A Brief History of Race Relations in Kansas

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I. Qualifications

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

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

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

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

Counsel for Cornell McNeal asked me to prepare a historical report of the treatment of Black residents of Sedgwick County and Kansas, more broadly, including in the criminal legal system.

II. Introduction

The historical narrative of Kansas is often told, or remembered, as one of struggles against slavery and segregation, and therefore gives the illusion that the land of John Brown was, and is, a space where racism, segregation and discrimination does not exit. Yet, throughout the history of the Free State, Black Kansans have encountered exclusion from white hospitals, churches, and neighborhoods; segregation in schools, hotels, restaurants, and theaters; and discrimination in public services and in the administration of justice.¹ The death penalty in Kansas, which has been used disproportionately against Black men and disproportionate police violence and lynchings against Black men.²

III. Antebellum and Civil War Periods, 1820-1865

The history of statehood in Kansas is intertwined with the country's battle over slavery.

In 1820, the United States consisted of 24 states equally divided between free and slave states.³

¹ Chafe, William Henry. "The Negro and Populism: A Kansas Case Study." Journal of Southern History 34 (August 1968): 402-19; Cox, Thomas. Blacks in Topeka, 1865-1915: A Social History. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982; Cunningham, Roger D. The Black Citizen-Soldiers of, 1864-1901. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2008; Eick, Gretchen Cassel. Dissent in Wichita: The Civil Rights Movement in the Midwest, 1954-72. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001; Etcheson, Nicole. Bleeding: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004; Klassen, Teresa C., and Owen V. Johnson. "Sharpening of the Blade: Black Consciousness in Kansas, 1892-97." The journalism quarterly 63 (1986): 298 -304; Campney, Brent M. S. This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015; Painter, Nell Irvin. Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1986; Peavler, David J. "Drawing the Color Line in Kansas City." Kansas History 28, no. 3 (Autumn 2005): 188-201; Pendleton, Jason. "Jim Crow Strikes Out: Interracial Baseball in Wichita, Kansas, 1920-1935." Kansas History 20, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 86-101; and Woods, Randall Bennett. A Black Odyssey: John Lewis Waller and the Promise of American Life, 1878-1900. Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981.

² Bolton, Kenneth, and Joe R. Feagin. *Black in Blue: African-American Police Officers and Racism*. New York: Routledge, 2004; Epp, Charles R., Steven Maynard-Moody, and Donald P. Haider-Markel. *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014; Johnson, Devon. *Deadly Injustice: Trayvon Martin, Race, and the Criminal Justice System*. New York: New York University, 2015; Nelson, Jill, ed. *Police Brutality: An Anthology*. New York: Norton, 2000; Pegues, Jeff. *Black and Blue: Inside the Divide between the Police and Black America*. Amherst: Prometheus Books, 2017; Rabinowitz, Howard N. "The Conflict between Blacks and the Police in the Urban South, 1865-1900." *Historian* 39 (November 1976): 62-76; and Ritchie, Andrea J. *Invisible No More: Police Violence against Black Women and Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.

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

This balance was disrupted by Missouri's petition to become the 25th state to join the bourgeoning country, as a slave state.⁴ In order to hold together a tenuous union, Congress passed the Missouri Compromise which established that all states and territories north of Missouri's southern border would prohibit slavery and all states and territories to the south of Missouri's border would allow slavery. This created a fragile balance that lasted 34 years, until the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854.⁵ The Kansas-Nebraska Act, which allowed the residents of both territories to vote on whether they would allow slavery, was proposed by presidential hopeful, Illinois Senator Stephan Douglas, with the stated goal of using popular sovereignty to heal divisions.⁶ This angered abolitionists across the country who had been promised under the terms of the Missouri Compromise that both Kansas and Nebraska would be free territories.⁷ The Act implicated the fragile balance of power between the North and South, rendering a few thousand Western votes central to the character of the nation. This proposed doctrine of "squatter sovereignty" would ultimately spark the Civil War ⁸ and has been described by historians as "the most fateful single piece of legislation in American history."⁹

In the Spring of 1854, immigration traffic to Kansas swelled. Free state and pro-slavery national organizers rushed people into the Kansas Territory to influence the voting.¹⁰ Ironically, the emigrants who journeyed to Kansas were primarily influenced by land, not a particular cause.¹¹ However, motivation did not matter as Kansas became part of the unfolding drama

 $^{^{4}}Id.$

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

⁶ Muehlberger, *supra*, at 25; Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* <u>2</u> (University Press of Kansas, 2004).

⁷ Muehlberger, *supra*, at 25-26.

⁸ Muehlberger, *supra*, at 25; and Etchesonm, *supra*.

⁹ Ross Drake, *The Law That Ripped America in Two*, Smithsonian Magazine, May 2004,

https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-law-that-ripped-america-in-two-99723670/

¹⁰ Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26.

¹¹ Drake, *supra*.

between South and North and the settlers became surrogates for the bigger existential issues.¹² The high stakes and lack of established law enforcement network led to vigilantism and informal militias as new residents fought each other in violent elections.¹³ Kansas soon received the nickname of "Bleeding Kansas" in eastern newspapers.¹⁴

Among the most famous of these violent incidents was the May 1856 sack of Lawrence by pro-slavery forces hailing from Missouri, who burned and looted the town.¹⁵ This was followed four days later by the retaliatory Pottawatomie murders—led by John Brown—of five pro-slavery men.¹⁶ Three years after the Kansas-Nebraska Act became law, the territorial legislature drafted the Lecompton Constitution, which explicitly endorsed slavery and protection for slaveholder rights, despite the growing majority of anti-slavery settlers.¹⁷ Kansas voters rejected this constitution in 1858,¹⁸ and ultimately, Kansas emerged from this bloodshed as a free state in 1861.¹⁹ Just a few months later the Civil War began.²⁰

The beginning of the Civil War marked a surge in Kansas's Black population, as slaves fled across the border from Missouri to Kansas in ever increasing numbers.²¹ In 1862 the Leavenworth Daily Times called this migration a "stampede" noting that parts of Missouri were

¹² *Id*.

¹³*Id.*; Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26.

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

¹⁵ Muehlberger, *supra*, at 26; Drake, *supra*.

¹⁶ Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas*; and Goodrich, Thomas. *War to the Knife: Bleeding Kansas, 1854-1861*; Earle, Jonathan, ed. *John Brown's Raid on Harpers Ferry: A Brief History with Documents*. Boston: Bedford St. Martins, 2008; Horwitz, Tony. *Midnight Rising: John Brown and the Raid That Sparked the Civil War.* 1st ed. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 2011; Reynolds, David S. *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights.* 1st ed. New York: Alfred A. Knopf : Distributed by Random House, 2005 ¹⁷ Jonathan Earle, *Kansas Territory, the Election of 1860, and the Coming of the Civil War: A National Perspective*, Kansas City Public Library, https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/essay/kansas-territory-election-1860-and-coming-civil-war-national-perspective

¹⁸ Id.

¹⁹ *Id*.

²⁰ *Id*.

²¹ Brent M. S. Campney *This Is Not Dixie: Racist Violence in Kansas, 1861-1927* 17 Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

"almost denuded" of Black people.²² Many Black migrants settled in the multi-racial Quindaro settlement, initially founded by members of the Wyandot Nation, and located in present-day Kansas City, Kansas.²³ Quindaro quickly became a thriving port town home to abolitionists and an Underground Railroad station for slaves escaping from Missouri.²⁴

The Black population grew from 627 in 1860 to 12,641 in 1865.²⁵ In 1862, the First Kansas Colored Volunteers was formed and by October of 1864, aggressive, often coercive, recruiting of Black men into the Union army was in full force.²⁶ By the end of the war, the Kansas troops "were accompanied by hundreds of Negroes, many of whom were serving as teamsters, cooks, and even soldiers."²⁷

IV. Reconstruction Backlash and Exodus, 1866-1889

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

²² Leavenworth Daily Times, Aug. 15, 1863 at 3.

²³ Tony O'Brien, *Quindaro, Kansas, Civil War on the Western Border: The Missouri-Kansas Conflict, 1854-1865,* Kansas City Public Library, https://civilwaronthewesternborder.org/encyclopedia/quindaro-kansas.

