

EXHIBIT K

Racist and Police Violence against Black Kansans, Statewide and in Wyandotte County, 1861-1980

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I. OVERVIEW

A. Qualifications

I am a Professor in the Department of History at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley (UTRGV) with a specialization in the history of anti-Black violence in Kansas and the Midwest, as indicated in my attached research curriculum vitae (Appendix A).

I received my MA in American Studies from the University of Kansas in 2001 and a PhD in American Studies from Emory University in 2007, focusing on race relations between Black and white communities in Kansas. My master's thesis examined the history of Jim Crow practices in Lawrence, Kansas from 1945 to 1961, and my doctoral dissertation explored the history of anti-Black violence and the rise of the civil rights movement across Kansas from 1865 to 1914.

Since beginning my academic career in 2008, I have published two books, *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 2015) and *Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest* (Univ. of Illinois Press, 2019). I have published seventeen peer-reviewed articles on this subject matter in leading journals like *Western Historical Quarterly*, *Civil War History*, and *Pacific Historical Review*. I have won research awards and grants and presented my scholarship at academic conferences, museums, and libraries across the United States.

B. Introduction

In this report, I provide the history of both racist and police violence against Black Kansans from 1861 to 1980—both across the State of Kansas and specifically within Wyandotte County and Kansas City.¹ I begin by detailing racial terror and violence across the State of Kansas, then narrow my focus to Wyandotte County. I next explore the decline of lynching and the rise of police violence in the same period and chart the collapse of mob violence and the continued ascent of police violence after World War II. This analysis reveals a clear trend over the course of the period in which white mobs initially meted out racist violence against Black people. But with time, as the state’s growing police forces increasingly prevented mob violence, law-enforcement officials themselves filled the vacuum by becoming the chief instruments of anti-Black violence.

II. RACIST VIOLENCE IN KANSAS, 1861-1930

In Kansas and across the U.S., the most notorious form of racist violence was lynching, the targeted execution of a Black victim popularly accused of criminal offenses by a mob that usually ranged in size from a few dozen to thousands of participants. While it often involved hangings, lynching also included riddling victims with bullets, dragging them behind horses, or burning them at the stake. In 1901, a mob of at least five thousand people in Leavenworth snatched Fred Alexander, a Black man accused of rape and murder, from the jail in broad daylight and transported him to the site of one of his alleged crimes. Securing him to a stake, mob leaders tortured the victim before dousing him in coal oil and burning him alive. Once the body cooled, mob members removed body-parts to keep as mementos.²

¹ Many of the incidents and ideas in this report are previously discussed in *This Is Not Dixie* or in some of my article-length publications.

² On the Leavenworth lynching, see Shawn Leigh Alexander, “Vengeance without Justice, Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council’s Struggle against Racial Violence,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 27:2 (Spring 2007): 117-133; Christopher C. Lovett, “A Public Burning: Race, Sex, and the Lynching of Fred Alexander,” *Kansas*

During this period, race riots erupted as white mobs attacked Black people on the streets or in their neighborhoods, burned their houses or businesses, and sometimes expelled some or all of them. In a 1916 race riot in El Dorado, the mob “visited negro restaurants, barber-shops, rooming houses, and even homes, chasing out the occupants, smashing windows, destroying the furniture and otherwise indicating a race hatred in the most violent manner.”³ In sum, it drove out approximately 250 Black people. “Scores were compelled to walk and drag their children with them. Still others went into hiding in the homes of white people who offered the fugitives temporary shelter, and many not so lucky, ran into the woods and fields and hid like rabbits.”⁴

Mobbings in many ways resembled lynchings except that they were non-lethal. Mobbings resulted when white groups targeted specific individuals, often for a perceived or claimed moral or legal offense, for beatings, whippings, or tar-and-featherings before (in most cases) expelling them. In Ozawkie in 1892, a mob seized Bob Durg, a Black man accused him of operating a brothel and engaging in interracial sex. The mob whipped and castrated him, and then drove him from town. After the badly-injured man arrived in Oskaloosa in search of safety, white townspeople there again drove him away.⁵ In Chicopee, one of many mining camps to expel its Black population

History 33 (Summer 2010): 94-115. For major works on lynching, see W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *Lynching in the New South: Georgia and Virginia, 1880-1930* (Urbana, 1993); Christopher Waldrep, *The Many Faces of Judge Lynch: Extralegal Violence and Punishment in America* (New York, 2002); Amy Louise Wood, *Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940* (Chapel Hill, 2009).

³ “Infuriated Whites Run All Blacks from Home,” *Walnut Valley Times* (El Dorado), December 15, 1916, 1.

⁴ *Id.* See also “Mob Made War on the Negroes,” *El Dorado Daily Republican*, December 13, 1916, 1. On race riots in Kansas, see also James N. Leiker, “Black Soldiers at Fort Hays, Kansas, 1867-1869: A Study in Civilian and Military Violence,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 17:1 (Winter 1997): 3-17; Geoffrey Newman, “Forgetting Strength: Coffeyville, the Black Freedom Struggle, and Vanished Memory,” *Kansas History* 41 (Autumn 2018): 168-185. On race riots more broadly, see Roberta Senechal de la Roche, *In Lincoln’s Shadow: The 1908 Race Riot in Springfield, Illinois* (Carbondale, 2008).

⁵ “Whitecaps at Osawkie [sic],” *Valley Falls New Era*, July 23, 1892, 5; [untitled], *Oskaloosa Independent*, July 23, 1892, 3. On mobbings, see also George C. Wright, *Racial Violence in Kentucky, 1865-1940: Lynchings, Mob Rule, and ‘Legal Lynchings’* (Baton Rouge, 1996).

in 1901,⁶ white residents mobbed the few Black victims who refused to leave. This included “a colored family, who ignored the notice [and was] tarred and feathered and whipped from the camp.”⁷

Loosely-organized white crowds or posses roamed the streets of or the countryside around towns and cities in search of Black people accused of crimes, making threats – and in all likelihood committing unrecorded acts of violence – that terrorized Black residents and sometimes prompted the entire Black community to flee. After the alleged rape of a white woman by a Black man in Neodesha in 1906, angry white groups milled about town while law-enforcement officials and armed white men roamed the surrounding area in search of suspects, prompting the Black population to flee *en masse*. “There was a good deal of talk of lynching heard on the streets and of driving the negroes out of town,” a newspaper reported. “Today not a colored person was seen on the streets.”⁸ Another added that, amid public anger among the white people, “the negroes...commenced to scatter like quails and reports came thick and fast today telling of fleeing negroes in every direction.”⁹

Crucial to the power of mob violence was the fact that white communities in the afflicted locale and across the state openly endorsed it. Given this support and virtually no legal consequences, mob members felt little need to disguise their identities and, sometimes, newspapers

⁶ “Negro Demonstration,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 9, 1901, 3. Although the *Capital* did not explain why white residents were driving Black Kansans from Chicopee at that moment, the expulsions were likely related to a lynching and mass expulsion across the border in Pierce City, Missouri, on August 19 of that year. The event provoked other anti-Black expulsions across the region, including in southeast Kansas. White people in Walnut, located in the same county as Chicopee (Crawford County), expressed the popular sentiment in a dispatch on August 23: “They have decided never to allow another negro to live in Pierce City, which has been the decision of many another town, and Walnut is one of them.” See Brent M. S. Campney, *Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest* (Urbana: 2019), 127, 224, fn. 59.)

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ “Neodesha Race War,” *Iola Weekly Record*, October 12, 1906, 1. On the importance of threatened and attempted lynchings, see also Larry J. Griffin, Paula Clark, and Joanne C. Sandberg, “Narrative and Event: Lynching and Historical Sociology,” in *Under Sentence of Death: Lynching in the South*, ed. W. Fitzhugh Brundage (Chapel Hill: 1997): 24-47.

⁹ “Negro Brute Commits Rape,” *Neodesha Daily Sun*, October 13, 1906, 1.

even identified participants by name. Furthermore, when mobs targeted specific victims, white people left no doubt that the violence was intended as a warning to *all* Black people, to “teach the coons a lesson.”¹⁰ In 1885, prominent residents of Baxter Springs traveled to Girard in search of a teenager in jail on rape charges. Facing no resistance from officers, they abducted the prisoner and hanged him. Then, a man identified as the father of the alleged rape victim fired shots into the Black youth’s body. In no hurry, and in no danger of arrest, the lynchers then “quietly walked through town, with revolvers still in hand.”¹¹ As the mob members returned home by train, they passed through Columbus, where the town band and a thousand white people greeted them with songs and cheers. Upon their return to Baxter, the townspeople celebrated their actions, prompting the *Baxter Springs News* to remark that “the lynchers are not without friends and plenty of them, too.”¹² It warned that “the hard nuts among the colored people of this vicinity should take the fate of John Lawrence to heart and keep it in mind,” vowing that “they will not be so leniently dealt with as they have been in the past.”¹³

In addition to acts of mob violence, individuals, usually white men and boys, regularly attacked Black people without provocation. In 1898, Samuel Sully, a white bartender in Leavenworth, refused to serve two Black men who entered his saloon. When he spotted a third Black man, Jesse Cambridge, walking through the door a short time later, Sully shot him dead.¹⁴ Although the white offender almost always claimed that he had acted in self-defense and that the alleged Black attacker had the element of surprise and the possession of a weapon, “the perpetrator was – by a narrative convention that few whites ever seemed to question – invariably able to draw

¹⁰ “A Rape Case,” *Pleasanton Herald*, November 13, 1891, 2.

¹¹ A Lynching at Midday,” *Girard Press*, July 9, 1885, 3

¹² *Baxter Springs News*, July 11, 1885, 3.

¹³ *Id.*

¹⁴ “Saturday’s Murder Was Unprovoked,” *Leavenworth Times*, January 11, 1898, 4.

his own weapon and dispatch the attacker without any injury to himself.”¹⁵ In such cases, white offenders often asserted that they had mistaken some move made by the deceased as his *intention* to pull a weapon. Not surprisingly, investigators often discovered that the dead Black ‘attacker’ carried no weapon at all.¹⁶ Despite the frequent claim of self-defense, the often-contradictory reports published in white newspapers undermined such assertions.¹⁷

White men perpetrated widespread sexual violence against Black women. They attacked their victims in dark alleys, their own homes, or at work. However, this type of violence was difficult to document because it was rarely prosecuted in the courts or reported by the newspapers. In 1873, Emma Rimfrey, a domestic worker on a farm in Leavenworth County, charged that members of the family for whom she worked had taken turns whipping her and that the patriarch had raped her, prompting a journalist to sneer that this “must have made it an eventful day for her.”¹⁸ As the *Colored Citizen* observed in 1878, there was hardly a reader of that newspaper who could not “recall several instances of the most brutal outrageing [*sic*] of colored women by white men.”¹⁹ In 1915, officials at the State Hospital for the Insane in Topeka revealed that guards had been habitually raping Black girls, prompting a Black newspaper to lament that “things of this kind have been going on in that institution for the past four or five years.”²⁰

¹⁵ Campney, Brent M. S. *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015, 92.

