenters, waiters,

---

<sup>183</sup> *Id.*

<sup>184</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *supra*, at 226-27. See also Walters, *supra*, at 87-88; ; Eick, *supra* note 1.

<sup>185</sup> Tuttle, William M., Jr., *Separate but Not Equal: African Americans and the 100-Year Struggle for Equality in Lawrence and at the University of Kansas, 1850s-1960*, in *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, edited by Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins. (Univ. of Kansas Continuing Education 2001); and Eick, *supra* note 1.

<sup>186</sup> Woods, *supra*; Donald D. Stull, Michael Broadway, and David Griffith, *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing and Small-Town America* (Univ. of Kan. Press, 1995); Rich Halpren and Roger Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral History of Black Packinghouse Workers and their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality*, Monthly Review Press (1999).

<sup>187</sup> A number of the immigrant workers today are Somali and they have experienced a mix of reactions to their movement into rural Kansas. See, for example the documentary *Strangers in Town* (2019). Additionally, in 2016 three white men were arrested for plotting to attack the Somali community in Garden City, Kansas. They were convicted of terrorism and sentenced in 2018. Dep't of Justice, *Three Southwest Kansas Men Convicted of Plotting to Bomb Somali Immigrants in Garden City* (Apr. 18, 2018), <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/three-southwest-kansas-men-convicted-plotting-bomb-somali-immigrants-garden-city>.

and stonemasons.<sup>188</sup> The coal mines around Pittsburg, Leavenworth, and Oswego were major employers of African Americans.<sup>189</sup> One Riverside coal company near Leavenworth employed 126 African Americans and four whites. Tellingly, the white employees were the foremen and more skilled laborers.<sup>190</sup>

Following the end of World War II, Wichita's Black population grew significantly, as aviation and related industries created significant job opportunities with relatively high wages.<sup>191</sup> However, stories of discrimination in these manufacturing jobs crop up as late as the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, Black workers discussed differentiation of tasks by race and overtly racist incidents such as finding a noose had been placed on their workstation.<sup>192</sup>

## **X. The Rise and Decline of Quindaro**

The history of the port town Quindaro, referenced above, provides some insight into the ways in which Black communities have been harmed by social separation and political powerlessness in Kansas City. During the civil war era, the small riverside settlement of Quindaro served as a beacon of freedom and abolition. Abolitionists founded the town in 1856 after purchasing land from the Wyandot Indian Nation, who had settled there after the federal government forcibly displaced them from Ohio in 1844.<sup>193</sup> Quindaro quickly blossomed into a multi-racial collective of white abolitionists, Black freedmen and freedwomen, and members of

---

<sup>188</sup> *Leavenworth Herald*, August 14, 1897; *American Citizen*, August 2, 1889.

<sup>189</sup> John M. Robb, *The Black Coal Miner of Southeast Kansas*, Comm'n on Civil Rights, State of Kansas, (Jan. 1, 1969); Joe W Trotter, *The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in the US Coal Industry*, 60 *Int'l Rev. of Soc. History* 23, 145-164 (2015).

<sup>190</sup> *Leavenworth Herald*, January 25, 1896. See also, Hill, Herbert, *Black Labor and the American Legal System: Race, Work, and the Law* (Univ. of Wisconsin Press 1985); and Hill, Herbert, and James E. Jones, Jr., eds. *Race in America: The Struggle for Equality* (Univ. of Wisconsin 1993).

<sup>191</sup> Johnson and Torbenson, *African American Experiences in Wichita, Kansas* at 224.

<sup>192</sup> *Id.* at 233.

<sup>193</sup> Sprague, Michael R. *The Pompeii of Kansas: Race, Environment, and Memory in Quindaro*. (Univ. of Missouri-Kansas City 2022) at 8.

the Wyandot Nation.<sup>194</sup> It earned a reputation as a haven for those fleeing slavery.<sup>195</sup> Quindaro's local paper, the *Quindaro Chindowan*, openly expressed antislavery sentiments.<sup>196</sup> It was a stop on the underground railroad; as the only free state river port, the Quindaro-Parkerville ferry ran clandestine night runs to bring former slaves to the town's freedom. As Charles Robinson, the future first governor of Kansas, said, "the whole free-state world seemed bound for Quindaro."<sup>197</sup>

Among the many small businesses that boomed in the years following Quindaro's groundbreaking, two institutions stand out for their progressive inclusivity of the Black community. First is Western University, originally the Quindaro Freedman's school. During the civil war, in 1862, Presbyterian Reverend Eben Blackly and his wife, Jane, educated formerly enslaved Black Quindaro residents and their families.<sup>198</sup> This education effort formalized after the war into Quindaro Freedman's school, and in 1881, it became Western University: the first historically Black college west of the Mississippi River.<sup>199</sup> Douglass Hospital, too, was a pillar of Quindaro's Black community. At Douglass, doctors of all races could treat patients of all races—something unheard of until the 1960s, before which Black healthcare providers and patients were routinely denied access to most hospitals.<sup>200</sup> While both institutions thrived for decades, they both closed their doors in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Western University declined for many reasons, largely due to the Great Depression and the integration of Black students into larger organizations such as the

---

<sup>194</sup> ACLU of Kansas, *Same Water Comin' Round: Quindaro as a Vision for Kansas*, August 2023 ("Quindaro Report") at 1.

<sup>195</sup> O'Bryan, Tony, *Quindaro, Kansas, Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865*, Kansas City Public Library, available at <https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/encyclopedia/quindaro-kansas> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>196</sup> See, e.g., Our Position, *Quindaro Chindowan*, May 13 1857 available at <https://www.kckpl.org/kansas/articles/quindaro/chindowan/18570513-position-on-free-state.pdf>

<sup>197</sup> Quindaro Report at 7-8.

<sup>198</sup> O'Bryan, *supra*.

<sup>199</sup> *Id.*

<sup>200</sup> Quindaro Report at 7.

University of Kansas.<sup>201</sup> Douglass Hospital ultimately closed in 1977 following the desegregation of neighboring hospitals.<sup>202</sup>

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, segregation isolated Quindaro both socially and economically from the rest of Kansas City.<sup>203</sup> Black residents found it difficult or even dangerous to venture beyond the confinements of their city—a reality reinforced by targeted policing.<sup>204</sup> Just as courts began to strip away legal segregation in the 1960s, however, as discussed above, an interstate highway was planned that would go through Quindaro. Although Quindaro residents opposed the building of the interstate highway right through their community, their opposition paled in comparison to that of white communities, and building of the highway went forward.

Like so many other poor Black communities, the damage done by the interstate highway system to Quindaro was irreparable. Interstate 635 ran through the heart of Quindaro, right through Quindaro Park. Its builders converted the town’s eastern side into a dumping area for excess fill material from the construction.<sup>205</sup> The building of I-635, completed in 1975, displaced people, churches, and historically significant buildings central to the Black community who had once prospered in the town.<sup>206</sup> The State made no archaeological or historic efforts to salvage the land or buildings that the highway destroyed.<sup>207</sup>

The neighborhood never recovered. The dumping area created by the construction of I-635 turned Quindaro into a dump site for trash, old mattresses, scrap metal, and waste.<sup>208</sup> By the 1980s,

---

<sup>201</sup> Sprague, *supra* at 8; see also Orrin M. Murray, *Western University: A Ghost College in Kansas* (Pittsburg State University 1966).

<sup>202</sup> Quindaro Report at 9.

<sup>203</sup> *Id.*

<sup>204</sup> *Id.*

<sup>205</sup> Hanks, Larry., Quindaro 1856-1862 and 1881-1948. *Wyandot Nation of Kansas: Keepers of Council Fire*, [www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/quindaro-1856-1862-and-1881-1948/](http://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/quindaro-1856-1862-and-1881-1948/). (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>206</sup> Mipro, Rachel, *Quindaro, the vision: Kansas ACLU report points to historic site as blueprint for future*, Kansas Reflector, Sept. 11, 2023, available at <https://kansasreflector.com/2023/09/11/quindaro-the-vision-kansas-aclu-report-points-to-historic-site-as-blueprint-for-future/> (last visited Sept. 5, 2024).

<sup>207</sup> Hanks, *supra*.

<sup>208</sup> Quindaro Report at 33.



businesses closed as many community members moved away. In line with the national crisis of the time, a local crack cocaine endemic emerged and drugs became rampant among local gangs. In the mid-1980s, Browning-Ferris Industries proposed that the site become a true landfill.<sup>209</sup> Due to obscure legislation in the Kansas Antiquities Commission Act, the company driving the landfill proposal was required to do an archaeological investigation into the land.<sup>210</sup> The investigation into the site revealed a number of “ruins” of Quindaro’s residential and commercial buildings, causing the landfill company to abandon its project. Nevertheless, illegal dumping on the “Pompeii of Kansas”<sup>211</sup> persists to this day.<sup>212</sup>

Today, Quindaro remains one of the poorest neighborhoods in America.<sup>213</sup> As of 2022, 34.2% of Quindaro residents live in poverty<sup>214</sup>—nearly triple the statewide (12.0%) and national (12.6%) poverty rate for that year.<sup>215</sup> Only 11.6% of Quindaro residents had a bachelor’s degree or higher,<sup>216</sup> a rate less than third of the state (35.6%) and national (35.7%) figures.<sup>217</sup> The once-blossoming multi-racial collective of Quindaro has become one of the most socially and economically isolated neighborhoods in the state.

---

<sup>209</sup> *Id.* at 10.

<sup>210</sup> *Id.*

<sup>211</sup> Sprague, *supra*.

<sup>212</sup> Quindaro Report at 10.