²⁴ Id.; Charles E. Coulter, *Take up the Black Man's Burden: Kansas City's African American Communities, 1865-1939* (University of Missouri Press 2006); Diane Miller, *Wyandot, Shawnee and African American Resistance to Slavery in Ohio and Kansas,* 152-155 (August 2019).

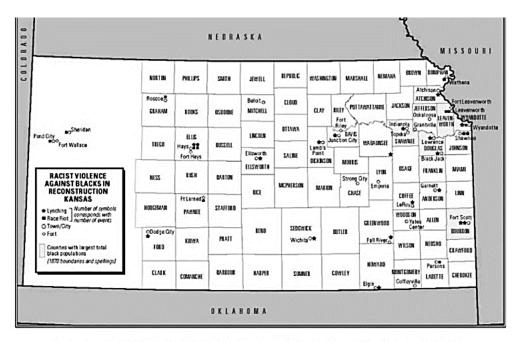
²⁵ Campney, *supra*, at 17.

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

²⁷ Albert Castel, "Civil War Kansas and the Negro, 51" Journal of Negro History 2 (April 1966).

²⁸ Campney, *supra*, at 45.

²⁹ *Id.* at 25.



Map 3.1. "Racist Violence against Blacks in Reconstruction Kansas," by Erin Greb Cartography, 2009. This composite map is based on four other maps including "Map of Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado: Showing also the southern portion of Dacotah," 1870, by S. Augustus Mitchell; "Sectional Map of Kansas," 1870, by S. C. Griggs and Co.; "County Map of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado Dakota, Wyoming Montana," 1872, by S. Augustus Mitchell; and "Colton's Township Map of Kansas," 1870, by G. W. and C. B. Colton.

In 1879, former slaves began a widely-publicized mass migration to Kansas from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, who were soon dubbed Exodusters.³⁰ Much of this later movement was predicated by the worsening racial climate in the South after the failures of Reconstruction, but there were some events in the late 1870s that pushed the migration even more. First and foremost was the economic disaster caused by the boll weevil and the crop failure of 1878. This burst of migration, referred to as Kansas Fever, was pushed by, among other things, the myth of Kansas and the lore of John Brown. Although the rate of arrivals gradually began to slow, they continued their trek into Kansas through 1881.³¹

³⁰ Nell Irvin Painter. *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction*. (University Press of Kansas, 1986); and Campney, *supra*, at 63.

³¹ Painter, Nell Irvin. Exodusters; and Campney, This Is Not Dixie, 63.

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

The influx of Black populations during the Exodus accompanied a growing, racist fear among whites that there would be a corresponding spike in job competition, taxation, contagious disease, and crime.³³ As a May 1879 Junction City Tribune article put it, "if the movement continues, the north must use shot-guns in self-defence [sic]."³⁴ During the Exodus there were at least seven threatened lynchings documented.³⁵ There was also a documented killing in 1879, where the residents of Fort Scott hung and burned the body of Bill Howard, a Black man and alleged outlaw.³⁶ These acts of violence were accompanied by "sundown" policies in rural areas, requiring Black people to leave by sundown or risk bodily harm and death.³⁷

In the aftermath of the Exodus, white Kansans continued this pattern of racialized violence, killing eight Black men in five incidents between 1882 and 1889.³⁸ In 1882, after the body of David Bausman, a white man, was found drowned, a white mob with nooses in hand took three African American men—Pete Vinegar, Isaac King, and George Robertson—from the Douglas County jail in Lawrence and hanged them from a bridge stretching over the nearby Kaw River.³⁹ The mob left them to hang until the next morning. In 1887, Richard Woods—a Black

³² *Id.* at 76.

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

³⁴ Campney, *supra* at 65.

³⁵ *Id.* at 66.

³⁶ *Id.* at 65; 75.

³⁷ Id at 66; Racist History Still Haunts Hays and Other Kansas Towns Kansas News Service, March 2, 2021, https://kansaspublicradio.org/kpr-news/racist-history-still-haunts-hays.

³⁸ Campney, *supra*, at 69.

³⁹ Ursula Minor, *Lawrence seeks justice for three men lynched 138 years ago at Kansas River bridge*, Kan. Reflector, Dec. 8, 2020, https://kansasreflector.com/2020/12/08/lawrence-seeks-justice-for-three-men-lynched-138-years-ago-at-kansas-river-bridge/.

youth accused of assaulting and raping a fifteen-year-old white girl in Leavenworth—was taken from the county jail by a mob of white men who tied him by the neck to a pommel of a saddle and dragged him for more than a mile. Black men accused of raping white women were lynched near Hiawatha in 1889, Topeka in 1864, and Paola in 1883, among others. In Sedgwick County, there was a documented race riot in August of 1887 and a threatened lynching of Tom Collins in May of 1888.⁴⁰ Lynchings, threatened racial violence, and race riots were orchestrated by whites to be spectacles, their public nature rendering them a tool of control and terror against the broader Black community.⁴¹

Following the Exodus, white anxiety about miscegenation, specifically between Black men and white women surged, and allegations of sexual assault against Black men correspondingly surged.⁴² Increasingly, white Kansans portrayed the alleged victims as paragons of white womanhood and conflated their alleged attacks with an attack on whiteness itself, landing on lynching as the only proportional punishment.⁴³ One historical account of lynchings in Kansas identified rape as the third largest suspected offense for lynchings, and noted that lynchings for rape accusations were overwhelmingly carried out against Black men: "Rape, which holds third place in Kansas as a cause for lynching, brings in the race problem, as here the ratio of negroes to whites is four to one."⁴⁴ The author of this account calculated the four to one ratio of lynching victims by including five white men who were lynched for the combined suspected crimes of rape and murder.⁴⁵ If the analysis is limited to those individuals lynched who

⁴⁰ *Id.* at Appendix 1.

 $^{^{41}}$ *Id.* at 31.

 $^{^{42}}$ *Id.* at 75.

⁴³ *Id*.

 ⁴⁴ Genevieve Yost, History of Lynchings in Kansas, *Kansas Quarterly*, 2 199 (May 1933); *See also* Campney, *supra*.
 ⁴⁵ Id.

were suspected of rape only, the ratio is even starker: thirteen Black men were lynched and only one white man was lynched for suspected rape between 1860 and 1930.⁴⁶

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Map 3. Racist violence during the Kansas Exodus and its aftermath, 1879–1889. (Map by Erin Greb.)

V. "Bloody Nineties," 1890-1902

The wave of racialized violence continued in Kansas between 1890 and 1902. In 1892 the worst year for lynchings in the United States—Black lynching victims accounted for more than half of the 241 known lynchings nationwide.⁴⁷ In Kansas, of the fifty-three men lynched between 1881 and 1927, Black victims disproportionately accounted for 18 lyncings, or almost 34 percent.⁴⁸ The lynching of Hugh Henry in Larned in 1892, and the local newspaper's account

⁴⁶ Id.

⁴⁷ Bill Sroufe and Gary R. Entz, *"Thy Brother's Blood": William Walthall, Commodore True, and a Thanksgiving Tragedy in Hiawatha* 36 Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains, Vol. 36, N. 4, 248, available at: https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2013winter.pdf.

⁴⁸ Campney, *supra*, at 84. Black individuals never accounted for more than 3.5 percent of the population after 1890. *Id.*

of the event, is an especially disturbing example not only of the racialized violence, but the public's racialized assumptions of guilt which inspired many of the lynchings.⁴⁹ After he was accused of attacking a white woman in her room, a mob broke Henry from the jail and hanged him from a telegraph pole.

In 1901, Fred Alexander was accused of attacking a white woman in Leavenworth. The only "evidence" presented against him was a witness who claimed to hear whistling during the attack and the fact that Fred Alexander liked to whistle. Nonetheless, a white mob attacked the jail and broke Alexander out. The mob then tortured and burned Alexander at the stake behind the main streets of town.⁵⁰ In 1902, Montgomery Godley was taken by a mob from the jail in Pittsburg and hanged from a telephone pole. When the rope used to hang Godley broke, a member of the mob proceeded to cut Godley's throat. This gruesome hanging sparked the Kansas legislature to criminalize both lynching and aiding and abetting lynching in 1903.⁵¹

VI. Racialized Violence, 1920-1929

In March of 1921, organizers from the Ku Klux Klan undertook a recruitment campaign in Kansas.⁵² The Klan targeted Wichita, which was described as the farthest point west Klan recruitment had extended that spring.⁵³ The Klan's recruitment messaging in Wichita was

⁵⁰ Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Vengeance without Justice, Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council's Struggle against Racial Violence." *Great Plains Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 117-33.