¹⁶ *Id.*

¹⁷ After one such killing in Paxico in 1894, where Hugh Russell claimed he struck Joe Davis “on the back of the head” with a rock after Davis allegedly “drew a knife on Russell,” the *Alma Enterprise* expressed misgivings of Russell’s claims. See “A Murder at Paxico,” *Alma Enterprise*, March 9, 1894, 8.

¹⁸ “Judge Gardner’s Court,” *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, May 3, 1873, 4.

¹⁹ “Why Is It,” *Colored Citizen* (Topeka), September 27, 1878, 4.

²⁰ “White Brutes Debauch Young Negro Girls,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, November 19, 1915, 1. On sexual violence, see Hannah Rosen, *Terror in the Heart of Freedom: Citizenship, Sexual Violence, and the Meaning of Race in the Postemancipation South* (Chapel Hill, 2009); Crystal N. Feimster, *Southern Horrors: Women and the Politics of Rape and Lynching* (Cambridge, MA: 2009).

Even when lone individuals perpetrated racist attacks, white residents and authorities rallied behind them by supporting their acts; refusing to arrest, prosecute, or convict them; raising funds to pay legal fees if required; and transforming personal acts of vengeance into communal ones. After a white man killed a Black stranger in Coffeyville in 1907, the coroner and white townspeople ignored the contradictions in his story; an inquest found that he acted in self-defense; and a merchant initiated the collection of a hundred-dollar reward “in recognition of his bravery.”²¹ No case reveals more clearly how a homicide perpetrated by a single white person could become a communal act of vengeance than the baseball-bat-slaying of John Jones by Charles Sargeant on a baseball diamond in Garnett in 1895. During a game, Jones argued over a call with the white umpire, prompting Sargeant to walk up behind Jones and strike “him in the back of the head, at the base of the brain.”²² Although Jones was unarmed, white people insisted that “Jones made a move to pull his ‘gun’ from his hip-pocket,” prompting the assault.²³ While Black individuals were enraged by the killing, white people rallied behind Sargeant. He was “released on \$1,500 bail, he having no trouble whatever in furnishing any bond that might have been demanded, the local sympathy apparently being with him.”²⁴ Though Jones had been unarmed, the *Republican-Plaindealer* nevertheless justified white support for the killing by insisting that it was “generally conceded that [Sargeant] did not intend to kill Jones but struck to prevent Jones shooting a companion.”²⁵ In addition, heavily-armed white men guarded Sargeant’s home to protect him from

²¹ “Bravery Should Be Rewarded,” *Coffeyville Daily Record*, July 5, 1907, 1. See also “Killed a Footpad,” *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, July 5, 1907, 4.

²² “A Colored Man Killed,” *Kansas Agitator* (Garnett), August 2, 1895, 3.

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ “The Killing of John Jones,” *Republican-Plaindealer* (Garnett), August 9, 1895, 1.

²⁵ *Id.*

angry Black individuals.²⁶ At trial, “after a very short deliberation the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.”²⁷

On those occasions when trials did occur, white Kansans could be confident of acquittal. After a jury released a white man for stabbing a Black man, the *Leavenworth Times* considered this tendency. “Another white man who murdered a ‘nigger’ has been acquitted by a Leavenworth jury,” it noted. “There is no question but that a deliberate murder was committed.” It then concluded that “the only explanation is that Boyd was a ‘nigger.’”²⁸ In Hays, white townspeople seemed quite indifferent when four white men raped a Black woman in 1871. However, after the authorities arrested these rapists, white people rioted and expelled the entire Black population from the town.²⁹

Much of the racist violence in Kansas occurred in the larger cities, like Kansas City, Lawrence, Leavenworth, Salina, Topeka, and Wichita. The Black population was heavily concentrated in these locations because they offered greater personal safety and economic opportunity than they could find in small towns and rural areas.³⁰ Between 1879 and 1883, white mobs repeatedly threatened to lynch Black citizens in Lawrence – the state’s once-vaunted abolitionist stronghold – as the Black population swelled from 17 to 23 percent of its total population during the 1870s. In 1882, a mob there succeeded in securing and hanging three men accused of murder.³¹ With lynchings in 1887 and 1901 and an endless procession of other racist

²⁶ “A Ball Game Tragedy at Garnett,” *Garnett Journal*, August 9, 1895, 1.

²⁷ “News and Business Locals,” *Garnett Journal*, October 25, 1895, 1.

²⁸ “Only a ‘Nigger,’” *Leavenworth Times*, June 6, 1901, 2.

²⁹ [Illegible] to Acting Assistant Adjutant General, March 4, 1871, U.S. Army Records of Fort Hays, Kansas, 1866-89, vol. 9-12, November 28, 1866-December 27, 1873, roll 3, Fort Hays State University.

³⁰ Campney, *Not Dixie*, 209.

³¹ Brent M. S. Campney, “‘Hold the Line’: The Defense of Jim Crow in Lawrence, Kansas, 1945-1961,” *Kansas History* 33:1 (Spring 2010): 25.

attacks, Leavenworth held a well-deserved reputation among Black Kansans as a “sink-hole of iniquity.”³²

Outside the state’s cities, white Kansans established all- or nearly-all-white municipalities, often called sundown towns, where Black Kansans could sometimes visit during the day to conduct business, but could not inhabit as residents and could not stay after sundown. On two occasions between 1897 and 1899, lone Black visitors came to Ellinwood, only to be murdered by white townspeople within hours of their arrival. The only Black resident of the area understood the objective, declaring that “white people are very bad here, and do not want colored people.”³³ In Hays, mobs killed eleven Black residents in 1869 and drove out the rest. When a few returned, white people attacked them again in the 1870s and 1880s, cementing the town’s reputation.³⁴ Hays remained a sundown town for decades thereafter. However, its Black population increased marginally, from only one in 1960 to just fifteen by 1970 – less than 0.1 percent of the total. “Mention the word ‘Negro’ in Hays,” admitted the *Hays Daily News* in 1971, and someone would “proudly reflect on the time when unwritten Hays law prohibited ‘the sun to set on Negroes.’”³⁵ In some places, white people established entire counties or clusters of counties as sundown jurisdictions.³⁶ Furthermore, they would eventually establish sundown areas even within large urban centers. From the 1940s until at least the mid-1960s, residents of Prairie Village in metro

³² Campney, *Not Dixie*, 97.

³³ *Id.* at 98.

³⁴ On Hays and its sundown history, see Leiker, “Black Soldiers at Fort Hays”; Campney, *Not Dixie*, 31, 33, 48, 51, 53, 78, 185. On sundown towns, see James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York, 2005); Jennifer Sdunzik, *The Geography of Hate: The Great Migration through Small-Town America* (Urbana: 2023). On sundown towns in Kansas, see Daniel Jantz, “Sundown in the Sunflower State: African American Exclusion in Rural Kansas,” *Kansas History* 45:4 (Winter 2022-23): 226-245.

³⁵ Russ Cravens, “The Negro and Hays,” *Hays Daily News*, January 21, 1971, 4.

³⁶ Campney, *Not Dixie*, 35, 79-80.

Kansas City insisted that it remain an “all-white suburb,” refusing “to ‘let the Negro move into our beautiful community.’”³⁷

III. RACIST VIOLENCE AND POLICE VIOLENCE IN WYANDOTTE COUNTY AND KANSAS CITY

During the Civil War and Reconstruction, Wyandotte County and particularly the City of Wyandotte emerged as one of the jurisdictions with the largest Black population in the state. In 1870 and 1880, the County was 21.2 and 24.0 percent Black – the Blackest county in Kansas. Although this percentage dropped over time as Black individuals ceased to migrate to the state and began to depart from it, it remained at around 11-12 percent into the twentieth century. Within the county, the Black population concentrated heavily within the City of Wyandotte and accounted for 25.1 and 34.1 percent of the total population in 1870 and 1880, respectively. Although the Black population in the city also declined as a percentage over time due to the rapid overall growth of Kansas City (settling at around 10 percent in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century), the total number of Black residents sky-rocketed from just 737 individuals in 1870 to 9,286 by 1910.³⁸

Because of the tendency of racist violence to occur in those areas where Black people concentrated, and where white people felt a continual need to assert and consolidate their control, Wyandotte County was among the most violence-prone counties in the state. In 1866, the *Wyandotte Commercial Gazette* reported that, days earlier, “a negro was shot...between here and Quindaro, by a white man, for interfering to shield his wife from insult.”³⁹ A quarter-of-a-century later, the *Weekly Press* reported the murder of Enoch Colvin by Daniell Reardon and Jerry Baldwin,

³⁷ “Prairie Village Pastor Calls for Integration,” *Ottawa Herald*, February 15, 1965, 1.

³⁸ On population figures, see Brent M. S. Campney, “‘And This in Free Kansas’: Racist Violence, Black and White Resistance, Geographical Particularity, and the ‘Free State’ Narrative in Kansas, 1865 to 1914,” (Emory University PhD dissertation, 2007): 195-202.

³⁹ “Shot,” *Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, August 4, 1866, 3.

who had invited the Black man to ride in their wagon in Muncie. “Colvin was knocked down with the wrench and then beaten to death with the singletree,” reported the *Weekly Press*.⁴⁰ “There were numerous small cuts on the negro’s head, which would tend to bear out that theory. Reardon claims to have struck the negro but one blow with the singletree, but indications point to the fact that not less than a dozen blows were struck, as his skull had more than a dozen fractures and his face was beat down deep in the mud.”⁴¹

While the entire county was the site of regular violence, the City of Wyandotte was among the most violent places in the state. In 1867, amid a lynching outbreak that claimed the lives of nine Black men in four incidents across Kansas, a white mob hanged and shot Tom Van Buren and Daniel Webster in Wyandotte, leaving their corpses on display until the following day.⁴² A few weeks later, Black residents were targeted by rioters ““simply because they *were* negroes, and [they were] beaten with stones and clubs, and some of them nearly killed.””⁴³ When the Exoduster movement⁴⁴ brought a surge of southern migrants into Wyandotte in April 1879, white individuals quickly lost patience. “The Wyandotte people are opposed to the landing of any more colored refugees,” reported the *Kansas City Pioneer*.⁴⁵ It added that the “Landing of Colored Refugees will be Prevented, Peac[e]ably if They Can, Forcibly If They Must”; that authorities were threatening to arrest steamer captains who brought Black refugees there; and that everywhere was

⁴⁰ “A Drunken Fight,” *Weekly Press* (Kansas City, Kansas), August 28, 1891, 1.

⁴¹ *Id.* For other incidents in Wyandotte County, see Campney, *Not Dixie*, Appendix 1.

⁴² On the lynching, see “Brutal Murder,” *Wyandotte Democrat*, June 14, 1867, 3; “Opinions of the Press,” *Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, June 22, 1867, 1; “The Wyandotte Affair,” *Leavenworth Daily Commercial*, June 18, 1867, 1. On the lynching outbreak of 1867, see Campney, *Not Dixie*, 38.

⁴³ “Rowdyism,” *Wyandotte Commercial Gazette*, August 17, 1867, 2. On the riot, see also “Misrepresentation” and “A Radical Canard,” both in *Wyandotte Democrat*, August 16, 1867, 2.