<sup>213</sup> Hightower, Clarence, *Civil Rights Politics + Government ‘Quindaro, the Vision:’ Kansas ACLU Report Points to Historic Site As Blueprint for Future*,. Minnesota Spokesman-Recorder, Aug. 31 2016,. available at <https://spokesman-recorder.com/2016/08/31/quindaro-kansas-symbol-american-urban-decline/> (last visited Sept. 6 2024).

<sup>214</sup> *Income and Poverty; Census Tract 445; Wyandotte County; Kansas*, United States Census Bureau, [data.census.gov/profile/Census\\_Tract\\_445;\\_Wyandotte\\_County;\\_Kansas?g=1400000US20209044500#income-and-poverty](https://data.census.gov/profile/Census_Tract_445;_Wyandotte_County;_Kansas?g=1400000US20209044500#income-and-poverty) (last visited Sept. 5 2024).

<sup>215</sup> *Income and Poverty; Kansas*, United States Census Bureau, [data.census.gov/profile/Kansas?g=040XX00US20#income-and-poverty](https://data.census.gov/profile/Kansas?g=040XX00US20#income-and-poverty) (last visited Sept. 5 2024).

<sup>216</sup> *Educational Attainment; Census Tract 445; Wyandotte County; Kansas*, United States Census Bureau, [https://data.census.gov/profile/Census\\_Tract\\_445;\\_Wyandotte\\_County;\\_Kansas?g=1400000US20209044500#education](https://data.census.gov/profile/Census_Tract_445;_Wyandotte_County;_Kansas?g=1400000US20209044500#education)

<sup>217</sup> *Educational Attainment; Kansas*, United States Census Bureau, <https://data.census.gov/profile/Kansas?g=040XX00US20#education> (last visited Sept. 5 2024).

## **XI. Conclusion**

While Kansas historically may not have enforced the Jim Crow system as rigidly as other states, from the state's origin, the white population set up a system that had boxed Black Kansans out of the greater community. Black Kansans encountered racial violence and terror; discrimination in public services; redlined neighborhoods; segregation in schools, hotels, restaurants, and theaters; and exclusion from white hospitals, churches, and neighborhoods. And, because of the discrimination Black Kansans similarly faced in the administration of justice, there was often no recourse for the harms it caused. The white population remained anxious to try to control the Black population, and like most state and local governments throughout the nation, created at a minimum a pervasive system of segregation and discrimination that, for many, seems at odds with the state's projected self-image. Kansas is indeed a state that has had, and continues to have, racism in all areas of life, and that history demonstrates that racism, segregation, and discrimination is not a story relegated to the south or the former slave-holding states, but rather racism is a national phenomenon that needs to be recognized and eradicated from all sectors of American society.

Respectfully Submitted,



---

Shawn Leigh Alexander

Dated: September 6, 2024

# **APPENDIX A**

**SHAWN LEIGH ALEXANDER**  
**Curriculum Vitae**

**Personal Information**

Professor  
African and African American Studies  
University of Kansas  
1440 Jayhawk Boulevard  
15 Bailey Hall  
Lawrence, KS 66045

Email Address: slalexan@ku.edu  
Office Phone: (785) 864-5044

**Education**

Ph.D., Afro-American Studies, September 2004  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA

M.A., Afro-American Studies, May 2001  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA

M.A., African American World Studies, May 1995  
University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA

B.A., *cum laude*, History, May 1992  
Loras College, Dubuque, IA

**Employment History**

**Academic**

The University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS  
Professor, African and African American Studies, 2018 - Present  
With courtesy appointments in the Department of History & Museum Studies  
Chair, African & African American Studies, 2020 - Present  
Director, Langston Hughes Center, 2012 - Present  
Associate Professor, African and African American Studies, 2012 - 2018  
With a courtesy appointment in the Department of History  
Interim Director, Langston Hughes Center, 2008 - 2012  
Assistant Professor, African and African American Studies, 2007 - 2012  
With a courtesy appointment in the Department of History

Yale University, New Haven, CT  
Post-Doctoral Fellow, Department of History, 2005 - 2007

Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA

Visiting Assistant Professor, Departments of History and African American Studies, 2004 - 2005

University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA  
Instructor, Afro-American Studies, 2000 - 2004  
Teaching Assistant, 1999 - 2002

Amherst College, Amherst, MA  
Instructor, Black Studies, Spring 2003

Westfield State College, Westfield, MA  
Instructor, American History, Spring 2003

Sight and Sound College, Yokkaichi, Japan  
Instructor, American and African American History and Culture, 1995 - 1998

Mie University, Tsu, Japan  
Instructor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, 1996 - 1997

University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA  
Instructor, African American Society, 1993 - 1995  
Teaching Assistant, African American Literature, 1992 - 1993

### **Administrative Assignments**

#### **University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS**

Chair, African & African American Studies, 2020 - 2025  
Director, Langston Hughes Center, 2012 - Present  
Interim Director, Langston Hughes Center, 2008 - 2012

### **Professional Memberships**

African American Intellectual History Society  
American Historical Association  
Association for the Study of African American Life and History  
Association for the Study of Worldwide African Diaspora  
Organization of American Historians  
National Council for Black Studies  
Southern Historical Association

### **Honors/Awards/Honor Societies**

#### **Individual Honors/Awards**

Mortar Board Society, Outstanding Educator Award, University of Kansas (2018)  
Docking Young Faculty Scholar Award, University of Kansas (2013 - 2018)  
Kansas Humanities Council Speaker's Bureau, Kansas Humanities Council (2014 - 2017)

- Diversity Leadership Award, University of Kansas, Office of Diversity and Equity (2015 - 2016)
- African and African American Studies Outstanding Service Award, University of Kansas (2014 - 2015)
- Byron Caldwell Smith Book Award. Honorable Mention, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas (2013)
- African and African American Studies Outstanding Research Award, University of Kansas (2011 - 2012)
- African and African American Studies Outstanding Service Award, University of Kansas (2011 - 2012)
- African and African American Studies Outstanding Research Award, University of Kansas (2010 - 2011)
- Frederick C. Luebke Award for Outstanding Regional Scholarship, *Great Plains Quarterly* (2008)
- Cassius Marcellus Clay Postdoctoral Fellowship, Department of History, Yale University (2005 - 2007)
- Nellie Mae Education Foundation Fellowship (2003 - 2004)
- W.E.B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies Graduate Fellowship (1998 - 2004)
- Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Dissertation Fellowship, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (Summer 2003)
- Carnegie-Mellon Seminar Fellowship (2000 - 2001)

## **Publications**

### **Books**

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *The Wizard of Tuskegee: A Collection of Writings of Booker T. Washington*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Forthcoming. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches*. Edited by Shawn Leigh Alexander. 1903, rpt., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *Reconstruction Violence and the Ku Klux Klan Hearings*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2015. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *W.E.B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2015. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Sinclair, William. *The Aftermath of Slavery: A Study of The Condition and Environment of the American Negro*. Edited by Shawn Leigh Alexander. 1905, rpt., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *An Army of Lions: The Civil Right Struggle before the NAACP*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *T. Thomas Fortune the Afro-American Agitator: A Collection of Writings, 1880-1928*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008. (Reviewed/Refereed)

### Book Chapters

Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Clarence Lang and John Rury, "The Long Hot Summers of the 1960s: Teaching Racial Disturbances during the Civil Rights Era" in *Teaching and Understanding the Civil Rights Movement*. edited by Hasan Kwame Jeffries. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Afro-American Agitators: The Afro-American League and Afro-American Council Precursors to the Niagara Movement." In *What Price Freedom? The Niagara Movement in Historical and Contemporary Thought*, edited by Wanda Davis and Shelia Martin. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. Forthcoming. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "T. Thomas Fortune Racial Violence of Reconstruction and the Struggle for Historical Memory." In *Remembering Reconstruction*, edited by Carole Emberton and Bruce Baker. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2017. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Crisis: A Record of the Darker Races: An Introduction." In *Protest and Propaganda: W. E. B. Du Bois, The Crisis and American History*, Amy Helene Kirschke and Phillip Luke Sinitere. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2014. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Vengeance without Justice--Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council's Struggle against Racial Violence." In *African Americans on the Great Plains*, edited by Bruce Glasrud and Charles A. Braithwaite, 71-102. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Afro-American Council and its Challenge of Louisiana's Grandfather Clause." In *Radicalism in the South Since Reconstruction*, edited by Chris Green, Rachel Rubin, and James Smethurst, 13-36. New York: Palgrave, 2006. (Reviewed/Refereed)

### Journal Articles

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "In Memoriam: John Bracey – A Black Studies Scholar and Activist." *Journal of African American History* 108, no. 4 (Fall 2023): 769-772. (Reviewed/Refereed)

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Vengeance without Justice--Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council's Struggle against Racial Violence." *Great Plains Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 117-133. (Reviewed/Refereed)

### Books, Textbooks

Cooper, Melissa L., and Shawn Leigh Alexander. *Instructor's Resource Manual for Freedom on My Mind: A History of African Americans, with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2013.

Menzin, Marion, Courtney Podraza, and Shawn Leigh Alexander. *The Bedford Glossary for U.S. History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007.

### Court Filings

*Donald J. Trump v. Norma Anderson, et. al* Brief amicus of Professors Orville Vernon Burton, Allen J. Lichtman, Nell Irwin Painter, James M. McPherson, Manisha Sinha, et. al., January 2024.

### Encyclopedia Entries

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington." In *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, edited by Carl Skutsch. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." In *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, edited by Carl Skutsch. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Harlem Renaissance." In *Encyclopedia of the Harlem Renaissance*, edited by Cary D. Wintz and Paul Finkelman. New York: Routledge, 2004.