⁴⁹ The Tiller and Toiler, September 16, 1892; Campney, supra, at 88-90; 104.

⁵¹ Christopher C. Lovett, *A Public Burning: Race, Sex, and the Lynching of Fred Alexander*, 33 Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains, Vol. 33, N. 2, .94-115, available at https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2010/www.com/

https://www.kshs.org/publicat/history/2010summer_lovett.pdf.

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

simple: join an organization dedicated to advancing the tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, protection of "our pure womanhood," "preventing the causes of mob violence and lynchings," and most generally, "upholding the law."⁵⁴ Under this umbrella also fell a virulent "American First" agenda fueled by an anti-immigrant, anti-organized labor credo, and influenced by the nativist and xenophobic attitudes that permeated American politics of the time. This attitude was best represented by President Calvin Coolidge signing in to law the restrictive Immigration Act of 1924 and the associated quota system that would remain in effect until 1952.⁵⁵

In Kansas, by the end of 1922, historical accounts estimate that the Ku Klux Klan had around 40,000 members throughout Kansas and as many as 5,000 members living in Wichita.⁵⁶ The Black population of Wichita at that time was approximately 5,000 – the same size as the Klan population.⁵⁷ The Klan in Kansas employed various strategies to impose their authority upon and instill fear in anyone critical of the advancement of white supremacy and white vigilantism in the state. By 1922 it became common practice for local Klan chapters around the state to issue public threats and take violent action against those who opposed their cause.⁵⁸

The intense and violent presence of the Klan throughout Kansas in the 1920s prompted Governor Henry Allen to order an investigation into Klan gatherings and disturbances around the state.⁵⁹ On July 8, 1922, Governor Allen issued a proclamation prohibiting the wearing of masks

⁵⁴ Id.

⁵⁵ Kenneth T Jackson, The Ku Klux Klan in The City, 1915-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press,

^{1967);} Chalmers, Hooded Americanism.

⁵⁶ "Seeking Full Roster of Ku Klux Members," *The Wichita Eagle*, Nov. 25, 1922; Jackson, *The Ku Klux Klan in the City*, 1915-1930, 237; 289.

⁵⁷ Fletcher Powell, *The KKK and Baseball History*, WBUR, May 26, 2012, https://www.wbur.org/onlyagame/2012/05/26/monrovian-baseball.

 ⁵⁸ Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet In State, Arkansas City Daily Traveler, Jul. 7, 1922; Kansas Will Hold Cities to Account for Acts of Klan, Wichita Beacon, Oct. 3, 1922; Flogged by Klan, Kansan to Bring \$100,000 Suit: Mayor of Liberty Will Claim Damages Under Mob Law; Governor Denounced Affair, The Wichita Beacon, Oct. 16, 1922.
 ⁵⁹ Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet In State, Daily Traveler, Jul. 7, 1922.

in public after determining that activities of "bodies of masked men assembl[ing] for… parading and so-called ceremonies" contributed to an atmosphere of fear and intimidation across Kansas.⁶⁰ The Governor's proclamation asserted that the Klan's masking was "in [Kansas] inseparable with violence and the inescapable effect of it is to create fear and terror in the mind of the citizen."⁶¹ Though Governor Allen and the Kansas State Attorney General employed various legal and political strategies to deter the surging influence of the Klan in Kansas, the "Invisible Empire" remained staunchly committed to advancing its mission of spreading religious intolerance and racial hatred. Even while facing mounting investigations and lawsuits, Klan members in Kansas threatened to mobilize mobs to beat school superintendents who allowed racially integrated school pageants and African Americans who moved into majority white neighborhoods.⁶²

Even though the Klan marketed itself to Kansans as a "secret society," many aspects of the Klan's statewide operations during the mid-1920s were open and notorious. Court documents filed in the fall of 1922 established that the Klan had offices in Kansas where it sold "paraphernalia, regalia, stationary, jewelry, ... magazines, periodicals, newspapers, circulars, and other printed matter."⁶³ In 1924, Kansas City, Missouri hosted the Klan's second national convention, called the "Klonvocation," where 5,000 Klansmen from around the country convened to celebrate the organization's past, present, and future.⁶⁴ In 1925, the Klan's Wichita chapter responded to a public advertisement in the *Wichita Eagle* and challenged the Wichita

 ⁶⁰ Governor Bars Mask Wearing in State By a Proclamation, *Arkansas City Daily Traveler*, Jul. 8, 1922.
 ⁶¹ Id.

⁶² Tim Rives, The Second Ky Klux Klan in Kansas City: Rise and Fall of a White Nationalist Movement, Kansas City Public Library, available at https://pendergastkc.org/article/second-ku-klux-klan-kansas-city-rise-and-fall-white-nationalist-movement.

⁶³ Charles William Sloan, Kansas Battles the Invisible Empire: The Legal Ouster of the KKK From Kansas, 1922-1927, Kansas Historical Society, vol. 40, no. 3, pgs. 393-409 (1974).

⁶⁴ Rives, *supra*.

Monrovians—an all-Black baseball team from the Colored Western League—to a baseball game at Island Park in Wichita.⁶⁵ Leading up to the baseball game between the Klan and Monrovians, there were a record number of lynchings nationwide in the first six months of 1925, which prompted the *Wichita Beacon* to announce that "strangle holds, razors, horsewhips, and other violent implements of argument [would] be barred at the baseball game."⁶⁶ The large crowd that filled the stadium watched the Monrovians prevail over the Klan by a final score of 10-8, and the game was described by the *Wichita Eagle* as "the best attended and most interesting game in Wichita."⁶⁷

During the 1920s the Klan realized great success in leveraging its terror tactics to achieve political influence in the state. It is estimated that from 1922 to 1927, candidates who were supported by the Klan or were Klan members themselves won more than 136 political races in Kansas City, Kansas, including their most notable success—the election of Klansman Don C. McCombs as Mayor of Kansas City.⁶⁸ Mayor McCombs, who occupied City Hall from 1927 to 1947, utilized his appointment power to flood City Hall with fellow Klansmen. McComb appointed known Klansmen Louis S. Harvey as City Attorney and Bina S. Quick Jr. as Secretary to the Chief of Police, and successfully created an intricate bipartisan political apparatus rooted in white supremacy.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ "Who Were the Monrovians? 1925 Monrovians vs. the KKK," Exhibit at The Kansas African American Museum, June 2021; Jason Todd, Black History in Wichita: The day the KKK lost a baseball game to the Monrovians, *The Wichita Eagle*, June 18, 2021.

⁶⁶ John Rosengren. The Day the Klan Played Ball. The Day the Klan Played Ball | John Rosengren, 2021, www.johnrosengren.net/day-klan-played-ball.

⁶⁷ "Who Were the Monrovians? 1925 Monrovians vs. the KKK," Exhibit at The Kansas African American Museum, June 2021.

⁶⁸ Tim Rives, The Second Ky Klux Klan in Kansas City: Rise and Fall of a White Nationalist Movement, Kansas City Public Library, available at https://pendergastkc.org/article/second-ku-klux-klan-kansas-city-rise-and-fall-white-nationalist-movement.

⁶⁹ Tim Rives, The Ku Klux Klan in Kansas City, Kansas: 1921-1930, 81-82 (1995).

The violent doctrine of white supremacy was not limited to formal members of the Klan. For instance, in March of 1927, two white high school girls in Coffeyville, Kansas, reported to police that they had been raped "by three negroes."⁷⁰ When news of the rape accusation spread through Coffeyville, a lynch mob of between 1,500 and 3,000 people raided a local sporting goods store to collect guns and ammunition before marching to City Hall and the local jail where three Black suspects of the crime had been detained.⁷¹ After false rumors circulated that one of the assaulted girls had died, the lynch mob "commenced to stone any colored person on the streets."⁷² Fearing a violent reaction to the release of the three Black suspects who were cleared of any involvement in the alleged crime, the Mayor and police in Coffeyville frantically phoned Topeka to request the support of the National Guard to repel the white lynch mob.⁷³ The National Guard then swiftly deployed to Coffeyville, where they occupied for four days to quell the race riots.⁷⁴ After months of investigation into the alleged rape, a white car salesman was charged and acquitted of the rape after an all-white, all-male jury deliberated for only fifty minutes.⁷⁵Even after the spectacles of Klan cross burnings, public threats of violence, and lynch mobs faded from the public eye after the 1920s, Klan-elected policymakers preserved the ideology of white supremacy and racialized violence forever shaping Kansas's state carceral and capital punishment systems.