⁴⁴ The Exoduster movement was the mass migration to Kansas, between 1879 and 1881, of thousands of freed people from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, in search of freedom and opportunity that they could not find in the Deep South. On the Exoduster movement, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*. (University Press of Kansas, 1986); Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-1880* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978); and Bryan M. Jack, *The St. Louis African American Community and the Exodusters* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2021).

⁴⁵ “Local News,” *Kansas City (MO) Pioneer*, April 26, 1879, 3.

perceptible “The Deep Muttering of a Coming Storm.”⁴⁶ Ultimately, the authorities sent many of the Black newcomers westward on trains.⁴⁷

During the 1880s and 1890s, Wyandotte – now the core of a new Kansas City⁴⁸ – was the site of several brutal killings, including the homicide of Harrison Tutt by a white man who hurled epithets at him in 1887 and then riddled him with bullets, thereby throwing Wyandotte into “A State of Wild Excitement.”⁴⁹ Between 1899 and 1906, mobs prowled Kansas City, threatening at least five lynchings. In one of these in Armourdale in 1903, a mob chased a victim to the banks of the Kansas River where he threw himself into the churning water.⁵⁰ Reporting these events, the *Topeka Daily Capital* headlined: “Negro Drowns Himself Rather Than Be Lynched.”⁵¹ After a conflict between white and Black youths in Kansas City in 1904, white individuals threatened a lynching amid a climate of unusually elevated tension, an episode that led directly to the passage of special legislation by the legislature in 1905 allowing for legal segregation of the Kansas City

⁴⁶ “Excitement at Wyandotte,” *Kansas City (MO) Pioneer*, April 26, 1879, 3. See also Athearn, *In Search of Canaan*, 37, 42-43.

⁴⁷ Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration in Kansas, 1879-80* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978), 43.

⁴⁸ Kansas City was formed in 1886 through a consolidation of five municipalities: Wyandotte, Armourdale, Armstrong, Riverview, and “Old” Kansas City. *Wyandotte County and Kansas City, Kansas: Historical and Biographical* (Chicago: Goodspeed Publishing Company, 1890), 388, available at <https://archive.org/details/wyandottecountyk00good/page/n7/mode/2up>; Kansas City annexed Argentine in 1909 and Rosedale in 1922. See James R. Shortridge, *Cities on the Plains: The Evolution of Urban Kansas* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 225, 228.

⁴⁹ “Too Sensitive,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, December 2, 1887, 1. See also “An Unprovoked Murder,” *Kansas City (MO) Daily Journal*, December 2, 1887, 3.

⁵⁰ Campney, *Not Dixie*, 140. See also pages 230-234.

⁵¹ “Negro Drowns Himself Rather Than Be Lynched,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, September 5, 1903, 1.

high school.⁵² Reflecting the climate of hatred and fear blanketing the whole city, white Kansans in an Armourdale neighborhood drove three Black families from their homes.⁵³

In 1917-1918, white Kansas Citians combatted what they perceived as the encroachment of Black people into white neighborhoods with a bombing campaign. In 1917, dynamite ripped through the home of J. W. Bell, destroying one side of the house and damaging other houses “for nearly a block around.”⁵⁴ Summarizing the climate in Kansas City four years after the war, an official for the NAACP “concluded that ‘we are facing the greatest riot ever known.’”⁵⁵ Mirroring that climate, white people in Kansas City formed a branch of the Ku Klux Klan, a secretive organization that expanded rapidly across the nation in those years, to defend white supremacy. The years 1921 to 1930 were the “‘Klan era,’” wrote historian Timothy Rives, but “Kansas City Klansmen would influence and direct the city’s affairs for the next 30 years.”⁵⁶ When a Black realtor in Kansas City sold houses to Black people in previously all-white neighborhoods in 1922, Klansmen sent a letter warning that they intended to tar-and-feather him and dynamite his office.⁵⁷

As they did across the state, policemen in Kansas City began taking rapid steps to curb racial terror in the service of white middle-class concerns over the state’s reputation and economic prospects. In a number of incidents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, they engaged

⁵² David J. Peavler, “Drawing the Color Line in Kansas City: The Creation of Sumner High School,” *Kansas History* 27:3 (Autumn 2005): 188-201. *See also* Campney, *Not Dixie*, 159. In 1879, white people legally segregated elementary schools in Kansas in “first-class cities (those with populations of at least 15,000),” where most Black people lived, allowing for separate schools for Black children. However, they did not segregate high schools – explaining the need for the special legislation in Kansas City. On the 1879 legislation, *see* James C. Carper, “The Popular Ideology of Segregated Schooling: Attitudes Toward the Education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900,” *Kansas History* 1 (Winter 1978-1979): 263.

⁵³ “The Town Was Quiet,” *Kansas City (Missouri) Times*, April 15, 1904, 3.

⁵⁴ “Negro Home Badly Wrecked,” *Kansas City Advocate*, October 19, 1917, 1. *See also* “Homes of Two Race Families are Bombed,” *Kansas City Advocate*, September 27, 1918, 4.

⁵⁵ Willa Dwiggin to M. W. Ovington, January 24, [1922], Kansas NAACP Branch Office Files, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

⁵⁶ Timothy Rives, “The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Kansas, 1921-1930,” (M.A. thesis, Emporia State University, 1995): 2.

⁵⁷ Campney, *Not Dixie*, 182.

in efforts to save the lives of prisoners threatened with mob violence.⁵⁸ In 1916, Black community members telephoned the chief of detectives of the Kansas City police to inform him of an impending mob attack on the jail in Argentine. Eager to prevent a lynching, the chief “hurriedly sent a police motor car with seven officers to the No. 4 police station in Argentine, who spirited the colored boy to Wyandotte.”⁵⁹

Nevertheless, even as they continued to curb civilian lynching, officers in Kansas City themselves became the chief dispensers of lethal vengeance against Black Kansans. In 1889, an officer in Wyandotte shot in the back William Steward, a seventeen-year-old Black teen who had fled after refusing to answer questions about stolen beer and cigarettes. The policeman insisted that “he had no intention of shooting the boy, but simply intended to frighten him to compel him to stop, but that as he was running at the time his aim was defective.”⁶⁰ At trial, a jury endorsed the killing by finding him not guilty.⁶¹ In 1906, Officer Louis Blatter demonstrated the growing dilemma for policemen fearful of individual punishment or sanction under the 1903 anti-mob law bill, but contemptuous toward the Black Kansans whom they were sworn to protect. The law mandated “stiff prison terms” for convicted mob members, required the resignation of sheriffs who allowed mobs to take their prisoners, and targeted other “accessories after the fact.”⁶² In Blatter’s case, he surrendered without protest his prisoner to a mob in Rosedale and watched as it hanged the man. Once the victim was swinging, the mob and Blatter scattered. Moments later, evidently rethinking the situation, Blatter returned, cut the man free from the rope, and took him to jail.⁶³

⁵⁸ Campney, *Not Dixie*, Appendix 2.

⁵⁹ “Lynchers Disappointed,” *Topeka Plaindealer*, April 28, 1916, 6.

⁶⁰ “The Cahill Trial,” *Kansas City Gazette*, May 24, 1889, 1.

⁶¹ *Id.* On Steward and the shooting, see “Shot through the Heart,” *Kansas City Gazette*, May 10, 1889, 3. On the acquittal, see “Cahill Acquitted,” *Kansas City Gazette*, June 21, 1889, 2.

⁶² Campney, *Not Dixie*, 115 (quoted passages) and 126-129. For the law itself, see “The Kansas Mob Law in Full,” *Garnett Plaindealer and Anderson County Republican*, February 26, 1904, 10.

⁶³ “Rosedale Negro Half Lynched,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, May 25, 1906, 1.

In the World War II era and beyond, “officers were notorious in Kansas City” for their abuse of Black residents. Before releasing him for a lack of evidence, the sheriff warned Adolph Brooks to “get right with Jesus” as officers beat him with a blackjack in 1947.⁶⁴ In 1954, as officers roamed the city in a manhunt for Arthur Hervey, a Black man accused of killing a policeman, several surrounded a taxi containing four Black passengers. None were connected to the fugitive or his alleged crime. The officers ordered the men to alight from the vehicle and, when one of them, Willie Guess, set down his water jug, one policeman – claiming that he thought that Guess was reaching for a weapon – shot him dead. “Following the Guess killing and despite his undisputed innocence, a coroner’s jury decided that it could assign no blame in his shooting, thereby reaffirming that Blacks could expect no justice from the city’s white authorities and its residents.”⁶⁵

The animus between police officers and Black residents of Kansas City was evident in a riot which erupted in 1964. The former angered the latter with their aggressive efforts to disperse a crowd that had collected near a car accident “in a predominantly Negro” area.⁶⁶ In so doing, they prompted a clash “in which 1,500 jeering Negroes threw rocks and debris and fought with officers for approximately three hours.”⁶⁷ During the mayhem, five officers were injured, many bystanders bruised, and at least one of them shot. Eventually, the forty responding officers prevailed. “Dogs, night sticks and riot guns were used to disperse the rioters,” reported *The Call*. In retrospect though, the police chief lamented the use of “too much restraint” by his men, declaring that ““they would have been justified to use much more force than they did.””⁶⁸

⁶⁴ “Release Youth Arrested in Murder Case,” *Plaindealer* (Topeka), October 31, 1947, 1.

⁶⁵ Campney, ““Stamping Out Segregation,”” 366.

⁶⁶ “Near-Riot in Kansas City, Kan.,” *The Call* (Kansas City, MO), August 7, 1964, 1.

⁶⁷ *Id.*

⁶⁸ *Id.* at 1, 4. See also “KCK Negroes Fight Police Early Sunday,” *Leavenworth Times*, August 3, 1964, 10.

As bad as was racist violence in Kansas City, Kansas, it was compounded by the fact that Black and white Kansans alike experienced events in Kansas City, Missouri, as local events that were as much a part of their own experiences despite occurring across state lines. After Kansas City, Missouri, policemen killed two Black people in unprovoked shootings in 1881 and 1882, Black people on both sides of the border circulated a petition demanding the “rights guaranteed to us by the constitution of the United States and the laws of the states of Missouri and Kansas.”⁶⁹ In an incident in 1907 which underscored the difficulty of assigning violence neatly to one side of the border or the other, a policeman in Kansas City, Missouri, shot a man who died in Kansas City, Kansas. “In which state was Harrison Anderson, a negro, killed? Missouri or Kansas?” wondered the *Kansas City Star*, since “the shooting occurred in Missouri, but the negro fell dead in Kansas.” Resolving the matter, a coroner’s jury in Missouri “decided it had no jurisdiction – that the negro’s body belongs to Kansas.”⁷⁰

IV. THE DECLINE OF LYNCHING AND THE RISE OF POLICE VIOLENCE

Between 1861 and 1930, white Kansans lynched at least fifty-six Black men in thirty-seven incidents. However, most of these lynchings occurred in the nineteenth century, with mobs killing at least thirty-four victims between 1861 and 1880, thirteen between 1881 and 1900, and nine between 1901 and 1930.⁷¹ This decline assuredly does not reflect a corresponding decline in the appetite for lynching by white Kansans, who threatened at least eighty-seven lynchings between 1890 and 1916.⁷² Instead, it reflects two consequential changes in policing and in the law. The first was the increasing efforts of police officers to prevent lynchings by the 1880s, usually by moving

⁶⁹ “Indignant,” *Kansas City Evening Star* (first edition), (Kansas City, Missouri), January 7, 1882, 1.