### Reviews

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Jim Crow Capital: Women and Black Freedom Struggles in Washington DC, 1920-1945*, Mary Elizabeth B. Murphy. University of North Carolina Press, 2018. *American Historical Review*. Forthcoming

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Crusader for Democracy: The Political Life of William Allen White*, Charles Delgadillo University Press of Kansas, 2018. *Kansas History*. Forthcoming

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Becoming Confederates: Paths to a New National Loyalty*, Gary W. Gallagher, University of Georgia Press, 2013. *Louisiana History* (Spring 2016).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *America's First Black Socialist: The Radical Life of Peter H. Clark*, Nikki M. Taylor. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2013. *Journal of the Civil War Era* 4, no. 5 (September 2014).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Harry Truman and the Struggle for Racial Justice*, Robert Shogan, University Press of Kansas, 2013. *Kansas History* 37, no. 2 (Summer 2014).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Segregated Soldiers: Military Training at Historically Black Colleges in the Jim Crow South*, Marcus S. Cox. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013. *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (May 2014): 234-236.



- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Lynching Beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence Outside of the South*, Edited by Michael J. Pfeifer. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. *The Annals of Iowa* 73, no. 1 (Winter 2014).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *The Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers: The Caribbean Diaspora, 1910-1920 Volume XI*, Edited by Robert A. Hill, et. al. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011. *Journal of American History* 100, no. 3 (December 2013).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *John Brown Still Lives: America's Long Reckoning with Violence, Equality, and Change*, R. Blakeslee Gilpin. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011. *Slavery and Abolition* 34, no. 3 (September 2013).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Malcolm X Black Liberation & the Road to Workers Power*, Jack Barnes. New York: Pathfinder Press, 2010. *Journal of Ethnic History* 32, no. 4 (Summer 2013).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Come to Carry Me Home: Race in America from Abolitionism to Jim Crow*, Michael Martinez. Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012. *Journal of Southern History* 79, no. 2 (May 2013).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Right to Ride: Streetcar Boycotts and African American Citizenship in the Era of Plessy v. Ferguson*, Blair Kelley. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. *North Carolina Historical Review* 89, no. 4 (October 2012).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Up From History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*, Robert J. Norrell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009. *American Studies* 50, no. 1/2 (Spring/Summer 2010).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *A Faithful Account of the Race: African American Historical Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*, Stephen G. Hall. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. *Florida Historical Quarterly* 88, no. 4 (Spring 2010).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *The Souls of W.E.B. Du Bois: New Essays and Reflections*, Edward J. Blum and Jason R. Young (eds). Macon: Mercer University Press, 2009. *Journal of American History* 97 (March 2010).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *A Black Congressman in the Age of Jim Crow: South Carolina's George Washington Murray*, John F. Marszalek. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2006. *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 3 (January 2008).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *The Education of Booker T. Washington: American Democracy and the Idea of Race Relations*, Michael Rudolph West. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006. *Slavery and Abolition* 28, no. 2 (Fall 2007).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Colored Amazons: Crime, Violence, and Black Women in the City of Brotherly Love, 1880-1910*, Kali N. Gross. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006. *Journal of American History* 94, no. 1 (June 2007).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *The Southern Diaspora: How the Great Migration of Black and White Southerners Transformed America*, James N. Gregory. University of Pennsylvania

- Press, 2005. *Journal of African American History* 91, no. 4 (Fall 2006).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Segregation, 1865-1954*, Davison M. Douglas. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 104, no. 3 & 4 (Summer/Fall 2006).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *White: The Biography of Walter White, Mr. NAACP*, Kenneth Robert Janken. New York: The New Press, 2003. *The Black Scholar* 34, no. 3 (Fall 2004).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *"We Return Fighting" The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age*, Mark Robert Schneider. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002. *Journal of African American History* 88, no. 1 (Winter 2003).

### Web Publishing (article, blog, wiki, other)

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Journalist T. Thomas Fortune Prophetically Predicts Today's Political Climate." In *AAIHS Blog*. September 24, 2016. <http://www.aaihs.org/black-journalist-t-thomas-fortune-prophetically-predicts-todays-political-climate/>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Black Leader in the 19th Century Who Warned Us About a Donald Trump." In *History News Network*. May 22, 2016. <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/162763>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *George Zimmerman and the Long History of Selling "Souvenirs"* [Counterpunch]. May 13, 2016. <http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/05/13/george-zimmerman-and-the-long-history-of-selling-souvenirs/>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "George Zimmerman and the Long History of Selling "Souvenirs"." In *Common Dreams*. May 12, 2016. <http://www.commondreams.org/views/2016/05/12/george-zimmerman-and-long-history-selling-souvenirs>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "A Terrible Opportunity to Teach America a Civil Rights Lesson Is in Danger of Being Missed." In *History News Network*. July 26, 2015. <http://historynewsnetwork.org/article/160064>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Don't Let the Lowering of the Flag Be Another Hollow Reconciliation." In *Common Dreams*. July 11, 2015. <http://www.commondreams.org/views/2015/07/11/dont-let-lowering-flag-be-another-hollow-reconciliation>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "History of Violence Against Black Churches." In *Office of Multicultural Affairs Blog*. July 1, 2015. <http://oma.ku.edu/statements-support>.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Activism After Douglass: Building on the Achievements, Departing from the Methods." In *University of Pennsylvania Press Log*. February 21, 2012. <http://pennpress.typepad.com/pennpresslog/2012/02/activism-after-douglass-shawn-leigh-alexander.html>.

## Activity Currently in Progress

### Books

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'Fantastic Dreams and Radical Visions': The NAACP and the Foundation of a Movement in the 1930s."

### Journal Articles

Glenn, Jason, Kristina M. Bridges, Shawn Leigh Alexander, et. al. "Evaluating the Impact of an Educational Intervention on the History of Racism in America for Teaching Structural Competency to Medical Academicians." *BMC Medical Education* (Under review)

### Book Chapters

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Crisis Magazine and the NAACP Come of Age."

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "What Makes a Black Conservative? Booker T. Washington in Public and Private for The Black Intellectual Tradition in the United States in the Twentieth Century."

### *Presentations/Lectures*

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Life and Legacy of John Bracey" ASALH, Annual Conference, Jacksonville, FL. September 22, 2023.  
Presenter

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Sonic Representation from the Street, to the Stage, and the Screen." ASALH, Annual Conference, Montgomery, AL. September 21, 2023.  
Chair and Commentator

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Truth and (or) Fiction? Graphic History, Historical Fiction, and the Speculative Turn in the History of Racial Violence" ASALH, Annual Conference, Montgomery, AL. September 29, 2022.  
Presenter

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Truth and (or) Fiction? Graphic History, Historical Fiction, and the Speculative Turn in the History of Racial Violence" ASALH, Annual Conference, Montgomery, AL. September 29, 2022.  
Presenter

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Darlene Clark Hine & Gerald Horne Book Roundtable: Mia Bay's *Traveling Black*" ASALH, Annual Conference, Virtual. September 18, 2021.  
Chair and Commentator

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The 1619 Project and the Authentication of Our History." ASALH, Annual Conference, Virtual. August 10, 2020.  
Chair and Commentator