VII. History of Racial Bias in the Criminal Legal System

⁷⁰ Geoffrey Newman, *Forgetting Strength: Coffeyville, The Black Freedom Struggle, and Vanished Memory,* Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains 41 169 (2018).

⁷¹*Id*. at 169.

⁷² Newman, *supra*, at 174.

⁷³ Id.

⁷⁴ Id. at 176.

⁷⁵ *Id.* at 180; Jury Acquits Kennedy in 50 Minutes: Accused Man Freed of Assault Charge . . . Detective Davis Bore Brunt of Defense Counsel's Attack, *Coffeyville Daily Journal*, July 20, 1927.

Throughout the history of Kansas, equality under the law and due process were realities only for Black Kansans of property and influence, and even then, not universally. The poor and undereducated, that is the vast majority of African Americans in the state from the nineteenth into the twenty-first century, encountered discrimination at virtually every stage of the legal process.

Black Kansans have been more likely than whites to be arrested as suspects; more likely to be convicted; and have been almost certain to receive longer sentences. In May 1890, for example, two men—one white and one Black—were convicted of an identical crime of selling liquor.⁷⁶ The white man was pardoned, while the African American man received both a jail term and a fine. Extreme and disparate sentencing can be also seen when the white-edited *Leavenworth Herald* insisted that a Black man who had recently been convicted for breaking into a white citizen's house and stealing a bottle of wine, be sentenced to twenty-six years in prison.⁷⁷ Others were incarcerated for taking food; often the value of stolen items was increased so that the Black offender might be convicted for grand larceny rather than a misdemeanor. As a result of these racial disparities in arrests and sentencing, a disproportionate number of inmates in the state prison in Lansing—approximately 25% of the prison population throughout the late 19th Century—were Black.⁷⁸

Moreover, throughout the course of Kansas's history, whites accused of crimes against African Americans have been less likely to be convicted; and if found guilty, whites often receive a lighter sentence than if the offense had been committed against a white person. One such failure to hold a white person accountable for a crime occurred in 1936-37. In 1936, Cleo

⁷⁶ See, e.g., *Topeka Capital*, November 23, 1890; *Afro-American Citizen*, March 25, 1892; *Kansas City Gazette*, September 23, 1897.

⁷⁷ *Leavenworth Herald*, April 4 and May 1, 1896.

⁷⁸ Woods, *supra*.

Mosler of Parsons, Kansas shot Fred Harvey Smith, a fifteen-year-old African American boy. Though eyewitnesses saw Mosler shoot Smith in broad daylight in the center of town, no charges were brought against Mosler. A few months after the incident, Topeka-based Elisha Scott, a prominent African American attorney and member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), took up the case; and despite being able to bring Mosler to trial in 1937, and eyewitness testimony naming him as the shooter, Scott nonetheless failed to gain a conviction.⁷⁹

Incidents of violence have marked interactions between police and Black Kansans for much of the state's history. "[B]etween 1893 and 1908, policemen killed at least seventeen Black people across the state.⁸⁰ The rates of killings of Black Kansans by the police has remained disproportionately high throughout the 20th and 21st century.⁸¹ And even when interactions with police do not result in Black civilian deaths, the results can have a profound ripple effect.

In the spring of 1980, hundreds of police officers and civilians clashed in response to officers reportedly harassing and throwing a Black man to the ground near 21st Street and Grove Avenue. This event engulfed the neighborhood surrounding the incident for hours and resulted in dozens of injuries.⁸² Despite these demonstrated consequences of disparate policing, a lack of official avenues for change persisted into the millennia. By the end of 2017, Kansas law

⁷⁹ Capital Plaindealer (Topeka, Kan.) 1936.

⁸⁰ Campney, *supra*, at 133.

⁸¹ Lancet, *Fatal police violence by race and state in the USA, 1980-2019: a network meta-regression*, Vol. 398, pp. 1239–55 (Oct. 2, 2021), available at: https://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(21)01609-3/fulltext.

⁸² David Condos, Kansas' History of Racist Violence Often Proves Too Heavy for Words,

https://klcjournal.com/kansas-racist-violence-history/; *Whicitans Reflect on 1980 Riots in Response to Incident of Police Brutality*, KWCH, Jun. 1, 2020, https://www.kwch.com/content/news/Wichitans-reflect-on-1980-riots-in-response-to-incident-of-police-brutality-570941311.html.

enforcement had declined to substantiate any of the 592 racial profiling complaints made over the previous five years.⁸³

Sentencing disparities have also persisted. The Kansas legislature acknowledged as much in establishing the Kansas Sentencing Commission, directing the commission to develop guidelines "which reduce sentence disparity, to include, but not be limited to, racial and regional biases which may exist under current sentencing practices."⁸⁴ Additionally, in its December 2020 Initial Report, the Governor's Commission on Racial Equity and Justice observed that the disparate impact of Kansas's criminal justice system on Black and Brown communities "begins with policing and continues through pretrial detention, the trial process, sentencing, community supervision, and postconviction collateral consequences."⁸⁵

And today, while the Black population of Kansas is approximately six percent, African Americans account for thirty-one percent of those held in the state's prisons and jails.⁸⁶

VIII. The Death Penalty in Kansas⁸⁷

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

⁸³ Kelsey Ryan, *Filing a complaint over police racial profiling in Kansas? Don't expect much*, Kansas City Star (Dec. 17, 2017), available at: https://www.kansascity.com/news/politics-

government/article190119129.html?eType=EmailBlastContent&eId=6a170eda-4358-4030-9b50-0039ec8090fc ⁸⁴ K.S.A. 74-9101(b)(1).

⁸⁵ Governor's Commission on Racial Equity & Justice, Initial Report 22 (Dec. 2020).

⁸⁶ Prison Policy Initiative, Racial and ethnic disparities in prisons and jails in Kansas, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/KS.html.

⁸⁷ See Appendix B Kansas Executions 1853 to Present.

The first execution in the Kansas Territory was of John Coon, Jr. in 1853, a 15-year-old boy and member of the Wyandot Nation who was executed by firing squad for the murder of Curtis Punch in a drunken brawl. The United States forcibly removed the Wyandot Nation from their lands in Ohio in 1843 and relocated tribal members to Kansas City, Kansas, where large numbers of the tribe died from a lack of provisions, flooding, and disease.⁸⁸

One of the earliest statutes authorizing the death penalty in the territory of Kansas was directed toward the protection of slavery. Prior to achieving statehood, the territory of Kansas passed an Act to Punish Offences Against Slave Property which enumerated the crime of aiding or assisting a rebellion or insurrection of slaves or freemen, including through written or printed words, and imposed the penalty of death for this transgression.⁸⁹ The same division over slavery that divided white settlers and emigrants of Kansas could be found among members of the Wyandot Nation.⁹⁰ Although some of the Wyandot tribal leaders were pro-slavery, many members of the Wyandot tribe were strong abolitionists. During the Bleeding Kansas period, the Wyandots formed Quindaro, a multi-racial town with an association to the Underground Railroad.⁹¹

https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/kansas-territory-september-30-1843/ (last visited Feb 3, 2022) (describing, through a letter by Rev. James Wheeler, the maladies that Wyandot tribal members faced during their forced relocation, including outbreaks of measles, diarrhea, and "the death of nearly all the younger part of their children"); *Wyandots in Kansas Territory 1844*, WYANDOT NATION OF KANSAS,

⁸⁸ See, e.g., Kansas Territory September 30, 1843, WYANDOT NATION OF KANSAS,

https://www.wyandot.org/wyandotKS/wyandots-in-kansas-territory-1844/ (last visited Feb 3, 2022) (describing the Great Flood of 1844).

⁸⁹ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act to Punish Offences Against Slave Property*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209559/text (last visited Feb 3, 2022).