⁷⁰ “Who’s To Hold the Inquest?” *Kansas City (Missouri) Star*, May 28, 1907, 8.

⁷¹ The number of lynchings were derived from Campney, *Not Dixie*, 202-203; and Brent M. S. Campney, “‘The Veneer of Civilization Washed Off’: Anti-Black Posse-Lynchings in the Twentieth-Century Rural Midwest,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 119 (March 2023): 7-8.

⁷² Campney, *Not Dixie*, 129.

prisoners threatened with mob violence to distant jails beyond the reach of mobs or, occasionally, by confronting mobs, refusing their demands, threatening the use of force (but very rarely using it), and even retaking prisoners already in the clutches of a mob. The second was the passage of the 1903 anti-mob law bill.⁷³

Significantly, the increasing efforts of rapidly-growing police forces to prevent lynchings did not reflect any substantial shift in the negative attitudes of many officers toward Black Kansans. They reflected instead the needs of a white middle class that was becoming increasingly nervous about mob violence because of its potential for deterring both the capital investment and the population growth essential for the continued economic development of their communities. Second, these efforts also reflected the then-current professionalization of the police forces which expected that officers accept their “responsibility to the law as a matter of personal integrity and, in the case of mob violence, [suffer] the humiliation and dishonor accompanying their failure in upholding it.”⁷⁴

As the number of mob lynchings declined, the number of police killings increased, a clear indication that policemen were assuming for themselves the role of the lynchers. In an outbreak of such incidents between 1893 and 1908, police officers killed at least seventeen Black civilians in incidents across Kansas, a number that is likely a significant undercount.⁷⁵

Officers justified these flagrant killings with explanations that seem ludicrous to a modern reader but passed muster with a sympathetic white populace at the time. After one such killing in Manhattan in 1903, the *Manhattan Mercury* claimed that “The marshal called halt twice, but

⁷³ See “The Kansas Mob Law in Full,” *Garnett Plaindealer and Anderson County Republican*, February 26, 1904, 10.

⁷⁴ Campney, *Not Dixie*, 126. On growing white middle-class concerns over lynching, see also p. 57.

⁷⁵ *Id.* at 133.

Wright did not respond.”⁷⁶ “Thinking to scare him into obedience,” it continued, “the marshal fired at random. As it was dark, he could not see Wright running, took no aim and had no thot [sic] of killing; but the unexpected happened and the ball struck Wright in the back of the head.”⁷⁷ Similarly, in 1904, officers in Pratt “were running and trying to discharge their revolvers to frighten” a fleeing man “when by some means not known a ball from somewhere penetrated his body and killed him.”⁷⁸ The *Pratt Union* seemed perplexed that many Black Kansans regarded this as a “wilful [sic] and intentional killing.”⁷⁹ Like private citizens, policemen usually claimed self-defense. During an arrest in Council Grove in 1902, Marshal Dudley Keefer shot Robert Bryant when the latter supposedly “attempted to pick up a rock, with the probable intention of striking the Marshal.”⁸⁰ Although Keefer’s explanation strained credulity, the local press trumpeted it, conceding that “it might not have been necessary to kill the colored man,” but concluding that, “when everything is taken into consideration...it cannot be wondered at that the Marshal took the means he did for self-protection.”⁸¹

After such killings, Black Kansans responded with fear to what they regarded as attacks against their entire community, a response that, in turn, provoked boisterous support among white people for the officer. After Black people in Parsons expressed a desire for revenge against the policeman who had killed John Hancock under suspicious circumstances in 1880, the *Parsons Eclipse* declared that “the marshal was entirely justified” and warned that “it would be a terrible calamity to the colored people here” if they should make any effort to avenge Hancock’s death.⁸²

Black civilians in Bassett reacted likewise when Officer Frederickson gunned down a resident of

⁷⁶ “A Bad Negro Meets Sudden Death,” *Manhattan Mercury*, September 23, 1903, 8.

⁷⁷ *Id.*

⁷⁸ “Colored Man Killed,” *Pratt Union*, September 22, 1904, 4.

⁷⁹ *See Id.*

⁸⁰ “Marshal Kills Bryant,” *Council Grove Republican*, November 28, 1902, 11.

⁸¹ *Id.* See also “City Marshal Kills a Negro,” *Courier-Guard* (Council Grove), November 28, 1902, 1.

⁸² [untitled], *Parsons Eclipse*, June 3, 1880, 3.

Bassett in 1905. “The negroes swear that they will get Frederickson yet and that trouble may break out,” observed the *Topeka Daily Capital*.⁸³ “The white population of Bassett demand[s] that Frederickson be kept on the police force and say they will protect him.”⁸⁴

In addition to earning the unqualified support of white Kansans, policemen enjoyed an almost sacrosanct presumption of innocence and the near-certainty of legal immunity. After an officer in Ellinwood killed a man under highly suspicious circumstances in 1899, the *Ellinwood Leader* declared public support to be “unanimous” and correctly predicted that he would face no consequences.⁸⁵ When such killings occurred in public venues, onlookers often hooted their support. During the 1904 shooting in Pratt, white bystanders cheered the officer, declaring that ““more niggers ought to get some of the same medicine.””⁸⁶

After such killings, local authorities were not averse to creative reappraisals about what had occurred. In 1901, Constable Adrian Livermore shot Lew Henderson during an arrest in Wathena for a minor infraction – selling illegal beer. Livermore commanded Henderson to halt, reported the *Troy Times*, “and seeing that he intended to pay no attention to the command, Livermore fired twice, as he says, to scare Henderson, but the first shot took effect in the back of Henderson’s head, and another in the back of the neck. The shot in the back of the head blew almost the entire back part of the head away, and must [have] killed the Negro instantly.”⁸⁷ Black residents were not receptive to the idea that the killing was accidental, given the laser-accuracy of the shots to Henderson’s head. “Livermore was told many times not to shoot the boy but he heeded not,” declared the *Kansas State Ledger*, a Black newspaper, “and while the shooting was in plain

⁸³ “Officer Kills Unruly Negro,” *Topeka Daily Capital*, March 22, 1905, 3.

⁸⁴ *Id.*

⁸⁵ “Resisted Arrest,” *Ellinwood Leader*, July 6, 1899, 1. See also “Steward Is Dead,” *Ellinwood Leader*, July 12, 1899, 1.

⁸⁶ “Negro Killed,” *Pratt County Republican* (Pratt), September 22, 1904, 1.

⁸⁷ “Killing at Wathena,” *Troy Times*, August 2, 1901, 3. See also “Louis Henderson Killed,” *Wathena Weekly Republican*, August 2, 1901, 3.

view of all it took the biased coroner's jury from supper time till 2 am to tell how it all happened."⁸⁸ Furthermore, the authorities left "the murdered boy [to] lay on his face in the heat from 5 pm 'till about 8 pm," a warning to Black townspeople and a sop to white.⁸⁹ This practice was not unusual. After the aforementioned officer-involved killing in Parsons, the *Daily Republican* reported that the body "laid upon the street for nearly four hours before any officer gave orders for its removal," adding that "large crowds continued around the scene of the tragedy and a strong, but quiet, thrill of excitement was occasionally manifested."⁹⁰

Officers specifically targeted those Black Kansans attempting to seek justice. In the months after the burning of Fred Alexander by the mob in Leavenworth in January 1901, Officer Mike McDonald played a central role in the continuing racist terror in the city. In May, he approached a leading Black civil rights activist, W. B. Townsend, knocked him down, pulled his pistol and threatened to kill him, a violent response to Townsend's legal efforts to seek punishment against McDonald for his recent attack on a Black woman and against the mob members responsible for the immolation of Alexander. However, local officials endorsed McDonald's actions and, a week later, they placed their stamp of approval on the officer's tactics by awarding him a promotion.⁹¹

Although policemen were increasingly committed to preventing lynching, they were not averse to using the *threat* of it to extract confessions from fearful – and innocent – suspects. Eager to coerce admissions of guilt, officers told suspects that mobs were clamoring outside the jail (whether they were or not) and that they would protect them if they confessed, a tactic which often persuaded prisoners to waive their legal rights.⁹² This was clear when Charles Parks gained release

⁸⁸ "Horrible Crime," *Kansas State Ledger* (Topeka), August 17, 1901, 1.

⁸⁹ *Id.*

⁹⁰ "The Hancock Inquest," *Daily Republican* (Parsons), May 26, 1880, 4.

⁹¹ Brent M. S. Campney, "W. B. Townsend and the Struggle against Racist Violence in Leavenworth," *Kansas History* 31 (Winter 2008-2009): 270-271.

⁹² Campney, *Not Dixie*, 136.

from prison in 1914, four years into a sentence for the murder of a white family in Frontenac. Parks was innocent and Crawford County officials had always known it. However, after his 1910 arrest, a judge and the county attorney had secured his confession, telling him that a “a mob was waiting to hang him.”⁹³ They had done this, the *Pittsburg Kansan* later admitted, because “politics were ripe and some one [*sic*] had to be convicted quick so the mob and negro act did the work.”⁹⁴

V. THE COLLAPSE OF MOB VIOLENCE AND THE CONTINUED ASCENT OF POLICE VIOLENCE AFTER WORLD WAR II

Racist violence persisted through the mid-twentieth century. However, as a result of widespread revulsion to the racist crimes of European and Asian fascists in the 1930s and 40s, the development of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the resultant competition between the two superpowers for influence among non-white peoples in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, and the increasing importance of human equality in American political rhetoric at home and abroad, white Kansans no longer perpetrated acts of mob violence with the brazen confidence that they had previously demonstrated.⁹⁵ During the search in Herington for an unarmed fugitive in 1946, its members peppered him with buckshot, but did not kill him. However, they refused to identify the man who had shot him.⁹⁶ The next year, a mob in Osawatomie threw a rope around a criminal suspect named George Miller and began to drag him along the ground.⁹⁷ However, policemen rushed to save his life, extricating him and hurrying him to the safety of the

⁹³ “Paroled Murderer,” *Pittsburg Kansan*, May 9, 1914, 1.

⁹⁴ *Id.*

⁹⁵ Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: 2011).

⁹⁶ “Get Their Man at R H Siding,” *Council Grove Republican*, August 8, 1946, 1.