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Martha Jones' *Birthright Citizens*." ASALH, Charleston, SC. October 3, 2019.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Reflections on the Content and Structure of Black Studies: 50 Years of the W. E. B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies." W. E. B. Du Bois Department Symposium "Wake Up: Reflections on Our Past & Envisioning Our Future," Amherst, MA. April 19, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Fantastic Dreams and Radical Visions: The NAACP and the Foundations of a Movement" Wichita State University's Annual History Lecture, Wichita, KS. November 15-16, 2018.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Manisha Sinha's *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition*." ASALH, Indianapolis, IN. October 6, 2018.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Scholarship and Intellectual Legacy of P. Sterling Stuckey." ASALH, Indianapolis, IN. October 5, 2018.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Teaching Iconic Civil Rights People, Organizations, and Events from Freedom Summer to the Black Panther Party," We Who Believe in Freedom: A Symposium on Teaching the Civil Rights Movement, The Ohio State University, Columbus, OH. June 1-3, 2018.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Committee of Twelve and Resistance to the Rise of Jim Crow." ASALH, Cincinnati, OH. September 28, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington in American Memory." ASALH, Cincinnati, OH. September 28, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Studies in the Academy: Past and Future Directions." W. E. B. Du Bois Department of Afro-American Studies 20th Anniversary Symposium, Amherst, MA. April 7, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Intellectual Thought and Activism of T. Thomas Fortune." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 8, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "150 Years of the KKK and Racist Terrorism." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 7, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Black Panthers: Vanguard of the Revolution." Labette Community College, Parsons KS. February 16, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Scholarly Perspectives on Booker T. Washington's Thought and Leadership: A Century of Debate." Southern Historical Association, Little Rock, AR. November 13, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." Kansas History Author's Day, Lawrence, KS. November 7, 2015.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lessons of W. E. B. Du Bois for the Black Lives Matter Generation." Loras College, Dubuque, IA. October 22, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Out of Touch or Visionary?: W. E. B. Du Bois, Self-Segregation and the NAACP." ASALH, Atlanta, GA. September 26, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington: His Image and Legacy after 100 Years." ASALH, Atlanta, GA. September 24, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil War, African American Soldiers and General Order #143." Independence Public Library, Independence KS. September 8, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington After 100 Years." Organization of American Historians, St. Louis, MO. April 16, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Struggle in the Age of Accommodation." Amherst Books, Amherst, MA. December 4, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle before the NAACP." University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. December 3, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Worse than Slavery: Race, Violence, and the Defining of the Nation in Post-Emancipation America." Freedom Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence KS. February 27, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Convict Leasing and Peonage in the Shaping of Post-Emancipation America." Atchison Public Library, Atchison, KS. February 26, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Trials of Muhammad Ali." Labette Community College, Parsons KS. February 24, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'The Lynching of Fred Alexander and the Early Civil Rights Struggle in Kansas'." Lansing Historical Museum, Lansing, KS. January 25, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'Go into the courts and fight it out': T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American League, and the Origins of the NAACP's Legal Strategy." University of North Carolina, Charlotte. January 16, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lynching of Fred Alexander." Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, Branch of ASALH. November 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'Young Africa' and The Struggle for Historical Memory." African American Studies Annual Lecture, Mississippi State University. October 15, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Long Movement: The State of the Field." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 6, 2013.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Plenary: African American Studies Past and Present: A Session in Appreciation of John H. Bracey." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 3, 2013.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Meier's Negro Thought in America 50 Years Later." ASLAH, Jacksonville, FL. October 5, 2013.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 4, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Exploring the Legacy and Significance of Black Health Activists." ASALH, Pittsburgh, PA. September 27, 2012.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "From Whence Cometh Our Help: Black Women and Black Power." ASALH, Pittsburgh, PA. September 27, 2012.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Plenary: The Legacy of the Civil War." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 8, 2011.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Religious Thought and the Civil War." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 6, 2011.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "New Geographies of Reconstruction: African American Politics in the North and Midwest, 1865-1900 (Part I)." OAH, Houston, TX. March 18, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African and African American Studies." MAAAS Annual Meeting, Lawrence, KS. October 9, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Afro-American Agitator: T. Thomas Fortune and the Struggle for Historical Memory." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 2, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Radical Voices in Journalism During the Nadir." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 2, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Economic and Civil Rights in Kansas and Missouri." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 1, 2010.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Economic Empowerment Beyond Jim Crow, Racial Democracy and Domesticity." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. September 30, 2010.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Gender, and Women's Social and Political Activism in the Twentieth Century." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. September 30, 2010.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 21, 2010.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, and John Stauffer. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War in Cultural Memory." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 18, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "New Negroes in a New Light: Black Activism in the Urban Upper South, 1918-1929." ASALH Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH. October 3, 2009.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Re-examination of Black Leadership in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." ASALH Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH. October 1, 2009.  
Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." AHA Annual Meeting, New York City, NY. January 5, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'An Army of Christ': T. McCants Stewart and his quest to create a 'Negro Nationality'." University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 9, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'A Negro Nation within a Nation': The W.E.B. Du Bois Controversy of 1934-35." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 4, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "State of the Black Union: Young Scholars Respond." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 4, 2008.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Portraits in Black: African American Biographical Sketches." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 2, 2008.  
Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Look Back and Wonder: The Genesis of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst.*" ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 3, 2008.  
Respondent
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Hybridity, Absorption or a New American Race: Notions of the 'Future American' in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." American Seminar, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. April 16, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. October 5, 2007.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Print Paths From Slavery to Freedom: Africans in the Americas, One Hundred Years, 1827-1927." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. October 5, 2007.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black, Greek, and Female: Black Sororities at Home and Abroad." ASALH Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA. September 29, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'Afro-American Agitators': Civil Rights Organizations in the Age of Accommodation." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. September 28, 2006.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'It is Strike NOW or NEVER': The Afro-American Council and the Origins of the Niagara Movement." Niagara Movement Academic Symposium, Harper's Ferry, WV. August 16, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'It is Strike Now Or Never:' The Afro-American Council's Struggle Against Disenfranchisement Legislation." OAH Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. April 20, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Origins of the Niagara Movement: The Afro-American League and the Afro-American Council." ASALH Annual Meeting, Buffalo, NY. October 7, 2005.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lynching of Fred Alexander, the Afro-American Council and the call for a Legal Defense Fund." ASALH Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA. September 30, 2004.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African America's Participation in the Civil Rights Struggle at Home and Abroad." ASALH Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA. September 30, 2004.  
Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "History, Heritage, Hate or Hype? Perspectives on the Recoloration Proclamation Controversy." Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA. September 16, 2004.  
Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go Into the Courts and Fight it Out." OAH Annual Meeting, Boston, MA. March 27, 2004.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "A Conversation on African American Religion in the Mid-20th Century." Amherst College, Amherst, MA. November 14, 2003 - November 16, 2003.  
Panelist/Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Unite and Organize: The Afro-American League and the Struggle for Equality." ASALH Conference, Milwaukee, WI. September 25, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'We Must Wake Up!' African America's Organizational Response to the Rise of Jim Crow." NEHA Conference, Bentley College, Waltham, MA. April 26, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W.E.B. Du Bois and *Souls*: The Centennial." DMCA Annual Black History Month Lecture, East Harford, CT. February 26, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Response to 'a Revolution Gone Backward:' Agitation in the Age of Accommodation." Bridging Disciplinary Differences: University of Massachusetts Graduate Student Conference, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. May 17, 2002.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The NAACP during the Roaring Twenties." Association for the Study of African America Life and History, Amherst Branch: Symposium on Mark Schneider's *We Return Fighting: The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age*. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. May 11, 2002.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'A Reunion of Whom?' America's Recollection of the Civil War." Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Amherst Branch: Symposium on David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*,



- University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. April 21, 2001.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American Nativism: Black Reaction to European and Asian Immigration, 1830-1930." National Association of African American Studies 2001 National Conference, Houston, TX. February 15, 2001.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Afro-American League and the Origins of the NAACP: Legal Agitation in the Age of Accommodation." Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Amherst Branch Annual Conference, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. February 10, 2001.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "From a Bar to *Brown*: The Origins of the NAACP and the Legal Defense Fund." National Association of African American Studies 2000 National Conference, Houston, TX. February 23, 2000.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Importance of African American Studies." Aichi Prefectural University, Nagoya, Japan. January 16, 1997.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Retreating Again: A Century After *Plessy*." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association Conference, Tokyo, Japan. December 1, 1996.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Global Importance of Indigenous Population Movements." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association Conference, Tokyo, Japan. December 1, 1996.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Marcus Garvey and the *Chicago Defender*, 1917-1923." National Council for Black Studies 21st Annual Conference, Washington, D.C. November 13, 1996 - November 17, 1996.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African and African American Studies Abroad." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association's Founders Day, Tokyo, Japan. May 11, 1996.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Louis Farrakhan and the Million Man March." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association's Founders Day, Tokyo, Japan. May 11, 1996.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Social and Political Thought of Marcus Garvey and his Influence on Modern Pan African Movements." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association Conference, Tokyo, Japan. October 15, 1995.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Japanese Perceptions of People of African Descent and Japanese Minorities." Japan African Descendent Friendship Association Conference, Tokyo, Japan. October 15, 1995.

## Research Funding/Fellowships

### University of Kansas

#### *Externally-Funded Grant/Contract*

##### Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal), John Rury (Co-Principal), and Clarence Lang (Co-Principal). "Teaching the "Long Hot Summer" of 1967 and Beyond." National Endowment for the Humanities \$180,247, Submitted February 24, 2016 (October 1, 2016 - December 31, 2017).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "Created Equal: America's Civil Rights Struggle." National Endowment for the Humanities and the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (2013 - 2016).

#### *General Research Fund*

##### Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2010 - 2011).

##### Not Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2013 - 2014).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2011 - 2012).

#### *Internal Award*

##### Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Co-Principal), John Rury (Co-Principal), and Clarence Lang (Co-Principal). "Race and Civil Disturbance in Recent American History - Hall Center for the Humanities Incentive Fund." Hall Center for the Humanities \$5,000, Submitted March 30, 2015 (June 1, 2015 - August 1, 2015).

#### *New Faculty General Research Fund*

##### Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "New Faculty General Research Fund Grant." University of

Kansas (2008 - 2009).

Other Organization or University

*Externally-Funded Grant/Contract*

Under Review

Not Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "Guggenheim Fellowship." Guggenheim Foundation, Submitted 2019 (2020 - 2021).

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "Alphonse Fletcher, Sr. Fellowship." Harvard University, Submitted 2008 (2008 - 2009).

**Dissertation/Thesis Supervision**

**University of Kansas**

Dissertation Defense Committee Co-Chair

Alyssa Cole, History Status: completed 2023

Karenbeth Zacharius, History, Status: completed. 2012

Dissertation Defense Committee Member

Titus Firmin, History

Benton Bajorek, Communications

Anthony Guy, Communications

Kathryn Robinson, American Studies, Status: scheduled Spring 2024

Andi Ghaderi, French, Francophone and Italian Status: completed 2023

Joao Batista Nascimento Gregoire, History Status: completed 2023

William Adams, American Studies Status: completed 2023

Roger Booker, Jr, School of Education Status: completed. 2023

Carsten Holm, School of Education Status: completed. 2023

Ben Schmack, American Studies, Status: completed. 2022

Dan Chmill, History. Status: completed. 2022

Sarah Tackett, School of Education/Sports Management, Status: completed. 2021

Caleb Stevens, Theatre and Dance, Status: completed. 2021

Will Cunningham, English, Status: completed. 2017

Jason Roe, History, Status: completed. 2012

David Peavler, History, Status: completed. 2008

Doctoral Comprehensive Exam Committee Member

Anthony Guy, Communications, Status: completed 2021

Titus Firmin, History, Status: completed 2021

Joao Batista Nascimento Gregoire, History, Status: completed. 2020  
 Sarah Tackett, School of Education/Sports Management, Status: completed. 2020  
 Caleb Stevens, Theatre and Dance, Status: completed. 2020  
 Benton James Bajorek, Communications, Status: completed. 2020  
 Roger Booker, Jr, School of Education, Status: completed 2019  
 Dan Chmill, History, Status: completed. 2019  
 Maurico Gómez Montoya, School of Education, Status: completed. 2019  
 Alyssa Cole, History, Status: completed. 2019  
 Carsten Holm, School of Education, Status: completed. 2018  
 Ben Schmack, American Studies, Status: completed. 2017  
 William Adams, American Studies, Status: completed. 2017  
 Will Cunningham, English, Status: completed. 2015  
 Amanda Schlumpberger, History, Status: completed. 2011