⁹⁰ See Diane Miller, *Wyandot, Shawnee, and African American Resistance to Slavery in Ohio and Kansas* 44-42, 120-33 (Aug. 2019) (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Nebraska-Lincoln)

⁽https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1097&context=historydiss).

⁹¹ See id. at 155.

When Kansas formed as a free state in 1861, it authorized the death penalty for acts of treason. ⁹² The following year, the state enacted a death penalty for persons convicted of first-degree murder.⁹³The federal government carried out its first execution at Leavenworth, Kansas in 1861, when it executed Joseph Raymond, a Hispanic soldier, for stealing a coin and watch from a bar owner during a time of war. Raymond's fellow soldiers, both of European descent, who joined him in the armed break in of the bar and "took all the liquor they could find" were not executed.⁹⁴

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

August 9, 1870, marked a turning point for the administration of the death penalty by Kansas state authorities.⁹⁵ On that date, authorities hanged William Dickson, a white man, in a large public spectacle before an audience that included children. State law at the time forbade public executions and the corresponding controversy resulted in the passing of new regulations on executions⁹⁶ and a thirty-five-year lapse in the state administration of the death penalty.

⁹² Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act Defining and Providing for the Punishment of Certain Crimes Therein Named*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208566 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

⁹³ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, An Act Regulating Crimes and Punishment of Crimes Against the Persons of Individuals, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208567 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

⁹⁴ R. Michael Wilson, Legal Executions in Nebraska, Kansas and Oklahoma Including the Indian Territory: A Comprehensive Registry, p.62 (2012).

⁹⁵ Michael Church, Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Capital Punishment, 1870-1907*, KANSAS MEMORY (Jan. 24, 2008), https://www.kansasmemory.org/blog/post/28195390.

⁹⁶ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *1872 Death Penalty Statute*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kshs.org/km/items/view/208598 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

Beginning in 1872 and continuing through 1907, when Kansas repealed the death penalty, no governor signed a death warrant.⁹⁷ The only executions in Kansas between 1870 and 1907 were by the federal government. Federal authorities executed two Black men, Jake and Joe Tobler, in a joint hanging in Sedgwick County in 1888 and then turned their corpses over to the Wichita medical society.⁹⁸

As lynchings declined and became less publicly palatable, legislators across the western and southern states began to propose a state sanctioned alternative—a more rigorous application of the death penalty.⁹⁹ Kansas, however, historically ambivalent about the death penalty, defeated the proposed law when it came to a vote in February 1901."¹⁰⁰

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

The law in this state provides for a death penalty, but leaves its execution optional with the Governor after the prisoner has been confined in the penitentiary for one year... I believe capital punishment brutalizes mankind and contributes to the crime it was invented to prevent... and I have no doubt whatever that Kansas is freer from crime of this character because of the humane attitude of our advanced civilization on the subject.¹⁰¹

The Kansas legislature passed legislation abolishing capital punishment in Kansas and it

was Governor Hoch who signed into law on January 30, 1907.¹⁰² This law remained in effect for

28 years, surviving attempts to reinstate the death penalty in 1927, 1931, and 1933.¹⁰³ The next

⁹⁷ See James Galliher & John Galliher, "Deja Vu All over Again:" The Recurring Life and Death of Capital Punishment Legislation in Kansas, 44 SOCIAL PROBLEMS 369, 373 (1997).

⁹⁸ R. MICHAEL WILSON, LEGAL EXECUTIONS IN NEBRASKA, KANSAS AND OKLAHOMA INCLUDING THE INDIAN TERRITORY 2217-54 (McFarland & Co., Inc., 2012).

⁹⁹ Campney, *sup*ra, at 149.

¹⁰⁰ Campney, *supra*, at 149-50.

¹⁰¹ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Governor Edward W. Hoch to Governor Fletcher D. Procter*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208786/text (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

¹⁰² Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Governor Edward W. Hoch to Governor Fletcher D. Procter*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208786/text (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

¹⁰³ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, An Act Relating to Crimes and Penalties, KANSAS MEMORY,

https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208792 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

execution in Kansas did not take place until 1930 when the federal government executed Carl Panzram.

Reinstatement attempts ultimately succeeded in 1935, more than seventy years after the last state administered execution.¹⁰⁴ But support for the death penalty remained far from universal. In 1944, the warden of the Kansas State Penitentiary resigned rather than be forced to carry out an execution. Among his reasons: "an execution accomplishes only what revenge can accomplish" and "capital punishment is a lack of social statesmanship."¹⁰⁵ Despite his protests, the state of Kansas executed 15 people between 1944 and 1965.¹⁰⁶ In total, between 1930 and 1965, state, federal, and military authorities executed 45 people in Kansas during 26 executions. Black men accounted for 12 of those 45 men.¹⁰⁷ The last execution in Kansas took place in 1965.

Further executions were halted by the United States Supreme Court's decision in *Furman v. Georgia*, which invalidated capital punishment schemes throughout the country—including in Kansas—over arbitrariness and racial bias in its administration. Kansas did not reinstitute capital punishment after *Furman* until 1994.¹⁰⁸ Governor Finney did not sign the bill due to her personal opposition to the death penalty, but allowed the bill to take effect despite her opposition.¹⁰⁹ In the 22 legislative sessions prior to the 1994 reinstatement, 48 different death penalty bills were introduced, but defeated.¹¹⁰ Among the factors that seems to have heavily influenced the 1994 reinstatement include a 1993 high profile murder of nineteen-year-old white woman, Stephanie

¹⁰⁴ Church, *supra* note 7.

¹⁰⁵ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *Warden Amrine's Statement*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208824 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

¹⁰⁶ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, An Act Relating to Kidnapping in the First Degree, KANSAS MEMORY,

https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/208832 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022).

¹⁰⁷ WILSON, *supra* note 10, at 2254-2900; Death Penalty Information Center, Executions in the U.S. 1608-2002: The ESPY File 132-134, https://files.deathpenaltyinfo.org/legacy/documents/ESPYstate.pdf.

¹⁰⁸ Galliher, *supra* note 9, at 376.

¹⁰⁹ Kan. Hist. Soc'y, *An Act Concerning Crimes and Punishments and Procedures Relating Thereto*, KANSAS MEMORY, https://www.kansasmemory.org/item/209194 (last visited Feb. 3, 2022)..

¹¹⁰ Galliher, *supra* note 9, at 376.

Schmidt, in an affluent Kansas City suburb.¹¹¹ Since the passage of the 1994 bill, 15 people have been sentenced to death in Kansas, four of whom were Black. All but one was sentenced to death for the murder of at least one white victim. There are currently nine men sentenced to death in Kansas, three of them, or thirty-three percent Black, in a state with a total Black population of only six percent.¹¹²

IX. The Codification and Lingering Effects of Segregation in Kansas

1. Education

One thing often missed when people discuss Kansas and race relations—praising themselves for John Brown and being one of the locations for the cases in *Brown v. Board of Education*—is the fact that segregation did exist in education. It is why the NAACP chose Topeka for one of the locations to use as a test case. When Kansas wrote its original constitution in 1859, few African Americans lived in the state, and the state did not segregate the schools.¹¹³ Attitudes began to change as the Black population rose in the state. By 1867, the state legislature enacted a law stipulating that the tax monies collected for school purposes be kept separate, and that each race was to benefit from only those facilities and instructors from which they could pay directly. A year later, when Kansas ratified the 14th Amendment, the legislature concluded that the amendment did not apply to public education and made no attempt to alter the state's legally mandated system of segregation.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ See id.; Service Celebrates Life of Slain College Student Stephanie Schmidt, KMBC NEWS, https://www.kmbc.com/article/service-celebrates-life-of-slain-college-student-stephanie-schmidt/3677213 (last

updated Jul. 21, 2013).

¹¹² Prison Policy Initiative, Racial and ethnic disparities in prisons and jails in Kansas,

https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/KS.html.; NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., *Death Row U.S.A.* 51 (2021).

¹¹³ Campney, *supra*, at 40.