⁹⁷ “Police Chief Slain Monday,” *Osawatomie Graphic-News*, February 6, 1947, 1, 12; “Sheriff Returns Miller to Jail in Miami County,” *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 5, 1947, 1; “Kans. Pres. of NAACP Branches Sees Need of Civil Rights,” *Plaindealer* (Topeka), October 1, 1948, 1; “Negro Killer Is in Jail Without Bond,” *Miami Republican* (Paola), February 7, 1947, 1; “Officer Is Killed,” *Lawrence Daily Journal-World*, February 3, 1947, 1. Despite concerns among Black communities that Miller did not receive a fair trial for the alleged murder of a law-enforcement official, the state executed him in 1950. See “Miller to Gallows with a Smile,” *Iola Register*, May 6, 1950, 1

Lawrence jail.⁹⁸ Then, in 1947-1948, defenders of Jim Crow drove Black Kansans at gunpoint from restaurants and bars in Miami County. Despite their threats, they did not shoot.⁹⁹ In sum, violent racists understood by the late 1940s that they no longer enjoyed the same agency to terrorize Black people as they had exercised just a few decades earlier.

While the practice of mob violence collapsed in the 1940s, policemen continued to exercise their prerogative to maim or kill Black civilians with impunity. In 1941, a policeman in Junction City killed a Black soldier and, although he claimed self-defense, the NAACP alleged the “great possibility that it was an unjustifiable shooting.”¹⁰⁰ When the NAACP attempted to investigate, military officials at Fort Riley “made it impossible even to confirm the name of the deceased, and the city coroner refused to provide a report, insisting that the shooting was justifiable and a formal inquiry unnecessary.”¹⁰¹ Recalling this killing a few years later, an NAACP leader compared it explicitly to the lynching attempt in Osawatomie, saying that “each case presented similar pictures in that no one who saw or knew anything about the cases was willing to talk. Each one interviewed expressed fear for his life if he talked.”¹⁰²

By the time of the civil rights struggles in the mid-to-late twentieth century, police violence had assumed the role that mob lynching had previously played in elevating white supremacy and in suppressing Black aspirations. Throughout the mid-to-late 1970s, Black people in Wichita protested what they regarded as endemic police violence, lodging a series of complaints and demanding investigations and reforms, all of which were dismissed by intransigent officials. In 1979, a white policeman, Ray Riniker, killed Bobby Ray Jacobs, shooting him in the back after he

⁹⁸ *Id.*

⁹⁹ “Leavenworth, Kansas,” March 21, 1948, in “Kansas NAACP Branch Files: Kansas City to Winfield, c. 1940-1955,” Kansas State Historical Society.

¹⁰⁰ Campney, ““Stamping Out Segregation,”” 360.

¹⁰¹ *Id.*

¹⁰² “Kans. Pres. Of NAACP Branches,” *Plaindealer* (Kansas City), October 1, 1948, 1.

refused to halt.¹⁰³ Although the nineteen-year-old was unarmed, District Court Judge Elliott Fry issued no criminal complaint since Kansas law allowed an officer to “use any force he deems necessary to effectuate the arrest of a person he believes has committed a felony.”¹⁰⁴ The following year, officers in Wichita incited a riot by using heavy-handed tactics once again during an arrest and, in so doing, they ignited the fear of and anger against the police among the Black community. Soon, hundreds of youths were throwing rocks and burning cars, and officers were hurling tear-gas cannisters and displaying what an observer called an “excessive show of force.”¹⁰⁵ “The violence that cut a jagged scar across parts of Northeast Wichita,” conceded the *Wichita Eagle* after the riot, “was a sign of the cancer that still has not been excised from the community’s efforts to preserve racial harmony and mutual respect.”¹⁰⁶

Just as white Kansans had earlier rallied behind officers who killed Black people, so too did they in the late twentieth century. In 1970, Officer William Garrett killed nineteen-year-old civil rights activist Rick Dowdell amid escalating racial tensions in Lawrence. Although he had shot Dowdell in the back of the head as he fled down a dark alley, Garrett, like so many of his predecessors, claimed self-defense, a claim supported by officials who refused to investigate

¹⁰³ Ken Stephens, “Slain Youth’s Mother Sues Officer, City Over Shooting,” *Wichita Beacon*, September 10, 1979, 8C.

¹⁰⁴ Mark Cowing, “Police Internal Affairs Unit Still Probing Shooting Death of Man,” *Wichita Eagle*, July 12, 1979, 1C. For more on the 1979 shooting and Black concerns over police brutality in Wichita throughout the 1970s, see Martha Mangelsdorf and Mark Cowing, “Judge Decides Officer Justified in Fatal Shooting,” *Wichita Eagle*, July 11, 1979, 1C; “LBO-DC Charge Police Brutality in Sunflower Plaza Incidence,” *Wichita Times*, April 3, 1975, 1, 2; Tom McVey, “NAACP Plans Another March to Protest Rejection of Complaints,” *Wichita Eagle*, August 25, 1977, 6D; Craig Stock, “Board Proposed to Study Charges Against Police,” *Wichita Beacon*, January 2, 1979, 14B; John Petterson, “Wichita Branch of NAACP Files Civil Rights Suit Against City,” *Wichita Eagle*, October 12, 1979, 1C; Reg Fontenot and Bill Hirshman, “Black Perspective: A Picture of Distrust, Fear, Resentment,” *Wichita Eagle*, June 25, 1979, 1A.

¹⁰⁵ “Arrest Sets Off Melee,” *Wichita Eagle*, April 23, 1980, 1A. On the riot, see also “12 Injured as 200 Riot in Northeast Wichita,” *Wichita Eagle*, April 23, 1980, 1A; “One Incident Can’t Be Allowed to Upset Relations,” *Wichita Beacon*, April 23, 1980, 3A; Fred Mann, “Policemen Cursed, Praised in Aftermath” and Bob Heaton and Rick Garriott, “Arrest Attempt Escalated to Rock-Throwing,” both in *Wichita Beacon*, April 23, 1980, 6A; “3 Federal Agencies Plan Probes of Disturbance,” *Wichita Beacon*, April 24, 1980, 6A; Susan Edgerley, “Opinions Differ on Riot Cause,” *Wichita Eagle*, April 24, 1980, 1A; Susan Edgerley, “Police Role in Melee to be Probed,” *Wichita Eagle*, April 25, 1980, 1C.

¹⁰⁶ “When Reason Takes to Streets,” *Wichita Eagle*, April 24, 1980, 2C.

thoroughly or press charges subsequently. Bill Moyers, a former aide to President Lyndon B. Johnson, was in Lawrence on the night of the Dowdell killing, and he found that many white Kansans were pleased with Garrett's action. "I don't think many people feel much remorse over that shooting," a white man told Moyers.¹⁰⁷ Another opined that "'It ain't too late to start killin' niggers.'"¹⁰⁸

Not only were officers certain to avoid charges or trials; they were as likely as their counterparts a century earlier to benefit from such killings. In 1980, white officers in Coffeyville, Lieutenant Gary McManus and Patrolman Tim Adams, killed sixty-two-year-old Torrence Johnson under murky circumstances.¹⁰⁹ The police department conducted its own investigation, declared the officers blameless, and put them back on active duty within several days. When the Coffeyville NAACP demanded an outside inquiry, the department stonewalled the efforts.¹¹⁰ Putting its stamp of approval on the killing, the department then promoted Adams from patrolman to sergeant (McManus resigned for what he called the "good of [the] force"¹¹¹). An NAACP leader "called Adams' promotion a 'contemptuous slap' to Coffeyville Black residents. A statement prepared and approved by the chapter's executive board called the promotion 'inappropriate at this time.'"¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Bill Moyers, *Listening to America: A Traveler Rediscovered His Country* (New York: A Harper's Magazine Press Book, 1971), 112.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 97. See also Conner Mitchell, "The Murder of Tiger Dowdell: More Questions Than Answers," *The Lawrence Times*, July 16, 2022, <https://lawrencekstimes.com/2022/07/16/tiger-dowdell-3/>; Conner Mitchell, "The Murder of Tiger Dowdell: July 16, 1970," *The Lawrence Times*, July 16, 2022, <https://lawrencekstimes.com/2022/07/16/tiger-dowdell-1/>.

¹⁰⁹ "Police Cleared in Fatal Shooting," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 6, 1980, 1A; "Policemen Pass Test on Stress Evaluator," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 6, 1980, 8A. See also Jack Huttig, "Police Shoot, Kill 62-Year-Old Man," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 2, 1980, 1A, 8A.

¹¹⁰ Jack Huttig, "Blacks Want Shooting Investigation Re-Opened," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 7, 1980, 1A; Jack Huttig, "NAACP Wants Cop Fired," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 10, 1980, 1A. The FBI investigated the killing. See "FBI Agent Examines Allegations," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 17, 1980, 1A.

¹¹¹ Jack Huttig, "McManus Resigns for 'Good of Force,'" *Coffeyville Journal*, January 22, 1980, 1A.

¹¹² Jack Huttig, "Alexander Criticizes Adams' Promotion," *Coffeyville Journal*, January 25, 1980, 1A.

As one indicator of white views on the matter, unknown persons intimidated NAACP members with incessant threats by telephone and the vandalization of their property.¹¹³

As white men had done for over a century, some officers continued to sexually target Black women. In 1979, two women filed suit against the Topeka Police Department after officers raided a predominantly Black club and arrested more than two hundred patrons for alleged drug, weapon, and parole violations. The suit alleged that ““Many female Blacks ‘netted’ by the heavily armed white police raiding force...were forced to strip and submit to a search of their personal and private parts of their bodies. All without legal excuse of justification.””¹¹⁴ The suit also alleged that the officers did not wear badges or name tags, the absence of which indicated ““a plan or policy of the police raiding force to carry out the raid in such a manner so that they could not be easily identified and thus escape punishment.””¹¹⁵ Finally, the suit alleged that the raid “never would have been carried out the way it was if the patrons had been white,” and that many were ““falsely arrested, falsely imprisoned...and deprived of their civil rights.””¹¹⁶ Suggestive of the strength of the plaintiffs’ case, even the Shawnee County Attorney conceded that “police procedures could have been better to avoid repercussions.”¹¹⁷

VI. CONCLUSION

Racist violence in Kansas—including that in Kansas City and Wyandotte County—existed as a method to dominate Black communities. In the mid-nineteenth century, this violence was characterized by large mobs that purported to punish Black people accused of various perceived offenses with public executions that often involved lynching or body mutilation. This violence

¹¹³ Jack Huttig, “NAACP Anticipates Violent Response,” *Coffeyville Journal*, January 18, 1980, 1A.

¹¹⁴ Ken Stephens, “Two Women File Suit Over Raid at Topeka Club,” *Wichita Eagle*, September 11, 1979, 3C.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

then shifted, before and particularly after World War II, to being committed by police officers who similarly claimed that such violence was justified. While history shows that this shift was led by police officers themselves as they made efforts to limit and eventually extinguish mob violence, history also shows that the reason for doing so was one of self-interest, as mob violence jeopardized the economic stability and growth valued by the white middle-class.

Indeed, although Kansas was a Free State that historically opposed the expansion of slavery, this position was similarly driven by the interests of the white working-class who did not want to compete with wealthy slave holders. Although perhaps at odds with modern beliefs about the racial progressiveness of Kansas (and similar, contemporaneous claims made by journalists even amidst lynchings of Black men), history shows that racist practices and violence against Black people was both permitted and supported by white communities in Kansas since the mid-nineteenth century.¹¹⁸ Thus, although the population enacting the racist violence shifted from civilians to police, common themes connect these periods of time, such as the disregard for the pain of the Black communities affected and even the laudation of those inflicting such pain.