#### Master's Examination Committee Chair

Phillip Dixon, History, Status: completed. 2020  
 Alyssa Cole, AAAS, Status: completed. 2017  
 Jameelah Jones, Status: completed. 2016  
 Maryam Nichols, AAAS, Status: completed. 2014

#### Master's Examination Committee Member Noemi

Tracy, AAAS, Status: completed. 2015  
 Amanda Schlumpberger, History, Status: completed. 2011

#### Master's Thesis Committee Chair

Joseph Terrell, AAAS, Status: scheduled Spring 2024  
 Courtland Smith, AAAS, Status: scheduled Fall 2024  
 Philip Dixon, History, Status: completed Spring 2020  
 Raychel Gadson, AAAS, Status: completed Spring 2020  
 Allison Lewis, AAAS, Status: completed 2019  
 Owen MacDonald, AAAS, Status: completed 2019  
 Tarik Black, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016  
 Paul Fowler, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016  
 Caroline Kastor, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016  
 James Baker, AAAS, Status: completed. 2015  
 Hassan Bailey, AAAS, Status: completed. 2011

#### Master's Thesis Committee Co-Chair

Ginger Feather, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012

#### Master's Thesis Committee Member

Eric Leimer, Museum Studies, scheduled Spring 2024  
 Alexandra Haggerty, GIST, Status: completed 2020  
 Jessica Borowicz, AAAS, Status: completed. 2017  
 Anita Easterwood, AAAS Status: completed. 2016  
 Adhima Miller, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016  
 Sheldon Nash, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016

Jessica Sirico, AAAS, Status: completed. 2014  
 Devon Lee, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012  
 Leathett Jackson, Religion/Indigenous Studies. Status: completed. 2012  
 Erika Kraus, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012  
 Emmanuel Birding, International Studies, Status: completed. 2009

#### Undergraduate Honors Thesis Advisor

Austin J. Childs, History, Status: completed. 2021  
 Christopher Davis, AAAS, Status: completed. 2010  
 Bethany Blackman, AAAS, Status: completed. 2008  
 Christopher de la Cruz, AAAS, Status: completed. 2008

#### Undergraduate Honors Thesis Member

Jude Butler, History  
 Ethan Reitler, History  
 Noah Hookstra, History  
 Jennifer David, History, Status: completed. 2013

### Summary List of Courses Taught

#### University of Kansas (Fall 2007 – Fall 2023)

Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2023)  
 Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2023)  
 Introduction to African American Studies (Winter Session 2023)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2023)  
 Intro to Africana Studies I (Spring Semester 2023)  
 Seminar in Africana Studies (Spring Semester 2023)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2022)  
 Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2022)  
 Introduction to African American Studies (Winter Session 2022)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2022)  
 Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2022)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2021)  
 Seminar in Africana Studies (Fall Semester 2021)  
 Research Methods in Africana Studies (Fall Session 2021)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2021)  
 Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2021)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2021)  
 Intro to Africana Studies I (Spring Semester 2021)  
 Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2021)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2020)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2020)  
 Civil Rights Movement (Spring Session 2020)  
 Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2020)  
 Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2019)  
 Research Methods in Africana Studies (Fall Semester 2019)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2019)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2019)

Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2019)  
Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2019)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Spring Session 2019)  
The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2019)  
*#BlackLivesMatter and the Struggle for One's Humanity* (Spring Semester 2019)  
Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2018)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2018)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2018)  
Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2018)  
Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2018)  
Life & Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2018)  
Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2017)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2017)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2017)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2017)  
Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2017)  
Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2017)  
Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2016)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2016)  
Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2016)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2016)  
Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2016)  
The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2015)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2015)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2015)  
Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2015)  
Life & Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2015)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Spring Semester 2015)  
Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2014)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2014)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2014)  
Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2014)  
Seminar in Africana Studies (Spring Semester 2014)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2013)  
The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2013)  
Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 2013)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2013)  
Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2013)  
The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2013)  
Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2012)  
Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2012)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2012)  
The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2012)  
Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2012)  
Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2011)  
Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2011)  
Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2011)  
Rethinking the Age of Booker T. Washington (Spring Semester 2011)  
The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2011)  
The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2010)  
Black Leadership (Fall Semester 2010)

Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2010)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2010)  
 Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2009)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2009)  
 Special Topics in Africana Studies: Black Sociology (Fall Semester 2009)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2009)  
 The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2009)  
 Black Experience in America: From Emancipation to the Present (Spring Semester 2009)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2008)  
 Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 2008)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2008)  
 Black Experience in America: From Emancipation to the Present (Spring Semester 2008)  
 The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2008)  
 Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2007)

### **Yale University (Spring 2007)**

African American Social and Political Thought, 1880-1920: A Reexamination of the Age of Booker T. Washington

### **Gettysburg College (Fall 2004 - Spring 2005)**

African American History: A Survey (Fall Semester 2004)  
 Topics in American History: The Civil Rights Movement (Fall Semester 2004)  
 Slavery, Rebellion and Emancipation in the Atlantic World (Spring Semester 2005)  
 Twentieth Century World History (Fall and Spring Semesters 2004-2005)

### **University of Massachusetts (Fall 1999 - Summer 2003)**

History of the Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2003).  
 Minority Experience in American Life and Culture: Honors Research Colloquium (Spring Semester 2003).  
 History of the Civil Rights Movement (Winter Session 2003).  
 Minority Experience in American Life and Culture: Honors Research Colloquium (Fall Semester 2002).  
 African American History, 1619-1865 (Fall Semester 2001).  
 African American History, 1865-1954 (Winter Session 2001).  
 History of the Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2000).  
 Introduction to African American Studies (Spring Semester 2000).  
 History of the Civil Rights Movement (Winter Session 2000).  
 History of the Civil Rights Movement (Spring Semester 2002).  
 African American History, 1865-1954 (Spring Semester 2001).  
 African American History, 1619-1865 (Fall Semester 2000).  
 Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 1999).

### **Amherst College (Spring 2003)**

African American History from Reconstruction to the Present

### **Westfield State College (Spring 2003)**

Readings in American History, 1815-1914

**Sight and Sound College (1995 - 1998)**

American and African American History and Culture

**Mie University (1996 - 1997)**

American and African American History and Culture for the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences

**University of Iowa (1992 - 1995)**

Introduction to African American Society (1993-1995)

Black Culture and Experience: African American Social and Political Thought (Summer Session 1994)

African American Literature (1992-1993)

**Consulting**

**Academic**

ACLU Kansas *Same Water Comin' Round: Quindaro as a Vision for Kansas*, Consultant, Lawrence, KS (August 2023)

ACLU Expert Testimony, *State v. Fielder*, Written and Oral Testimony, Wyandotte County, KS (2023-2025).

ACLU Expert Testimony, *State v. Young*, Written and Oral Testimony, Sedgwick County, KS (2022-2023).

ACLU Expert Testimony, *State v. McNeal*, Written and Oral Testimony, Sedgwick County, KS (2021-2022).

College Board, AP African American Studies (2022-2024)

Zinn Educational Project, Reconstruction (2020-2024)

The Niagara Movement (Florentine Films), Consultant and Commentator, Massachusetts (2021-2023).

Nick Childs Academy Project, Topeka, KS, Consultant (2021-2024)

Leavenworth KS, Equal Justice Initiative, Fred Alexander Lynching Memorial Project (2020-2023)

Lawrence KS, Equal Justice Initiative, Vinegar Lynching Memorial Project (2018-2023)

Making Black America: African American Social Network (McGee Media/PBS Documentary), Consultant, New York, NY (2020-2022)



Reconstruction (McGee Media/PBS Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (2017 - 2019).

Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Firelight Media Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (2016 - 2018).

The T. Thomas Fortune Preservation Project, Consultant (2013 - 2019).

Ben Rosen Christian Science Monitor, "Police union to Amazon: take "Bulletproof: Black Lives Matter" shirts off shelves", Consultant (December 26, 2016).

Ellen Powell Christian Science Monitor, "Why Walmart pulled a 'Black Lives Matter' shirt from its website", Consultant (December 21, 2016).

Rowena Lindsay Christian Science Monitor, "Ex-officer charged in fatal shooting that launched Milwaukee protests", Consultant (December 16, 2016).

David Iaconangelo Christian Science Monitor, "Protests last through the night in Charlotte, N.C., after police shooting", Consultant (September 21, 2016).

Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "How Milwaukee flipped the script after fatal police shooting", Consultant (August 15, 2016).

Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "New Black Lives Matter platform: From indignation to remedies", Consultant (August 2, 2016).

Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "Baton Rouge tragedy puts focus on challenges faced by black officers", Consultant (July 17, 2016).

Muhammad Ali's Legacy Deutsche Welle News, Consultant (June 10, 2016).

Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "Freddie Gray case: Would Black Lives Matter accept acquittals of officers?", Consultant (December 3, 2015).

Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Firelight Media Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (November 4, 2015 - November 6, 2015).

Sean Cockerham McClatchy News Service, "In the wake of Charleston, Obama ask to launch attack on domestic extremists", Consultant (June 26, 2015).

Anita Kumar McClatchy News Service, "Race Relations arguably worse in "Age of Obama", Consultant (December 11, 2014).

Anita Kumar McClatchy News Service, "Obama on race: Watch what he does not what he says", Consultant (August 19, 2014).

Documentary entitled Bricks and Straw: The Triumph and Tragedy of Booker T. Washington, Consultant and Commentator (September 2010).

Brian Burns, Kansas City Star, NAACP Annual Convention and History of NAACP, Consultant (July 12, 2010).

Documentary entitled Little House on the Prairie: The Legacy of Laura Ingalls Wilder, Consultant and Commentator (March 2009).

Dawn Turner Trice, Chicago Tribune, “New Faces Among Black Studies Scholars”, Consultant (March 5, 2009).