¹¹⁴ Kim Cary Warren, *The Quest for Citizenship: African American and Native American Education in Kansas,* 1880-1935. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010; Thom Reoseblum, *The Segregation of Topeka's Public Schoool System, 1879-1951 National Park Service,* August 28, 2021 <

Over the next decade however, the state would struggle with which position it would take on education: integration or segregation. In 1874, a provision was passed that prohibited state institutions of higher education from making "any distinction on the account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."¹¹⁵ Then four years later, the state would strike the word white from the educational clause, seemingly ending educational segregation. The very next year however, Kansas lawmakers once again reversed themselves when they decided that cities with 10,000 people or more (first class cities) had the authority to establish separate primary schools for white and Black students.¹¹⁶

After 1879, cities of the first class did generally provide separate schools for Black students. In Leavenworth, for example, Black children of elementary school age were educated either in the North Leavenworth or South Leavenworth segregated Black school, where the buildings were visibly inferior to those structures reserved for whites.¹¹⁷ In 1889, one observer described the Black school in the northern part of the city as a "hut" situated in a "low, dirty-looking hollow close to the stinking old mud creek, with a railroad running almost directly over the building."¹¹⁸ Earlier, in Topeka, the future site of the state and federal case on segregated schools, officials rented a small frame building to be used for primary school; Black students

https://www.nps.gov/brvb/learn/historyculture/topekasegregation.htm>; Richard Kluger. *Simple Justice: The History of Brown V. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality.* New York: Knopf, 1976. ¹¹⁵ Morgan J. Kousser, Working Paper, *Before* Plessy, *Before* Brown: *The Development of the Law of Racial*

Integration in Louisiana and Kansas, Division of the Humanities & Social Sci., Calif. Institute of Tech (Oct. 1988).
 ¹¹⁶ Files re: Brown v. Board vs. Topeka Board of Education (1954), Kansas Historical Society; Carper, James C. The popular ideology of segregated schooling: Attitudes toward the education of Blacks in Kansas, 1854-1900, Kansas History, Winter 1978; Richard Kluger. Simple Justice; Waldo E. Martin, Jr. Brown V. Board of Education: A Brief History with Documents. Boston: Bedford Books, 1998.

¹¹⁷ Randall Bennett Woods, "All Things Possible," A Black Odyssey: John Lewis Waller and the Promise of American Life 55

¹¹⁸ *Id*.

were taught in the attic while whites learned the three r's in the more spacious, ventilated lower room.¹¹⁹

Cities of second-class status, those larger than 2,000, but smaller than 10,000, such as Fort Scott, were divided into wards.¹²⁰ Each ward had its elementary school, and since Black Kansans were concentrated in one of the two areas of the city *de facto* segregation in education resulted.¹²¹ Grade schools in some of the smaller Kansas towns—such as Hiawatha or Emporia—were fully integrated, but facilities within these mixed institutions were usually white.¹²² In a few small communities the white backlash that followed the exodus of 1879 led to segregation where integration had previous existed. In Olathe, for example, a second-class city, with just over 2,000 residents in 1870 had integrated schools, but after several hundred African Americans migrated to the area during the exodus, the school board elected to create separate schools with segregated teaching staffs¹²³. Similar to segregated schools in first class cities, those that had separate facilities in smaller towns did not create equal buildings and opportunities, but rather imposed a separate and unequal educational system on the Black residents of their communities.¹²⁴

There were different disadvantages for Black students to attending an integrated school. "One white schoolteacher in Lawrence discriminated in the manner and degree of punishment he administered; he whipped white transgressors with a switch and black with a cowhide."¹²⁵ Black author, poet, and thinker, Langston Hughes, who attended primary school in Lawrence, would openly write about the discrimination he faced in the local school system, including teachers

- ¹²⁰ Id.
- ¹²¹ *Id*.
- 122 Id.
- ¹²³ *Id.* at 213. ¹²⁴ *Id.* at 56.
- 121 Id. at 2 125 Id.

¹¹⁹ Id.

making derogatory statements about Black students.¹²⁶ Others throughout the state also exposed the bigotry of their teachers, both in verbal abuse and in grade discrimination. A further example of in-school discrimination at mixed schools was found when a white instructor in Gladden installed separate water buckets for white and Black students.¹²⁷ When several Black students drank from the designated white buckets, the teacher expelled them from school.¹²⁸ Finally, even at all-Black schools many Black leaders questioned whether students were properly instructed, suspecting it was the charge of regional school boards to neglect Black students, thus inhibiting their progress which would keep them out of the mixed high schools and in turn limit their professional options.¹²⁹

Educational segregation and discriminatory practices would continue for decades. In the 1940s, Wichita Bar Association and NAACP member, Z Wetmore sued the local Board of Education, forcing them to close the small three-room schoolhouse they were using for Black education in the city. He also argued against building two new schools, L'Ouverture and Dunbar, in predominately Black neighborhoods in fear such a move would lead to increased segregation. Following this victory Wetmore continued his plans and strategy to end educational segregation in Wichita and the entire state. In 1948, however, the Kansas NAACP decided to use Topeka as their battleground. Using much of Wetmore's plans, Charles Scott and others in Topeka put forth their case, and in 1951 the national office of the organization got involved. The Topeka case became one of the five cases that eventually went before the Supreme Court in 1954, in what

¹²⁶ Langston Hughes. *The Big Sea: An Autobiography*. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1940; Arnold Rampersad. *The Life of Langston Hughes*. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
 ¹²⁷ Woods, *supra*.

¹²⁷ Woods, s¹²⁸ *Id*.

¹²⁰ Id

¹²⁹ Id.

became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. There, the Court held segregation in education was not constitutional.¹³⁰

Despite the ruling however, desegregation in Kansas schools, like schools throughout the country, was not a swift action. Indeed, Wichita, and other first, and second class, school districts remained segregated for decades. In 1963, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare conducted a study of Wichita schools where they concluded that the uneven representation in the city's schools continued and ordered the school board to end segregation immediately.¹³¹ Again, immediate was not a reality. The local NAACP, led by Chester Lewis, and others, continued to call for the city to end segregation, mainly practiced based on residential patterns.¹³² In the 1967-68 school year the board devised a plan to end segregation, and institute a busing plan to move students, mainly Black students, to white schools. In the fall of 1970, the plan went into effect, and over the next five years the board would close Fairmount, Little, Isely, and Dunbar, all schools in predominately Black neighborhoods to force, one-sided, integration in the district.¹³³ This process of dislocation placed the burden of integration solely on Black, rather than white students.¹³⁴

2. Housing

Residential segregation, *de jure* and *de facto*, that allowed cities, in the past and currently, to practice segregated education, was a major factor in Kansas. African Americans living in cities throughout Kansas, no less than Black residents of northern and southern states, faced residential segregation and discrimination in public services. African Americans who came to

¹³⁰ Wichita Bar Association Deskbook, 12-13; Kluger. Simple Justice.

¹³¹ Judith R. Johnson and Craig L.Torbenson, *African American Experiences in Wichita, Kansas*, 21 Kansas History: A Journal of The Central Plains 4, 228 (1998).

¹³² Id.

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ Id.

Kansas in the 1860s and 70s and purchased homes in Topeka, Wyandotte, Leavenworth, Atchison, Lawrence, or some other eastern town tended to cluster, but they were not explicitly excluded from all white neighborhoods. The thousands of African Americans who poured into the state during the Exodus heightened the white community's desire to see Black residents restricted to certain sections of a particular city and leading to the creation of segregated communities that would lack resources, examples of which are Mississippi Town in Juniper Bottoms, Rattlebone Hollow in Kansas City, Remondsville and Tennessee Town in Topeka, and the northeast sector of Wichita. It is unclear what percentage of Black residents in each given community triggered segregation of Kansas towns, but it clear that residential segregation existed in towns that had a Black population totaling 7 percent or more. Such historic and continued residential segregation has led to increased inequalities in Kansas and the rest of the nation.¹³⁵

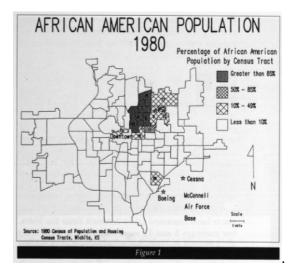
In Wichita neighborhoods, segregation remained at a high level.¹³⁶ From the origins of the community, African Americans have been concentrated and isolated in the northeastern sectors of the city, bounded by Oliver Street to the east, Broadway Boulevard to the west, Central Avenue to the south, and 29th Street to the north.¹³⁷ Redlining played an important role in the segregation of Black residents in Wichita. Viewing the federal government's descriptions of the region for the Home Owner's Loan Corporation between 1935 and 1940, that area of the city was deemed hazardous, and a location that they defined as one with Black "infiltration," therefore making it undesirable to offer loans in the region and maintaining lower property

¹³⁵ Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2018). K. Fox Gothom, *Separate and Unequal: The Housing Act of 1968 and the Section 235 Program*, Sociological Forum 15, 13–37 (2000); Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor. *Race for Profit: How Banks and the Real Estate Industry Undermined Black Homeownership.* (The University of North Carolina Press 2019).