These same issues and themes can be found in the modern era. “Sundown” culture that limits the safety of the few Black people in the area can still be found in places like Hays, Kansas,

¹¹⁸ On racism, racist practices, and Jim Crow in Kansas, see Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York, 1992); Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80* (Lawrence, 1978); Randall Bennett Woods, *A Black Odyssey: John Lewis Waller and the Promise of American Life, 1878-1900* (Lawrence, 1981); Gretchen Cassel Eick, *Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954-1972* (Urbana, 2008); Rusty L. Monhollon, “*This Is America?*”: *The Sixties in Lawrence, Kansas* (New York, 2002); Andrew R. Gustafson and Mary McMurray, “Redlining, White Flight, and the Making of Suburban Johnson County, Kansas,” *Kansas History* 45:3 (Autumn 2022): 190-212; Mary L. Dudziak, “The Limits of Good Faith: Desegregation in Topeka, Kansas, 1950-1956,” in *Kansas and the West: New Perspectives*, ed. Rita Napier (Lawrence, 2003): 344-380; Charise Cheney, “Blacks on Brown: Intra-Community Debates over School Desegregation in Topeka, Kansas, 1941-1955,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 42 (Winter 2011): 481-500.

¹¹⁸ Berwanger, *The Frontier Against Slavery*, 97.

where the population is still only 1 percent Black.¹¹⁹ Sexual assault of Black women by those in power has continued, as noted in a federal lawsuit filed in 2023 by five Black women in Kansas City against police detective Roger Golubski, former police chiefs and detectives, and the local government, concerning decades of rape, abuse, and harassment.¹²⁰ And in 2021, more than 15 years after Alonzo Brooks' body was found in a creek in La Cygne, Kansas, an autopsy acknowledged that his death was a homicide and possible hate crime.¹²¹ Police violence and harassment of the Black community in Kansas City also remains pervasive, provoking widespread distrust of the police and resulting in a community afraid to call police even in the event of emergency, as evident in Charles Epp's 2024 report, *People's Perceptions of Interactions with the Kansas City, Kansas Police*.¹²² This is to say nothing of the nationwide acts of racist violence such as the cases of Trayvon Martin (2012),¹²³ Michael Brown (2014),¹²⁴ Peter Tamir Rice (2014),¹²⁵ and Bernardo Spencer (2022),¹²⁶ to name a few. As notable as is the continuation of such violent

¹¹⁹ See David Condos, "What the History of 'Noose Road' Tells Us About Kansas," *High Plains Public Radio News*, March 2, 2021, <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> [accessed on September 1, 2024]

¹²⁰ Manisha Krishnan, "Kansas City Cops Raped and Terrorized Black Residents," *Vice*, November 9, 2023, <https://www.vice.com/en/article/xgw7e7/kansas-city-cops-raped-and-terrorized-black-residents-with-impunity-lawsuit>. See also Melinda Henneberger, "New Court Filing Lays out Details," *Kansas City (Missouri) Star*, April 3, 2024, <https://www.kansascity.com/opinion/opn-columns-blogs/melinda-henneberger/article287332340.html>; Bill Lukitsch, "Judge Sets Trial Date for Disgraced Ex-KCKPD Cop Roger Golubski,"

Kansas City (Missouri) Star, July 10, 2024, <https://www.kansascity.com/news/local/article289943194.html>

¹²¹ Andrea Cavallier, "New Autopsy Report Reveals 2004 Death of Alonzo Brooks was a Homicide," *NBC News*, April 5, 2021, <https://www.nbcnews.com/dateline/new-autopsy-report-reveals-2004-death-alonzo-brooks-was-homicide-n1263108>. Brooks' death was the subject of a recent Netflix "Unsolved Mysteries" documentary. See Raja Razek, Amanda Jackson and Alicia Lee, "Alonzo Brooks' Death," April 6, 2021, <https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/06/us/alonzo-brooks-case-ruled-homicide-unsolved-mysteries-trnd/index.html>

¹²² Charles R. Epp, "People's Perceptions of Interactions with the Kansas City, Kansas Police," March 5, 2024.

¹²³ Karen Grigsby Bates, "A Look Back at Trayvon Martin's Death, and the Movement it Inspired," *NPR*, July 31, 2018, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/07/31/631897758/a-look-back-at-trayvon-martins-death-and-the-movement-it-inspired>

¹²⁴ Julie Bosman and Joseph Goldstein, "Timeline for a Body," *New York Times*, August 23, 2014,

<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/24/us/michael-brown-a-bodys-timeline-4-hours-on-a-ferguson-street.html>

¹²⁵ "Say Their Names," Stanford University Libraries, <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/saytheirnames/feature/tamir-rice>

¹²⁶ Antonio Planas, "Family Calls Death of Black Man on Trip with Ex-Co-Worker a Modern-Day Lynching," *NBC News*, January 25, 2022, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/family-black-man-killed-trip-ex-coworker-call-death-modern-day-lynchin-rcna13490>.

acts, it is the public reaction to these acts which continues to be characterized, like the racist violence in Kansas, by blame shifted to the Black person killed and absolution of the police or civilians responsible for the killing.

Respectfully Submitted,

Dated: September 6, 2024

/s/ Brent M.S. Campney
Brent M.S. Campney

APPENDIX A

BRENT M. S. CAMPNEY

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EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, American Studies, Emory University, 2007

Master of Arts, American Studies, University of Kansas, 2001

Bachelor of Arts, American Culture, University of Michigan, 1998

GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

A. Worley Brown Fellowship in Southern Studies, Laney Graduate School of the Arts and Sciences, Emory University, 2005-2006

Graduate Fellowship, Laney Graduate School of the Arts and Sciences, Emory University, 2001-2005

FACULTY POSITIONS

Professor, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Department of History, 2019-Present

Associate Professor, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Department of History, 2015-2019¹

Associate Professor, University of Texas-Pan American, Department of History and Philosophy, 2014-2015

Assistant Professor, University of Texas-Pan American, Department of History and Philosophy, 2008-2014

RESEARCH

Monographs

Hostile Heartland: Racism, Repression, and Resistance in the Midwest (University of Illinois Press, 2019)

This is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927 (University of Illinois Press, 2015; pb. 2018)

Peer-Reviewed Journal Articles

“‘The Explosive Ingredients Are Here’: Mexican American Municipal Electoral Challenges in South Texas, 1963-1965,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 55:4 (Winter 2024): <https://doi.org/10.1093/whq/whae040>

“‘The Real Questions at Issue’: Anti-Black Lynching, the Exodusters, and the White Radical Retreat in Nebraska,” *Nebraska History* 105 (Summer 2024): 58-75

“‘Driven Out on the Old Charge of Being a Rebel’: White-on-White Sectional Violence and the ‘Long’

¹ In 2015, the University of Texas-Pan American merged with the University of Texas-Brownsville to form a new research university, the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley.

Bleeding Kansas,” *Civil War History* 70:1 (March 2024): 27-49

“Stamping Out Segregation in Kansas’: Jim Crow Practices and the Postwar Black Freedom Struggle,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 43:4 (Fall 2023): 359-383

“The Veneer of Civilization Washed Off’: Anti-Black Posse-Lynchings in the Twentieth Century Rural Midwest,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 119:1 (March 2023): 1-26

“Standing in the Crater of a Volcano’: Anti-Chinese Violence and International Diplomacy in the American West,” *California History* 98:3 (Fall 2021): 2-27

“Police Brutality and Mexican American Families in Texas, 1945-1980,” *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science* 694 (March 2021): 108-121

“A White-and-Negro Environment which is Seldom Spotlitged’: The Twilight of Jim Crow in Urban Kansas, 1960-1965,” *Pacific Historical Review* 90:1 (Winter 2021): 84-118

“State Studies and the Whiteness of White-on-White Lynching,” *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 20 (January 2021): 104-113

“Leave Him Now to the Great Judge’: The Short and Tragic Life of Allen Pinks; Free Black, Fugitive Slave, and Slave-Catcher,” *Kansas History* 42:4 (Winter 2019-2020): 210-223

“Anti-Japanese Sentiment, International Diplomacy, and the Texas Alien Land Law of 1921,” *Journal of Southern History* 85:4 (November 2019): 841-878

“The Infamous Business of Kidnapping’: Slave-Catching in Kansas, 1858-1863,” *Kansas History* 42:2 (Summer 2019): 154-171

“What We Need Here Is Another Crystal City’: The Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in South Texas, 1963,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 94:2 (Spring 2019): 145-167

“The Drift of Things in Southeast Missouri’: Demographic Transformation and Racist Violence, 1900-1930,” *Missouri Historical Review* 113:3 (Spring 2019): 185-205

“The Most Turbulent and Most Traumatic Years in Recent Mexican-American History’: Police Violence and the Civil Rights Struggle in Texas in the 1970s,” *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 122:1 (July 2018): 32-57

“A Bunch of Tough Hombres’: Police Brutality, Municipal Politics, and the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement in South Texas, 1981,” *Journal of the Southwest* 60:4 (Winter 2018): 787-825

“This Negro *Elephant* is Getting to be a Pretty Large Sized Animal’: White Hostility against Blacks in Indiana and the Historiography of Racist Violence in the Midwest,” *Middle West Review* 1:2 (Spring 2015): 63-91

“Race Always Mattered: Black-on-Black Mob Violence and Inter-Racial Relations in Kansas,” *American Nineteenth Century History* 16:1 (April 2015): 35-57

“The Peculiar Climate of this Region’: The 1854 Cairo Lynching and the Historiography of Racist Violence against Blacks in Illinois,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 107 (Summer 2014): 143-170

“Ever Since the Hanging of Oliphant’: Lynching and the Suppression of Mob Violence in Topeka, Kansas,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 33 (Spring 2013): 71-86

“‘A State of Violent Contrasts’: Lynching and the Competing Visions of White Supremacy in Georgia, 1949,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 95 (Summer 2011): 232-262

“‘Light is Bursting upon the World!’: White Supremacy and Racist Violence against Blacks in Reconstruction Kansas,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 41 (Summer 2010): 171-194

“‘Hold the Line’: The Defense of Jim Crow in Lawrence, Kansas, 1945-1961,” *Kansas History* 33 (Spring 2010): 22-41

“W. B. Townsend and the Struggle against Racist Violence in Leavenworth,” *Kansas History* 31 (Winter 2008-2009): 260-273

“‘This is Not Dixie’: The ‘Imagined South,’ the Kansas ‘Free State’ Narrative, and the Rhetoric of Racist Violence,” *Southern Spaces*, September 6, 2007, <http://www.southernspaces.org/2007/not-dixie-imagined-south-kansas-free-state-narrative-and-rhetoric-racist-violence>

Historiographical Essays and Chapters in Edited Collections

“‘Hold the Line’: The Defense of Jim Crow in Lawrence, Kansas, 1945-1961,” in *Embattled Lawrence: The Enduring Struggle for Freedom, Volume 2*, edited by Dennis Domer, (Lawrence: Watkins Museum of History, 2023): 146-161