## University Service

### University of Kansas

#### Advisor

Emerging Scholars Program. (2016 – 2018, 2020-2022)

#### Chair

Faculty Ombuds Search Committee. (2019)

Langston Hughes Visiting Professorship Committee. (2013 - 2014)

#### Co-Chair

Langston Hughes Visiting Professorship Committee. (2014 - 2017)

#### Co-Director

Hall Center for the Humanities - Place, Race, and Space Seminar. (2014 - 2022)

#### Coordinator

7th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (March 6, 2024)

6th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (March 2, 2023)

5th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 21, 2019)

4th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 1, 2018)

3rd Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 2, 2017)

2nd Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 18, 2016)

1st Annual Race and Sports in American Culture: A KU Symposium. (April 23, 2015)

Protecting the Vote: Dialogues on Citizenship, Elections and the Franchise. (October 8, 2015)

Fight for Freedom! A Century of the NAACP and the Struggle for Racial Equality. (February 13, 2009)

#### Facilitator

Enhancing Cultural Competency Conference. (February 23, 2017)

KU Common Book – *Citizen*. (August 22, 2017)

KU Common Book - *Between the World and Me*. (August 21, 2016)

Enhancing Cultural Competency Conference. (March 23, 2016)

### Faculty Mentor

Faculty Mentor Program – Men’s Basketball. (2008 - 2024)

### Faculty Senator

Faculty Senate President. (2019 - 2020)  
 Faculty Senate President-Elect. (2018 - 2019)  
 Faculty Senate. (2017 - 2020)

### Member

Provost’s Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee. (2020-2024)  
 Vice Provost for Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Belonging Search Committee. (2022)  
 Chancellor’s Public Safety Task-Force (2020)  
 Vice Provost for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Search Committee. (2019-2020)  
 Provost Search Committee. (2019-2020)  
 Hall Center for the Humanities, Book Publication Award Committee. (2019)  
 Academic Integrity Committee. (2019-2020)  
 Undergraduate Research Faculty Advisory Board. (2018-2020)  
 University Committee on Promotion and Tenure. (2018-2020)  
 Athletics Advisory Committee. (2017 - 2020)  
 Faculty Senate Executive Committee. (2017 - 2020)  
 University Senate Executive Committee. (2017 – 2020)  
 Academic Misconduct Committee. (2008 - 2020)  
 Steering Committee, Athletics Department's New Faculty Mentor Program. (2008 - 2020)  
 Standards and Procedures for Promotion and Tenure Committee. (2017 - 2019)  
 Langston Hughes Visiting Professorship Committee. (2008 - 2018)  
 Ad Hoc Committee on Freedom of Speech. (2016 - 2017)  
 Campus Climate Study Task Force. (2015 - 2017)  
 Research on the Leading-Edge Committee, Hall Center for the Humanities. (2014 - 2017)  
 1965 Strong Hall Sit-in Commemoration Committee. (2015 - 2016)  
 Diversity Leadership Council. (2014 - 2016)  
 IT Faculty Consultation Group. (2014 - 2016)  
 Diversity Symposium Committee. (2014 - 2015)  
 University Senate Libraries Committee. (2012 - 2015)  
 The Legacies & Unfinished Business of BvB, 2.0 Program Committee, University Libraries.  
 (2013 - 2014)  
 Vice Provost for Diversity and Equity Search Committee. (2013 - 2014)  
 Graduate Summer Research Award Committee, Hall Center for the Humanities. (2013)  
 Humanities Research Committee, Hall Center for the Humanities. (2010)

### Participant

“Publishing Workshop – Meet the Editors,” College Diversity, Equity & Inclusion  
 Workshop, The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas October 17, 2019)  
 “Mentoring Student Athletes,” KU Athletics, Beyond Sports Symposium, Burge Union,  
 University of Kansas (October 7, 2019)  
 “Perspective on Music and Movements.” The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas  
 (April 30, 2019)  
 “Klan Violence and the Black Community’s Response.” The Commons, Spooner Hall,  
 University of Kansas (April 6, 2018)  
 “Confederate Monuments.” The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas (September  
 8, 2017)  
 Hall Center for the Humanities Collaborative Best Practices Workshop. (October 9, 2015)

New Faculty Colloquia: Planning for Promotion & Tenure from Day One. (October 9, 2014)  
 Architecture(s) in (and of) the World, Office of International Programs Seminar. (January 2013 - May 2013)  
 "Teaching Race, Space, and Gender in the Academy". 3rd Spring Symposium on the Scholarship of Diversity (March 28, 2013)  
 Dan Rasmussen, "The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt" lecture, Hall Center for the Humanities. Introduction for Dan Rasmussen (February 17, 2011)

#### Representative

Center for Teaching Excellence - Faculty Ambassador for Department of African & African-American Studies. (2008 - 2010)

#### Respondent

"Will Race Survive in the U.S.? The Possibilities and the Impossibilities of the Obama Phenomenon". Hall Center for the Humanities, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas (September 15, 2008)

### College Service

#### University of Kansas

##### Co-Chair

College Committee on Appointments, Promotion & Tenure (CCAPT). (2015 - 2016)

##### Coordinator

Jesse B. Semple Brownbag Series (2008-2024)  
 Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lecture Series at Lawrence Public Library (2015-2021)  
 KASC Fall Seminar, Celebrating 40 Years of Africana Studies: Reflection and Visualization. (2010)  
 KASC Fall Seminar, "Come to Africa and Its Here!" African Americans and Africa. (2008)

##### Faculty Mentor

CLAS Faculty Mentor Program. (2016 - 2019)

##### Lecture

"Africanisms in America," KASC Teacher Summer Institute. (June 9, 2010)  
 "African American Leadership from W. E. B. Du Bois to Barack Obama," Africana Leadership Institute. (May 22, 2009)  
 "African Americans' Views of Africa, 1880-1915," KASC Teacher Summer Institute. (June 10, 2008)

##### Member

College Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Cabinet. (2021-2024)  
 William Tuttle Annual Lecture Committee. (2011 - 2024)  
 College Committee on Appointments, Promotion & Tenure (CCAPT). (2015 - 2017)  
 African and African American Studies Working Group. (2013 - 2014)  
 Task Force on Online Courses in the College. (2012 - 2013)  
 COGA Director Search Committee. (2011)  
 Task Force on Online Courses in the College. (2009 - 2010)

Kansas African Studies Center (KASC) Executive Committee. (2008)  
KASC FLAS Committee. (Spring 2008)

Participant

David W. Blight, “My Pen, My Voice, My Vote: Frederick Douglass in the Age of the Civil War” Bill Tuttle Distinguished Lecture in American Studies. Introduction for David W. Blight (October 2, 2014)

**Department Service**

**University of Kansas**

African & African-American Studies

Chair

AAAS 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Committee. (2010 - 2011)

Director

Langston Hughes Center. (2008 - 2024)  
Graduate Program. (2007 - 2018)

Faculty Advisor

Africana Club. (2007 - 2015)

Member

AAAS 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Committee. (2019 - 2021)  
Evaluation Committee. (2017 - 2019)  
Curriculum Committee. (2007 - 2015, 2018-2020)  
Search Committee for Department Lecturer Positions. (2007 - 2016)  
Search Committee for Faculty Position in Haitian Creole and Caribbean Studies. (2014 - 2015)  
African American History Month Committee. (2007 - 2015)  
Department Scholarship Committee. (2007 - 2015)  
Search Committee for Faculty Position in African Art and Culture. (2011 - 2012)  
AAAS Annual Report Committee. (2010)  
Search Committee for Faculty Position in African American Cultural Studies. (2007 - 2008)

**Professional Service**

Editorial Responsibilities

Editor

*Africana Annual*. (2022 - Present)  
*H-Afro-Am Net*. (2015 - Present)

Co-Editor

*Carter G. Woodson Series, University of Virginia Press*. (2019-Present)

Editorial Board Member

*International Journal of Africana Studies*. (2015 - 2025)

*Journal of African American History.* (2018 - 2027)

#### Other Professional Service

##### Chair

Carter G. Woodson Institute Fellowship Search Committee (2019-2020)

##### Co-Chair

Association for the Study of African American Life and History ASALH Annual Convention.  
(2020 - 2021)

Association for the Study of African American Life and History ASALH Annual Convention.  
(2012 - 2013)

##### Coordinator and Director

Teaching The “Long Hot Summer of 1967” and Beyond, National Endowment for the  
Humanities Institute, University of Kansas, Lawrence Kansas (June 11- July 1, 2017)

The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher’s  
Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 12-18, 2015)

The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher’s  
Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 13-19, 2014)

The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher’s  
Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 22-28, 2013)

Civil Rights and the Road to *Brown*. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher’s  
Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 21-27, 2012)

Presidential Politics, Civil Rights and the Road to *Brown*. Gilder Lehrman Institute of  
American History Teacher’s Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 24-30, 2011)

##### Member

College Board AP African American Studies Course Committee (2021-2024)

Zinn Education Project’s Teach Reconstruction Campaign Advisory Committee (2017-2024)

T. Thomas Fortune Foundation and Cultural Center Board of Directors (2019-2024)

Douglas County Historical Society Board of Directors (2018-2025)

National Endowment for the Humanities Institute Review Committee (2021)

Carter G. Woodson Institute Fellowship Search Committee (2018-2019 & 2019-2020)

Association for the Study of African American Life and History ASALH Program  
Committee. (2008-2021)

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship Review Committee (2018)

Lawrence Memorial Hospital Diversity and Inclusion Community Steering Committee (2017-  
2018)

*Fair Housing at 50 Committee*, City of Lawrence, Lawrence, KS. (2016 - 2017)

Association for the Study of African American Life and History ASALH Program  
Committee. (2008 - 2017)