¹³⁶ Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 224.

¹³⁷ *Id.* at 223-24.

values and racially segregated communities.¹³⁸ Between 1950 and 1960 population increases and increased commercial activity forced some Black residents to relocate to a district that bordered the stockyards and refineries, characterized by fewer city services and noxious fumes.¹³⁹ Such a condition has continued into the 21st Century. When one looks at the current demographics and census maps, the majority of Wichita's Black population lives in this same northeastern section of the city (Fig. 1 and Fig 2)¹⁴⁰:



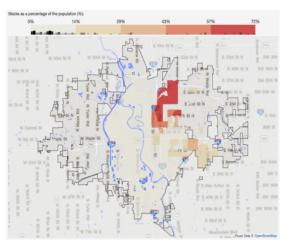


Figure 2.

Sources: Johnson & Toberson; The Chung Report

In Kansas, just as in other areas throughout the country, residential segregation was the product primarily of white hostility and a lack of legal protections rather than Black self-segregation. "To people living outside Kansas this may seem strange but is nevertheless true," declared the editor of the *American Citizen* in 1889.¹⁴¹ "There are houses and vacant lots in and near [the city of Topeka] "where no negro can rent or buy at any price let him be ever so talented

¹³⁸ Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America, University of Richmond,

<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/37.692/-97.366&city=wichita-ks>, Rothstein, The Color of Law; Mark Lopez and Richard Rothstein, Segregated by Design, A Silkworm Studio Film, 2019

¹³⁹ Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 225-26.

¹⁴⁰ *Id.* at 224; Jake Trease. Wichita Segregation, Past & Present. The Chung ReportDec. 18. 2018, thechungreport.com/wichita-segregation-past-and-present.

¹⁴¹ Randall B. Woods, *Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The "Color Line" in Kansas, 1878-1900*, 14 W. Historical Quarterly 2, at 191 (1983).

cultured or refined and there are others where if he rents or buys his life and property are in danger."¹⁴² Topeka based minister, John R. Davis was once warned via a note on his door to leave the white suburb of Oakland or suffer irreparable damage to his health, and complained that many of Topeka's finest white citizens—teachers, lawyers, and doctors—would rather move into the worst white slums than live in communities with African American residents.¹⁴³ Moreover, any white who dared stand up for a Black family to have the right to live where they wanted would be denounced and ostracized. It was not until 1970 that Kansas added discrimination in housing to the original 1961 Kansas Act Against Discrimination, explicitly rendering illegal thwarting home ownership on the basis of race.¹⁴⁴

Black communities throughout the state of Kansas experienced discrimination in the distribution of municipal funds and services. Cities of various sizes would privilege white communities over Black districts, often leaving the community with poor roadways, unpaved, or unkept sidewalks, and overall poor maintenance of city services.¹⁴⁵ If the community lacked a segregated, or independent fire department, they additionally had to wait for services as white fire departments ignored or delayed their response time to certain areas of the city.¹⁴⁶

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

¹⁴² *Id*.

¹⁴³ *Id*.

¹⁴⁴ Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 232; *see also* Andre M. Perry, Jonathan Rothwell, and David Harshbarger, *The Devaluation of Assets in Black Neighborhoods Brookings Institution* (2018); Tracy Jan, Redlining was banned 50 years ago. It is still hurting minorities today Wash. Post, March 28, 2018; Michelle Tyrene Johnson, Past Housing Discrimination Contributed to Wealth Gap Between Blacks and Whites in Kansas City, *NPR*, Aug. 10, 2018. ¹⁴⁵ Woods, *supra*, at 191.

¹⁴⁶ Id; see also Johnson and Torbenson, supra..

more pollution with the increased traffic through the region. The construction of I-135 through the heart of Wichita's Black community is a prime example of this pattern.¹⁴⁷ Another is the construction and continued expansion of the Sedgwick County Jail in the heart of Wichita's historically Black community, enveloping the historic Calvary Baptist Church, now housing The Kansas African American Museum.¹⁴⁸

3. Segregation in Public Places

African Americans who sought accommodations in public facilities encountered exclusion and segregation. Hotels were the common location of controversy, even after the federal government passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875, requiring equal treatment in places of public accommodations. For example, when Black delegates to the Republican congressional convention arrived in Topeka in June 1886, they were denied rooms at the Coolidge Hotel.¹⁴⁹ In the same year, a Leavenworth innkeeper denied housing to Frederick Douglass. Additionally, the Fisk Jubilee Singers, while touring in 1896, were refused accommodations by three different hotels in Wichita.¹⁵⁰ And, as discussed above, in the years following the Civil War, towns across Kansas—including Hays, Ness City, and Liberal—were completely inaccessible to Black Kansans after sundown. Known as "sundown towns," the cities were mortally dangerous places for Black people to be after dark.¹⁵¹

Kansas restaurants have also been a place where African Americans were either excluded or segregated. Indeed, Kansas was the origin of one of the five cases that went to the Supreme

¹⁴⁷ Johnson and Torbenson, *supra* at 230-31.

¹⁴⁸ Eileen Cunniffe, African-American Museum in Kansas Gives Land Back to City, Nonprofit Quarterly (Apr. 17,

^{2014),} available at: https://nonprofitquarterly.org/african-american-museum-in-kansas-gives-land-back-to-city/. ¹⁴⁹ Randall B. Woods, *Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The "Color Line" in Kansas, 1878-1900*, 14 W. Historical Quarterly 2, 189 (1983)

¹⁵⁰ *Id.* November 20, 1888 and November 21, 1896.

¹⁵¹ David Condos, *What The History Of 'Noose Road' Tells Us About Kansas, Race And The Lynchings Of Black Men*, High Plains Public Radio (March 2, 2021), available at: https://www.hppr.org/hppr-news/2021-03-02/what-the-history-of-noose-road-tells-us-about-kansas-race-and-the-lynchings-of-black-men

Court to challenge the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act of 1875. In 1876, a year after the passage of the Act, a man named Bird Gee was physically ejected from the City Hotel Restaurant in Hiawatha.¹⁵² Gee sued the establishment owners and the case slowly made it to the Supreme Court, where it became one of the cases argued as part of the Civil Rights Cases in 1883. The Court held the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments did not permit Congress to prohibit private racial discrimination.¹⁵³ Additionally, restaurants in Coffeyville, Lawrence, Topeka, Leavenworth, and Wichita also refused African American patrons.

"Segregation was apparently less frequent in restaurants than exclusion, but there were Jim Crow sections in some establishments."¹⁵⁴ A letter to the editor of the *Leavenworth Advocate* in 1890 from an angry Black customer provides an example of a Jim Crow practice at a restaurant "between 4th and 5th streets" where the owners forced Black patrons to retire into a dark room in the rear of the establishment "with a curtain drawn over him as though he was going to have his picture taken."¹⁵⁵

Unlike in the South, or even across the border in Missouri, there were not always visible signs signaling Black and white sections or accommodations. Instead as Robert Newby, a current professor of sociology and past participant in Wichita student organizing efforts in the late 1950s put it, "In Wichita there were no signs. Everyone just knew the rules and that you didn't break them."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵² Hiawatha World, October 25, 1883; and Brown County World, October 25, 1883

¹⁵³ Valeria W. Weaver, *The Failure of Civil Rights 1875–1883 and Its Repercussions*, 54 J. NEGRO HIST. 368 (Oct. 1969); Shawn Leigh Alexander, AN ARMY OF LIONS: THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE BEFORE THE NAACP (2012); *The Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3, 3 S. Ct. 18, 27 L. Ed. 835 (1883).)

¹⁵⁴ Stuewe, Paul K., *Kansas revisited: Historical images and perspectives*, Div. of Continuing Educ., U. of Kansas; 2d Ed, 1998.