“Remembering and Forgetting Racist Violence in Tulsa and on the Great Plains,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 41:1-2 (Winter/Spring 2021): 137-149

“‘The Most Turbulent and Most Traumatic Years in Recent Mexican-American History’: Police Violence and the Civil Rights Struggle in 1970s Texas,” in *An Honest Past: A Reprise of Scholarship on Violence, Race, and Ethnicity in Texas History* (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2020): 426-451

“‘Canadians Are Not Proficient in the Art of Lynching’: Mob Violence, Social Regulation, and National Identity” in *Global Lynching and Collective Violence, Vol. II: Europe and the Americas*, edited by Michael J. Pfeifer, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017): 115-145

“The Black Civil Rights Movement on the Border,” *Southern Spaces*, April 4, 2016, <http://southernspaces.org/2016/black-civil-rights-movement-border>

“‘A Little Different than in Alabama’: Sectional Narratives and the Rhetoric of Racist Violence” in *Bleeding Kansas, Bleeding Missouri: The Long Civil War on the Border*, edited by Jonathan Earle and Diane Mutti Burke, (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2013): 225-241

“‘Light is Bursting upon the World!’: White Supremacy and Racist Violence against Blacks in Reconstruction Kansas” in *Lynching beyond Dixie: American Mob Violence outside the South*, edited by Michael J. Pfeifer, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013): 81-109

“Brown, Black, and White in Texas,” *Southern Spaces*, March 13, 2012, <http://southernspaces.org/2012/brown-black-and-white-texas>

Research Awards, Career Honors, and External Grants

Dr. Héctor P. García Fellowship, The Mary and Jeff Bell Library, Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi, 2024

James H. Madison Award from the Indiana Association of Historians for the best article published during the previous year in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, 2024

Catarino and Evangelina Hernández Research Fellowship in Latino History, Texas State Historical Association, Austin, Texas, 2023

Research Grant from the Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 2019

Article Award from the State Historical Society of Missouri for the best article published during the previous year in the *Missouri Historical Review*, 2019

Hertlein-Whitehead Visiting Scholars Program from the Special Collections and University Archives, Pittsburg State University, Pittsburg, Kansas, 2018

Alyce Hunley Wayne Travel Award from the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, 2018

Distinguished Faculty Award (honored in the inaugural year of the award) and Research Grant, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, 2017-2018

Jan Garton Prairie Heritage Book Award from Prairie Heritage, Inc., for *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas 1861-1927*, 2017

Choice Outstanding Academic Title from the American Library Association for *This Is Not Dixie*, 2016

Lecture in the State Library of Kansas at the Kansas Legislature, Topeka, 2016, and a copy of *This Is Not Dixie* entered into the State Library

E. Merton Coulter Award from the Georgia Historical Society for the best article published during the previous year in the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 2012

Internal Research Grants

Faculty Development Leave, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Fall 2023

Grant from the U.S. Department of Education International Studies and Foreign Languages Program with the Office of Global Engagement at University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, 2019-2020

Grant from the Office of Global Engagement at University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, 2018-2019

Grant from the Office of Global Engagement at University of Texas Rio Grande Valley and matching funds from the College of Liberal Arts, 2017-2018

Winner of Competitive Faculty Research Course Release, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, 2016

Travel Grant, Emory University, Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts, Spring and Summer 2005

Travel Grant, Emory University, Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts, Summer 2004

Travel Grant, Emory University, Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts, Summer 2003

INVITED SPEAKING EVENTS

“Anti-Black Violence in Lawrence and Kansas during the Long Reconstruction.” Presentation via Zoom at the Lawrence Public Library on June 9, 2022, as keynote speaker for “Community Remembrance Project,” sponsored by, among others, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Equal Justice Initiative

“Anti-Black Violence in Southern Illinois.” Presentation via Zoom at Sankofa Lecture Series, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville, Illinois, February 28, 2022

“Racist Violence and the Black Freedom Struggle in Kansas.” Presentation via Zoom at the Shawnee County Historical Society Sunday Presentations, Topeka, Kansas, February 6, 2022

“Racist Violence and Black Resistance in Kansas: *This Is Not Dixie*.” Presentation via Zoom at the Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, October 8, 2021

“Movement Families and the Black Freedom Struggle in Kansas.” Presentation at the Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, June 26, 2018

“‘I Ain’t Ever Going to Go to McAllen’: Police Brutality, Municipal Politics, and Racism in South Texas, 1981.” Presentation at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley Distinguished Faculty Award Colloquium Series, Colloquium #2, Edinburg, Texas, November 7, 2017

“Bill Tuttle, *Race Riot*, and Writing Racist Violence.” Invited Panel Remarks, The Bill Tuttle Distinguished Lecture in American Studies at the American Studies Department, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, October 5, 2017

“The Black Freedom Struggle and the White Backlash in Kansas, 1960-1975.” Invited Lecture at the Center for Kansas Studies at Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, January 27, 2017

“Terror in the Heartland: Reflections on Brent Campney’s *This Is Not Dixie*.” Invited respondent, Roundtable Discussion at the Mid-America American Studies Conference, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas, March 4, 2016

“Black Resistance to White Supremacist Mobs in Kansas, 1880-1927.” Invited Lecture at the Kansas Studies Institute, Johnson County Community College, Overland Park, Kansas, March 3, 2016

“The Decline of Lynching and the Rise of Police Brutality in Kansas, 1890-1916.” Invited Lecture at the Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri, February 3, 2016

“‘A Negro Hunting Ground?’: White Supremacy and Racist Violence in Kansas from the Civil War to the Exodus.” Invited Lecture at the Border Wars Conference, Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, Missouri, November 10, 2011

CONFERENCES

Conference Panel Organizer

Co-organizer of the panel, “Words and Deeds: Rhetoric and Violence in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.” Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, Boston, Massachusetts, April 2, 2022 (sponsored by the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era).

Co-organizer of the panel, “Transnational Responses to American Lynching during the ‘Long’ Gilded Age and Progressive Era.” Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 7, 2017 (sponsored by the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era).

Co-organizer of the panel, “American Culture and the Transition from Reconstruction.” 122nd Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., January 3, 2008 (sponsored by the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era).

Conference Papers

“Evaluating *The Good Country*.” Delivered at the Ninth Annual Midwestern History Conference, Grand Rapids, Michigan, May 18, 2023

“Anti-Black Posse Killings in the Rural Midwest, 1910-1930.” Delivered by Zoom at the 135th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, January 6-9, 2022

“Finding Movement Families in the Early Twentieth-Century Midwest: Theory and Method.” Delivered at the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, November 21-24, 2019

“‘Canadians Are Not Proficient in the Art of Lynching’: Mob Violence, ‘American Style’ Racism, and British Canadian Identity.” Delivered at the Organization of American Historians, Annual Meeting, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 7, 2017

“‘A White-and-Negro Environment which is Seldom Spotlighthed’: The Twilight of Jim Crow in Kansas, 1960 to 1965.” Delivered at the Western History Association Annual Conference, Portland, Oregon, October 23, 2015

“‘Keep the Lower Rio Grande Valley for the White Race’: Racist Violence after the Hora de Sangre.” Delivered at the Texas State Historical Association Annual Meeting, Corpus Christi, Texas, March 5, 2015

“‘I Am Not Going to Tolerate the Slightest Foolishness’: Police Resistance to Lynch Mobs and the Police as an Instrument of Violent White Supremacy.” Delivered at the Social Science History Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, November 21-24, 2013

“‘Trying to Set the Colored People Back a Hundred Years’: Racist Violence and the Consolidation of Jim Crow in Kansas, 1901 to 1930.” Delivered at the Western History Association Annual Conference, Denver, Colorado, October 4-7, 2012

“‘Fight It Out on this Line’: Rethinking the Origins of Armed Black Resistance.” Delivered at the Southern Association of Women Historians, Fort Worth, Texas, June 6-9, 2012

“‘The Man Got His Just Deserts’: Racist Violence against Prosperous Blacks in Kansas, 1890 to 1910.” Delivered at the Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 95th Annual Meeting, Raleigh, North Carolina, October 1, 2010

“‘We Cannot Say that We Regret this Man’s Death’: The Lynching of White Men in Kansas, 1865-1884.” Delivered at the 2010 Organization of American Historians Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C., April 9, 2010

“Police Resistance, Telegraph Wires, and the Suppression of Racist Mobs: Kansas, 1890-1910.” Delivered at the 2009 Western History Association Meeting, Denver, Colorado, October 7-10, 2009

“‘No More Colored Men Will Ever Be Hung’: Black Jailhouse Defenses in Kansas, 1890-1910.” Delivered at the Civil Rights Century: NAACP Centennial Conference, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, February 7, 2009

“On Ethnic Violence and Resistance.” Delivered at the Institute of Sociology, College of Hakka Studies, National Chiao Tung University, Hsinchu, Taiwan, June 4, 2008

“Mob Rule and the Threat of Violence.” Delivered at the Rupture, Repression, and Uprising: Raced and Gendered Violence along the Color-Line Conference, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, April 3-4, 2008

“From ‘Outrage’ to ‘Lynching’: Mob Killings and the Rhetoric of Racist Violence.” Delivered at the 122nd Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, Washington, D.C., January 3, 2008

“From ‘Industrious Citizen’ to ‘Black-Hearted Fiend’: Representations of Black Victims of Racist Violence in the Republican Press of Kansas, 1865 to 1914.” Delivered at America’s 400th Anniversary: Voices from within the Veil Conference, Norfolk, Virginia, February 23, 2007

“William Bolden Townsend and the Struggle against Racist Violence in Kansas, 1888-1901.” Delivered at the Association for African American Historical Research and Preservation Fourth Annual Black History Conference, Seattle, Washington, February 3, 2007

“Lynching and Racial Violence in Kansas, 1890-1905.” Delivered at the Annual Race and Place Conference, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, March 13, 2004

“Colin Powell, *El Paso*, and American Whiteness.” Delivered at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Atlanta, Georgia, August 16, 2003

“Renegotiating White Supremacy: The New South and the Lynching of Caleb Hill, Jr., Irwinton, Georgia, 1949.” Delivered at the Lynching and Racial Violence in America Conference, Atlanta, Georgia, October 5, 2002

SERVICE WRITING AND PUBLIC HISTORY

Book Reviews

A Brick and a Bible: Black Women’s Radical Activism in the Midwest during the Great Depression, by Melissa Ford, in *Pacific Historical Review* 94:1 (Spring 2024): 310-312

Capital’s Terrorists: Klansmen, Lawmen, and Employers in the Long Nineteenth Century, by Chad E. Pearson, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 55:1 (Spring 2024): 84-85

Race in the Wild West: Sarah Bickford, the Montana Vigilantes, and the Tourism of Decline, 1870-1950, by Laura J. Arata, in *The History Teacher* 55:4 (August 2022): 723-724

American Atrocity: The Types of Violence in Lynching, by Guy Lancaster, in *Arkansas Review* 53:2 (August

2022): 156-157

Calculating Race: Racial Discrimination in Risk Assessment, by Benjamin Wiggins, in *Journal of American History* 109:1 (June 2022): 183.