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher of the Year Award Committee.  
(2016)

Association for the Study of African American Life and History Living Legacy Award  
Committee. (2012 - 2013)

Frederick C. Luebke Award Nominations Committee, *Great Plains Quarterly*, University of  
Nebraska. (2009)

##### Reviewer

### Departmental Review

African & African American Studies, Oklahoma University

### Promotion and Tenure

Clark University  
 Tufts University  
 Stony Brook University  
 Marquette University  
 Texas Tech University  
 Purdue University  
 Virginia Tech University  
 University of Milwaukee  
 University of Oklahoma  
 Vanderbilt University  
 Miami University  
 University of North Carolina, Charlotte

### Book and Article Manuscripts

“W. E. B. Du Bois and The First World War,” *Journal of Classical Sociology* (2024)  
 “W. E. B. Du Bois and the Liberian Question: Sovereignty, Empire, and the Tensions of a Black Republic,” *Journal of African American History* (2024)  
 “Why Should a Leopard Change His Spots?” *Modern Intellectual History* (2023)  
*The First Black Marines: An Oral History*, Oxford University Press (2023)  
*Beyond Busing: A New History of the Long Civil Rights Movement in Boston*, University of North Carolina Press. (2022)  
*Revisiting Industrial Education: Lessons from Three Distinctive Progressive Era Schools*, Rutgers University Press (2021)  
 “Black Civic Organizations and the Quest for Education: The Improved, Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, 1898-1954,” *Journal of African American History* (2021)  
*The Thoughts of Martin Delany*, University of South Carolina Press (2020)  
*Beyond Busing: A New History of the Long Civil Rights Movement in Boston*, University of North Carolina Press. (2020)  
*Traveling Black: A Social History of Segregated Transportation* (2020)  
*W. E. B. Du Bois: Lost and Found*, Polity Press (2020)  
 “Booker T. Washington and Women in the Negro Business League”, *Journal of African American History* (2020)  
 “Black Martial Mobility and Reconstruction Politics”, *Journal of the Civil War Era* (2020)  
*Mississippi Zion: The Struggle for Liberation in Attala County, 1865–1915* University of Mississippi Press. (2019)  
*Consider the Source: Selecting Authentic Black/Africana Course Materials*, International Journal of Africana Studies. (2019)  
*Selling the Colfax Massacre: Rape Myths and White Reconstruction Memory*, *Journal of Southern History* (2019)  
*Beyond Busing: A New History of the Long Civil Rights Movement in Boston*, University of North Carolina Press. (2019)  
 ‘I Define Myself as a Black Nationalist’: *New African National Identity Construction in the Republic of New Africa*, International Journal of Africana Studies. (2019)  
*Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-*

- 1920, University of Pennsylvania Press. (2018)
- Remembering the Memphis Massacre: An American Story*, University of Georgia Press (2018)
- "The Battle for Humanity is Not Lost or Losing": The Critical Social Theory of W. E. B. Du Bois*, Peter Lang Publishers (2018)
- "Down Where The South Begins," 1899-1930*, Journal of African American History (2018)
- The Wings of Atlanta: Essays Written Along the Color-Line*, Camden House (2018)
- Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-1920*, Temple University Press. (2017)
- All Outside is the Sea: Navigating Race, Citizenship and Party in Boston, Massachusetts*, University of North Carolina Press. (2017)
- Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-1920*, University of Pennsylvania Press. (2017)
- Plessy's Peers: Racial Determination and the Jim Crow Jury for the American Journal of Legal History*, American Journal of Legal History. (2016)
- African American Citizenship, the 1883 Civil Rights Cases and the Creation of the Jim Crow South*, History: The Journal of the Historical Association. (2016)
- 'South Africa is the Mississippi of the World': Anti-Apartheid Activism in the Administrative State*, Journal of American History. (2016)
- Forty Acres and a Carabao: T. Thomas Fortune's Journey to Hawaii and the Philippines, 1902-03*, Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. (2016)
- The African American Journey*, Oxford University Press. (2016)
- Struggle for Freedom: A History of African Americans*, Pearson Education. (2016)
- Tithe, Time, and Talent: African Americans, Philanthropy and Civil Rights 1925-1968*, University of Georgia Press. (2016)
- A Union Among Ourselves: African Americans and Urban Politics in Boston, Massachusetts, 1865-1903*, University of North Carolina Press. (2016)
- The Racial Politics of a Southern Black College President: James Edward Shepard, 1875-1947*, University Press of Florida. (2016)
- Black Pragmatism: A New Paradigm of African American Progressive Thought and Industrial Education after Reconstruction*, American Nineteenth Century History. (2015)
- 'The Holy Land of Matrimony: The Popularization and Politicalization of "Jumping the Broom" in Historical Memory*, American Studies Journal. (2015)
- Reconstructing Justice: William Monroe Trotter's Usage of Jeremiadic Rhetoric to Demand Racial Equality*, American Studies Journal. (2015)
- John Davis and Woodrow Wilson's Segregation Regime: Racism and Resistance in the Nation's Civil Service, 1882-1928*, Journal of Southern History. (2015)
- Race, Reality and Realpolitik: Haiti and the United States on the Lead Up to the 1915-1934 Occupation*, Lexington Books. (2015)
- The African American Journey*, Oxford University Press. (2015)
- Anna Julia Cooper: Human Rights Educator*, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)
- Let Nobody Turn Us Around: An African American Anthology*, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)
- Sine Qua Non: Africa in Twentieth Century Black Liberation Activism*, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)
- A Great Man Has Fallen*, University of Illinois Press. (2015)
- Trotter: A Biography of Race and Politics in New England, 1872-1934*, University of Massachusetts Press. (2015)
- The Racial Politics of a Southern Black College President: James Edward Shepard, 1875-1947*, University Press of Florida. (2015)
- The Devil Himself: A Tale of Honor, Insanity, and the Emergence of Modern America*,



- Oxford University Press. (2014)
- New Perspectives on the Nation of Islam*, Routledge Press. (2014)
- Culture and Resistance*, Cengage Press. (2013)
- Major Problems in African American History*, Cengage Press. (2013)
- The Philadelphia Negro Revisited*, Contexts. (2013)
- "*Thy Brother's Blood: William Walthall, Commodore True, and a Thanksgiving Tragedy in Hiawatha*", Kansas History. (2013)
- The Devil Himself: A Tale of Honor, Insanity, and the Emergence of Modern America*, Oxford University Press. (2013)
- A Union Among Ourselves: African Americans and Urban Politics in Boston, Massachusetts, 1865-1903*, University of North Carolina Press. (2013)
- "*Ever Since the Hanging of Oliphant: Lynching and the Suppression of Mob Violence in Topeka, Kansas*", Great Plains Quarterly. (2012)
- "*The Doubts of Their Fathers: The God Debate, and the Conflict between African American Churches and Civil Rights Organizations during the Jim Crow Era*", Journal of American History. (2012)
- 100 Years of Crisis*, University of Missouri Press. (2012)
- "*Industrious, Thrifty, and Ambitious: Jacksonville's African American Businesspeople during the Jim Crow Era*", Florida Historical Quarterly. (2011)
- African American Historians and Historiography in the Twentieth Century*, Paradigm Publishers. (2011)
- "*We have seen the fate of the Indian: Western influences on African American leadership in the Gilded Age*", American Nineteenth Century History. (2010)
- Black Thought in the 20th Century: An Anthology of Ideas*, CQ Press. (2010)
- "*Public Opinion is More than Law: Popular Sovereignty and Vigilantism in the Nebraska Territory*", The Great Plains Quarterly. (2010)
- After War Times: A Boy's Life in Reconstruction Days*, University Press of Florida. (2010)
- "*Appeal to the Masses: Du Bois' Niagara, the Streetcar Boycott Movement, and Rethinking the Meanings of Protest in the Segregated South*", Du Bois Review. (2008 - 2009)
- Street Scholars and Stepladder Radicals: Self-Trained Black Historians and the Harlem Experience, 1890-1960*, Fordham University Press. (2008)
- Black Power: An Introduction*, Routledge Press. (2008)
- "*Winning the Peace: Francis Harper's Moses: A Story of the Nile and the Idea of Africa*", International Journal of African American Studies. (2006)
- The Drum and African American Memory*, International Journal of African American Studies. (2006)

### Service Presentations

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh and Maryemma Graham, "Celebrating Black History Month: A Conversation on Race", Dole Institute, Lawrence, KS. February 27, 2023.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Mark McCormick, Kevin Wilmott, and Dorthy Pennington, "A Conversation on Race, Part V: A Tribute to Black History", Dole Institute, Lawrence, KS. February 28, 2022.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, "Fantastic Dreams and Radical Visions: Researching and Writing on the NAACP's Anti-Lynching Activism in the Age of Trump", Langston Hughes Center/Lawrence Public Library's Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lawrence, KS. November 11, 2019.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Deborah Dandridge, Jennifer Wilmot and John Rury "65 Years After *Brown v Board*", Langston Hughes Center/Lawrence Public Library's Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lawrence, KS. May 13, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Dinaw Mengestu's *The Beautiful Things That Heaven Bear*." Shepard's Center, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Kansas City, KS. May 1, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race and the Supreme Court." Gilder Lerhman Institute Teaching History Through History Workshop, Texarkana, TX. October 8, 2018.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Baldwin City, KS. September 9, 2018.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Parks' *The Learning Tree*." Butler Community College, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, El Dorado, KS. December 6, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Lua Yille, Randal Fuller and Kevin Wilmott, "Confederate Monuments." The Commons, The University of Kansas. September 8, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter*." Hays Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Hays, KS. June 5, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Defining Justice: Between the World and Me." Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, MO. December 5, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black History in Kansas and Beyond." St. John Catholic School, Lawrence, KS. November 21, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Battle for Respect: Black Soldiers in WWI." The Black Archives of Mid-America, Kansas City, MO. November 10, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Student Activism and Campus Climate." Student Affairs, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 12, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race and the Supreme Court." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Bayonne, NJ. September 30, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Dover, NJ. September 23, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Student Success." Hawk Link, Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. September 20, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and College Athletics." National Letterwinners Association Conference, Lawrence, KS. June 23, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Night Tulsa Burned." National Archives at Kansas City and the Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, ASALH Branch, Kansas City, MO. April 21, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Social Movements - Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute

Professional Development Seminar, Racine, WI. April 6, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, New York, NY. March 15, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*." Bashor Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Bashor, KS. March 11, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American History and Our Current Moment." United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Leavenworth, KS. February 2, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, ASAALH Branch, Kansas City, MO. January 25, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Madison, NJ. January 12, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Parks' *The Learning Tree*." Atchison Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Atchison, KS. January 7, 2016.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The History and Lessons of Reconstruction Violence and the Ku Klux Hearings." ECM University Forum, Lawrence, KS. November 4, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." KAZI 88.7 FM, Austin, TX. September 7, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 12, 2015 - July 18, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Forming Racial Identity." KUCR Central Standard. June 24, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Freedom Summer - Film and Discussion." Langston Hughes Center and Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. April 22, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Loving Story - Film and Discussion." Langston Hughes Center and Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. April 8, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Baldwin City, KS. January 20, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Los Angeles, CA. January 12, 2015 - January 13, 2015.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Graduate School from Coursework to Dissertation." University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. December 4, 2014.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and American Society." Osher Institute, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 2014.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and American Society." Osher Institute, Tallgrass Creek Retirement Community, Overland Park, KS. September 2014.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 13, 2014 - July 19, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Freedom Riders - Film and Discussion." Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence, KS. March 4, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Park's *The Learning Tree*." Topeka Aldersgate, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Topeka, KS. February 28, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Legacies of Brown v. Board of Education." Black Student Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 17, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes." KUCR Central Standard. February 11, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Slavery By Another Name - Film and Discussion." Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence, KS. February 11, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*." Augusta Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Augusta, KS. November 2, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act." Kansas Museums Association, Lawrence, KS. October 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 21, 2013 - July 27, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Being Biracial." KUCR Central Standard. July 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Aftermath of Slavery to Reconstruction." C-Span, Lectures in History. June 15, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter*." Mount Hope Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Mount Hope, KS. January 28, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Your Vote, Your Future: Disfranchisement in America, Past and Present." Kansas Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 18, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Race, Space, and Gender: A Conversation with KU Faculty*." Raven Bookstore, Lawrence, KS. September 12, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 22, 2012 - July 28, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Pre-NAACP." KUCR Central Standard. March 6, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Roots of America's Civil Rights Movement." Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, MO. March 6, 2012.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Ad Astra Radio Interview." KJHK Radio. March 1, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Mount Hope Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. February 27, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "KPR Presents: Black History Month." Kansas Public Radio. February 26, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle Before the NAACP*." Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 16, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Young Africa and the Struggle for Historical Memory." Department of Communications Colloquium Series, Kansas Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 15, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Baldwin City Library, Kansas Humanities Council Talk Program. January 19, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 24, 2011 - July 30, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American Perspective: Its Link and Thread to the Present." Central Coast American History Consortium, Teaching American History Grant Summer Institute, Morgan Hill, CA. June 15, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African Americans' Views of Africa, 1880-1915." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of Kansas. June 10, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Go Tell It On The Mountain*." Lakeview Village Retirement Community, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Lenexa, KS. April 1, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Introduction for Dan Rasmussen." "The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt," lecture, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 17, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Go Tell It On The Mountain*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 9, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "John Brown: Martyr or Madman?" Watkins Museum, Kansas Humanities Council Shared Stories of the Civil War Event, Lawrence, KS. August 10, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 21, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, and John Stauffer. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War in Cultural Memory." Wilson Creek: How a Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 18, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Africanisms in America." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of

Kansas. June 9, 2010.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Go Tell It On The Mountain*." Ottawa Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. February 4, 2010.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*August Wilson's Fences*." Bonner Springs City Library, Kansas Humanities Council Talk Program. November 16, 2009.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. November 12, 2009.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Gloria Naylor's Bailey's Cafe*." Ottawa Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 14, 2009.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*John Brown: The Legend Revisited*." Tonganoxie Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 10, 2009.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American Leadership from W.E.B. Du Bois to Barack Obama." Africana Leadership Institute, University of Kansas. May 22, 2009.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Gloria Naylor's Mama Day*." Wamego Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. November 18, 2008.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Politics, and the U.S. Presidential Campaign." KU Hillel Social Justice Group, The University of Kansas. November 5, 2008.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*August Wilson's Fences*." Lawrence Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. October 20, 2008.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Murder in the Sunflower State: The Lynching of Fred Alexander and the Early Civil Rights Struggle in Kansas." ECM University Forum, Lawrence, KS. September 10, 2008.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African Americans' Views of Africa, 1880-1915." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of Kansas. June 10, 2008.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "T. Thomas Fortune: Biography as a Gateway to African American History." ASALH Lorenzo J. Greene Annual Symposium/Luncheon, Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, MO. February 23, 2008.

### **Other Activity or Information**

Language Proficiencies

French, reading capability  
Japanese, speaking capability



## **APPENDIX B**



Kansas Executions, 1853 to Present

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1853	John Coon, Jr.	Execution in the Territories	15	Native American	EPSY
1861	Joseph Raymond	Execution in the Territories	23	Hispanic	Execution in the Territories
1862	Alexander Driscoll	Execution in the Territories	27	U	Execution in the Territories
1862	John Bell	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1862	Jeremiah Hoy	Execution in the Territories	U	U	Execution in the Territories
1863	Carl Horne	Execution in the Territories	35	White	EPSY
1863	John Shirley	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1863	John W. Summers	Execution in the Territories	22	U	Execution in the Territories
1863	Claudius C. Frizzell	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1863	William Griffith	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1864	Charles Lockman	Execution in the Territories	U	U	Execution in the Territories
1865	John Hendley	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1866	Ernest Wa-tee-cha	Execution in the Territories	U	Native American	Execution in the Territories
1866	Benjamin Lewis	Execution in the Territories	27	Native American	Execution in the Territories
1867	Martin W. Bates	Execution in the Territories	19	White	EPSY
1867	Scott Holderman	Execution in the Territories	23	White	EPSY
1868	Melvin E. Baughn	Execution in the Territories	32	White	EPSY
1870	William Dickson	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1887	Lee Moiser	Execution in the Territories	20	White	EPSY
1888	Jake Tobler	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	Execution in the Territories
1888	Joe Tobler	Execution in the Territories	21	Black	Execution in the Territories
1930	Carl Panzram	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1938	Glen Applegate	Execution in the Territories		White	EPSY
1938	Robert J. Suhay	Execution in the Territories		White	EPSY

Kansas Executions, 1853 to Present

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1943	Brandon Levi	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	The Charlotte Observer
1944	Ernest Hoefgen	Execution in the Territories	31	White	EPSY
1944	Fred L. Brady	Execution in the Territories	45	White	EPSY
1944	Clark B. Knox	Execution in the Territories	26	Black	EPSY
1944	Alfred B. Richie	Execution in the Territories	26	White	Execution in the Territories
1945	Walter Beyer	Execution in the Territories	32	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Willi Scholz	Execution in the Territories	22	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Hans Demme	Execution in the Territories	23	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Hans Schomer	Execution in the Territories	27	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Berthold Seidel	Execution in the Territories	30	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Erich Gauss	Execution in the Territories	32	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Rudolph Straub	Execution in the Territories	39	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Edward J. Reichl	Execution in the Territories	37	White	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Helmut Fischer	Execution in the Territories	24	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Fritz C. Franke	Execution in the Territories	23	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Guenther Kuelsen	Execution in the Territories	22	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Heinrich Ludwig	Execution in the Territories	21	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Bernhard Reyak	Execution in the Territories	20	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Otto Stengel	Execution in the Territories	19	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Rolf Wizuy	Execution in the Territories	18	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	George Gumtow	Execution in the Territories	21	White	EPSY

Kansas Executions, 1853 to Present

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1945	Cecil F. Tate	Execution in the Territories	22	White	EPSY
1947	George Miller	Execution in the Territories	59	Black	Execution in the Territories
1950	Preston F. McBride	Execution in the Territories	24	White	EPSY
1951	James Lammers	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1952	Nathaniel Germany	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	Execution in the Territories
1954	Merle W. Martin	Execution in the Territories	42	White	EPSY
1954	Bernard J. O'Brien	Execution in the Territories	30	White	1940 Federal Census from Ancestry
1954	Chastine Beverly	Execution in the Territories	22	Black	Execution in the Territories
1954	James Riggins	Execution in the Territories	24	Black	Execution in the Territories
1954	Louis M. Suttles	Execution in the Territories	24	Black	Execution in the Territories
1955	Thomas J. Edwards	Execution in the Territories	19	Black	Execution in the Territories
1955	Winfred D. Moore	Execution in the Territories	19	Black	Execution in the Territories
1957	Ernest L. Ransom	Execution in the Territories	21	White	EPSY
1957	Abraham Thomas	Execution in the Territories	26	Black	Execution in the Territories
1959	John E. Day Jr.	Execution in the Territories	22	Black	Execution in the Territories
1959	Lowell L. Andrews	EPSY	18	White	EPSY
1961	John A. Bennett	The Hays Daily News	25	Black	The Hays Daily News
1962	Richard E. Hickock	EPSY	28	White	EPSY
1962	Perry E. Smith	EPSY	31	White	EPSY
1965	James D. Latham	EPSY	19	White	EPSY
1965	George R. York	EPSY	18	White	EPSY