Civil Rights in Black and Brown: Histories of Resistance and Struggle in Texas, edited by Max Krochmal and J. Todd Moye, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 126 (July 2022): 145-146

The Broken Heart of America: St. Louis and the Violent History of the United States, by Walter Johnson, in *Pacific Historical Review* 90:4 (Fall 2021): 558-559

West of Jim Crow: The Fight Against California's Color Line, by Lynn M. Hudson, in *California History* 98:2 (Summer 2021): 131-133

The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland, by James H. Madison, in *Annals of Iowa* 80:1 (January 2021): 87-88.

Civilizing Torture: An American Tradition, by W. Fitzhugh Brundage, in *North Carolina Historical Review* 97:1 (January 2020): 135-136

They Stole Him Out of Jail: Willie Earle, South Carolina's Last Lynching Victim, by William B. Gravely, in *Black Perspectives* (October 31, 2019), <https://www.aaihs.org/the-last-lynching-victim-in-south-carolina/>

Valley of the Guns: The Pleasant Valley War and the Trauma of Violence, by Eduardo Obregón Pagán, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 50:3 (Autumn 2019): 322-323

The Injustice Never Leaves You: Anti-Mexican Violence in Texas, by Monica Muñoz Martinez, in *Pacific Historical Review* 88:4 (Fall 2019): 732-733

Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s, by Felix Harcourt, in *Annals of Iowa* 77 (Fall 2018), 439-441

Nicodemus: Post-Reconstruction Politics and Racial Justice in Western Kansas, by Charlotte Hinger, in *The Historian*, August 9, 2018

The Lynching of Mexicans in the Texas Borderlands, by Nicholas Villanueva, Jr., in *Pacific Historical Review* 87:3 (Summer 2018): 563-564

Murder on Shades Mountain: The Legal Lynching of Willie Peterson and the Struggle for Justice in Jim Crow Birmingham, by Melanie S. Morrison, *Criminal Law and Criminal Justice Books* (May 2018), <http://cljbooks.rutgers.edu/books/murder-on-shades-mountain-the-legal-lynching-of-willie-peterson-and-the-struggle-for-justice-in-jim-crow-birmingham/>

At the Altar of Lynching: Burning Sam Hose in the American South, by Donald G. Mathews, in *H-Law* (January 22, 2018), <https://networks.h-net.org/node/16794/reviews/1281215/campney-mathews-altar-lynching-burning-sam-hose-american-south>

The Ghosts of Guerrilla Memory: How Civil War Bushwhackers Became Gunslingers in the American West, by Matthew Christopher Hulbert, in *Journal of Southern History* 83:4 (November 2017): 995-996

Democracy and the Civil War: Race and African Americans in the Nineteenth Century, by Kevin Adams and Leonne M. Hudson, in *North Carolina Historical Review* 94:4 (October 2017): 446-447

Faces like Devils: The Bald Knobber Vigilantes in the Ozarks, by Matthew Hernando, in *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 16:4 (October 2017): 540-542

Lynched: The Victims of Southern Mob Violence, by Amy K. Bailey and Stewart E. Tolnay, in *Florida Historical Quarterly* 96:1 (Summer 2017): 109-111

Ku-Klux: The Birth of the Klan during Reconstruction, by Elaine Frantz Parsons, in *H-Law*, November 2016 <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=47359>

After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War, by Gregory P. Downs, in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 108:3-4 (Fall 2015): 422-423

“The History of a Lynching List,” review of *Lynchings in Kansas, 1850s to 1932*, by Harriet C. Frazier, in *H-Law*, July 2015, <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=43405>

Busy in the Cause: Iowa, the Free-State Struggle in the West, and the Prelude to the Civil War, by Lowell J. Soike, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 2015): 233-234

Forgotten Dead: Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928, by William D. Carrigan and Clive Webb, in *Journal of Southern History* 89 (August 2015): 716-718

Swift to Wrath: Lynching in Global Historical Perspective, edited by William D. Carrigan and Christopher Waldrep, in *Journal of American History* 101 (September 2014): 611

Free Black Communities and the Underground Railroad: The Geography of Resistance, by Cheryl Janifer LaRoche, in *Civil War Book Review* (Summer 2014): <http://www.cwbr.com/>

John Brown's Spy: The Adventurous Life and Tragic Confession of John E. Cook, by Steven Lubet, in *Journal of Southern History* 88 (February 2014): 190-191

A Massacre in Memphis: The Race Riot that Shook the Nation One Year after the Civil War, by Stephen V. Ash, in *Choice* (February 2014)

Union Heartland: The Midwestern Home Front during the Civil War, edited by Ginette Aley and J. L. Anderson, in *Choice* (January 2014)

Vigilantes and Lynch Mobs: Narratives of Community and Nation, by Lisa Arellano, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 44 (Summer 2013): 207

Kentucke's Frontiers, by Craig Thompson Friend, in *American Studies* 52:2 (2013): 150-151

African Americans in South Texas History, edited by Bruce A. Glasrud, in *Journal of Southern History* 79 (February 2013): 199-200

Still the Arena of Civil War: Violence and Turmoil in Reconstruction Texas, 1865-1874, edited by Kenneth W. Howell, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116 (January 2013): 333-334

Abraham Lincoln and White America, by Brian R. Dirck, in *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 35 (Autumn 2012): 206

The Struggle for Equality: Essays on Sectional Conflict, the Civil War, and the Long Reconstruction, edited by Orville Burton, Jerald Podair, and Jennifer L. Weber, in *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 105

(Summer-Fall 2012): 279-281

March! The Fight for Civil Rights in a Land of Fear, by Stephen D. Delear, in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 116 (October 2012): 220-221

Popular Justice: A History of Lynching in America, by Manfred Berg, and *Globalizing Lynching History: Vigilantism and Extralegal Punishment from an International Perspective*, edited by Manfred Berg and Simon Wendt, in *H-Soz-Kult*, June 28, 2012, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2012-2-208>

The Roots of Rough Justice: Origins of American Lynching, by Michael J. Pfeifer, in *Western Historical Quarterly* 43 (Spring 2012), 87-88

Kansas's War: The Civil War in Documents, edited by Pearl T. Ponce, in *Journal of Southern History* 77 (November 2011): 1065

Troubled Ground: A Tale of Murder, Lynching, and Reckoning in the New South, by Claude A. Clegg III, in *North Carolina Historical Review* 88 (October 2011): 430-431

“Who is ‘Entrenched in a Southern Mindset’? Anti-Black Lynchings and Expulsions in the Southern Ozarks,” review of *White Man's Heaven: The Lynching and Expulsion of Blacks in the Southern Ozarks, 1894-1909*, by Kimberly Harper, in *H-Law*, January 2011: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/16794/reviews/17224/campney-harper-white-mans-heaven-lynching-and-expulsion-blacks-southern>

Lynching and Spectacle: Witnessing Racial Violence in America, 1890-1940, by Amy Louise Wood, and *What Virtue There is in Fire: Cultural Memory and the Lynching of Sam Hose*, by Edwin T. Arnold, in *American Studies* 50 (Fall-Winter 2010): 184-186

“‘A ‘wrong-man’ story’: The Celluloid Leo Frank,” review of *Screening a Lynching: The Leo Frank Case on Film and Television*, by Matthew Bernstein, in *H-Law*, January 2010: <https://networks.h-net.org/node/16794/reviews/17167/campney-bernstein-screening-lynching-leo-frank-case-film-and-television>

This Mob Will Surely Take My Life: Lynchings in the Carolinas, 1871-1947, by Bruce E. Baker, in *American Studies* 48 (Winter 2008): 287-288

Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness through Racial Violence, by Cynthia Skove Nevels, in *American Studies* 48 (Fall 2007): 164-165

Making a New South: Race, Leadership, and Community after the Civil War, by Paul A. Cimbala and Barton C. Shaw, in *American Studies* 48 (Summer 2007): 89

Rough Justice: Lynching and American Society, 1874-1947, by Michael J. Pfeifer, in *American Studies* 47 (Winter 2006): 212-213

Legacies of Lynching: Racial Violence and Memory, by Jonathan Markovitz, in *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews* 34 (September 2005): 494-495

Public History

“Rebecca Flores, the UFW, and the Struggle for Field Sanitation in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.” Delivered at the Museum of South Texas History, Edinburg, Texas, April 28, 2024

“Black Civil Rights Leaders of the Progressive Era.” Delivered at the Edinburg Sekula Public Library for Black

History Month, February 8, 2024

“Racist Violence and Black Resistance in Kansas, 1890-1920.” Delivered via Zoom for the Human Relations Office for the City of Hutchinson, Kansas, March 1, 2022

“Anti-Asian Violence and American Diplomatic Relations.” Delivered via Zoom in Dr. Robert Hoppens’ Comparative Race and Ethnicity in Asia class, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, October 26, 2021

“Black History and the Long Civil Rights Movement.” Delivered at the McAllen Public Library for Black History Month, February 6, 2020

“Lynching in the Midwest.” Delivered at the History Club for Black History Month, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, February 28, 2019

“Abel Toscano, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement in San Benito.” Delivered at *FESTIBA*, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, February 27, 2019

“Police Brutality and the McAllen Mayoral Election of 1981.” Delivered in Dr. Paul Jorgensen’s Politics and Society class, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, November 19, 2018

“To keep the Lower Rio Grande Valley for the White Race.” Delivered in Dr. Charles Waite’s Texas History class, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, November 13, 2018

“Anti-Chinese Violence in Arizona Territory, 1900-1910.” Delivered at the Second Annual Southwest Texas Asian Symposium at Texas A&M Corpus Christi, November 2, 2018

“*El Cuhamil*, Chicano Publications, and the Study of Mexican American History in the Rio Grande Valley,” with Sean Visintainer. Delivered at the NEXUS Conference, University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Brownsville, Texas, April 26, 2018

“Anti-Japanese Violence in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, 1921.” Delivered at the Southwest Texas Asian Symposium at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, November 8, 2017

“Mob Violence and International Diplomacy in the Lower Rio Grande Valley.” Delivered at the Second Annual Border Studies Conference at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Brownsville, Texas, October 27, 2017

“In Favor of ‘Local’ History.” Delivered to the History Club at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, October 19, 2017

“*Selma* and the Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest.” Delivered for Black History Month at the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, Texas, February 4, 2016

“Mob Violence against Mexicans in the United States, 1848-1928.” Presentation organized by Brent Campney and delivered by historian William Carrigan at both the University of Texas Rio Grande Valley, Edinburg, and South Texas College, McAllen, Texas, 2014

“‘A Fight for the Rights of My People’: William Bolden Townsend and the Struggle against Lynching and Racial Violence.” Delivered for Black History Month at South Texas College, McAllen, Texas, February 15, 2012

“‘A Real War of Races’: Rethinking the Chronology of Armed Black Resistance.” Delivered for Black History

Month at South Texas College, McAllen, Texas, February 17, 2010

“Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968.” Presented at Region One Educational District training session, Edinburg, Texas, 2010