¹⁵⁵ Woods, *supra*, at 190.

¹⁵⁶ Ronald W. Walters, The Great Plains Sit-in Movement, 1958-60, 16 Great Plains Quarterly 2 87 (1996).

It was not until the summer of 1958 that widespread discrimination in restaurants began to splinter. That summer, the Youth Council of the NAACP organized a sit-in at the lunch counter of Dockum Drugstore, a Rexell pharmacy, on Wichita's main commercial street.¹⁵⁷ After four weeks of coordinated protests the store manager relented and served the protestors. The group then pivoted their protest to the segregated lunch counter of the drug store near their high school.¹⁵⁸ This created a ripple effect among the drug stores in Wichita, as well as the Rexell chain of drug stores across the state, and this visible vestige of discrimination fell, a full two years before the well-publicized Greensboro, North Carolina sit ins.¹⁵⁹

In social organizations and institutions regarded as non-essential to individuals' health and safety, white Kansans tend to draw the color line more rigidly. Virtually all white churches in the state, and many other organizations and institutions, excluded African Americans well into the 1960s. Theaters and Opera House owners generally insisted on segregating their audiences except when the facility was being used for a political gathering, into the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁶⁰

4. Employment

Although African Americans were generally excluded from white collar jobs in Kansas, virtually all types of skilled and unskilled labor were open to them. Railroads hired African Americans as porters, construction workers, and brakemen. The meatpacking plant houses of Topeka and Kansas City were important sources of employment. In the 20th and 21st centuries¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁷ Id.

¹⁵⁸ Id.

¹⁵⁹Johnson and Torbenson, *supra*, at , 226-27. *See also* Walters, *supra*, at 87-88; The Great Plains Sit-in Movement, 1958-60; Eick, *Dissent in Wichita*

¹⁶⁰ Tuttle, William M., Jr. "Separate but Not Equal: African Americans and the 100-Year Struggle for Equality in Lawrence and at the University of Kansas, 1850s-1960." In *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, edited by Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins. Lawrence: University of Kansas Continuing Education, 2001; and Eick, *Dissent in Wichita*

¹⁶¹ Woods, *supra*; Donald D. Stull, Michael Broadway, and David Griffith, *Any Way You Cut It: Meat Processing and Small-Town America* (Univ. of Kan. Press, 1995); Rich Halpren and Roger Horowitz, *Meatpackers: An Oral*

these plants moved out to smaller Kansas towns such as Garden City and Black and immigrant workers followed the jobs.¹⁶² Black Kansans also found work as hod carriers, carpenters, waiters, and stonemasons.¹⁶³ The coal mines around Pittsburg, Leavenworth, and Oswego were major employers of African Americans.¹⁶⁴ One Riverside coal company near Leavenworth employed 126 African Americans and four whites. Tellingly, the white employees were the foremen and more skilled laborers.¹⁶⁵

Following the end of World War II, Wichita's Black population grew significantly, as aviation and related industries created significant job opportunities with relatively high wages.¹⁶⁶ However, stories of discrimination in these manufacturing jobs crop up as late as the 1980s and 1990s. For instance, Black workers discussed differentiation of tasks by race and overtly racist incidents such as finding a noose had been placed on their workstation.¹⁶⁷

X. Conclusion

While the history of Kansas may not have consistently enforced the rigid Jim Crow system, one can see that from the state's origins the white population set up a system that still had Black Kansans encountering discrimination in public services and in the administration of

¹⁶²A number of the immigrant workers today are Somali and they have experienced a mix of reactions to their movement into rural Kansas. *See, for example* the documentary *Strangers in Town* (2019). Additionally, in 2016 three white men were arrested for plotting to attack the Somali community in Garden City, Kansas. They were convicted of terrorism and sentenced in 2018. Department of Justice, *Three Southwest Kansas Men Convicted of Plotting to Bomb Somali Immigrants in Garden City* (Apr. 18, 2018), https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/three-southwest-kansas-men-convicted-plotting-bomb-somali-immigrants-garden-city.

¹⁶³ Leavenworth Herald, August 14, 1897; American Citizen, August 2, 1889.

History of Black Packinghouse Workers and their Struggle for Racial and Economic Equality, Monthly Review Press (1999).

¹⁶⁴ John M. Robb, *The Black Coal Miner of Southeast Kansas*, Commission on Civil Rights, State of Kansas, (Jan. 1, 1969); Joe W Trotter. "The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in the US Coal Industry" *International Review of Social History* v. 60, 23, 145-164 (2015).

¹⁶⁵ Leavenworth Herald, January 25, 1896. See also, Hill, Herbert. *Black Labor and the American Legal System: Race, Work, and the Law.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985; and Hill, Herbert, and James E. Jones, Jr., eds. *Race in America: The Struggle for Equality.* Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1993.

¹⁶⁶ Johnson and Torbenson, "African American Experiences in Wichita, Kansas." At 224.

¹⁶⁷ *Id.* at 233

justice; segregation in schools, hotels, restaurants, and theaters; and exclusion from white hospitals, churches, and neighborhoods. The white population were constantly anxious to control the Black population, and like most state and local governments throughout the nation, created at a minimum a pervasive system of segregation and discrimination that for many seems at odds with the state's projected self-image. Kansas is indeed a state that has had, and continues to have, racism in all areas of life, and that history demonstrates that racism, segregation, and discrimination is not a story relegated to the south, or the former slave-holding states, but rather racism is a national phenomenon that needs to be recognized and eradicated from all sectors of American society.

Respectfully Submitted,

Sr Ir

Dated: February 4, 2022

Shawn Leigh Alexander

APPENDIX A

SHAWN LEIGH ALEXANDER Curriculum Vitae

Personal Information

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

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

Education

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

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

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

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

Employment History

Academic

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

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

Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA Visiting Assistant Professor, Departments of History and African American Studies, 2004 - 2005 University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA Instructor, Afro-American Studies, 2000 - 2004 Teaching Assistant, 1999 - 2002

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

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

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

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

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

Administrative Assignments

University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS

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

Professional Memberships

African American Intellectual History Society American Historical Association Association for the Study of African American Life and History Organization of American Historians Southern Historical Association

Honors/Awards/Honor Societies

Individual Honors/Awards

Mortar Board Society, Outstanding Educator Award, University of Kansas (2018)

Docking Young Faculty Scholar Award, University of Kansas (2013 - 2018)

Kansas Humanities Council Speaker's Bureau, Kansas Humanities Council (2014 - 2017)

Diversity Leadership Award, University of Kansas, Office of Diversity and Equity (2015 - 2016)

African and African American Studies Outstanding Service Award, University of Kansas (2014 - 2015)

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

Carnegie-Mellon Seminar Fellowship (2000 - 2001)

Publications

Books

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. The Wizard of Tuskegee: A Collection of Writings of Booker T. Washington. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, Forthcoming. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Du Bois, W. E. B. The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches. Edited by Shawn Leigh Alexander. 1903, rpt., Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2018. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *Reconstruction Violence and the Ku Klux Klan Hearings*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2015. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. W.E.B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc, 2015. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Sinclair, William. The Aftermath of Slavery: A Study of The Condition and Environment of the American Negro. Edited by Shawn Leigh Alexander. 1905, rpt., Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. *An Army of Lions: The Civil Right Struggle before the NAACP*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012. (Reviewed/Refereed)

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

Book Chapters

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Clarence Lang and John Rury, "The Long Hot Summers of the 1960s: Teaching Racial Disturbances during the Civil Rights Era" in *Teaching and Understanding the Civil Rights Movement*. edited by Hasan Kwame Jeffries. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019. (Reviewed/Refereed)
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Afro-American Agitators: The Afro-American League and Afro-American Council Precursors to the Niagara Movement." In What Price Freedom? The Niagara Movement in Historical and Contemporary Thought, edited by Wanda Davis and Shelia Martin. Albany, NY: SUNY Press. Forthcoming. (Reviewed/Refereed)
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- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Vengeance without Justice--Injustice without Retribution: The Afro-American Council's Struggle against Racial Violence." In *African Americans on the Great Plains*, edited by Bruce Glasrud and Charles A. Braithwaite, 71-102. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009. (Reviewed/Refereed)
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Journal Articles

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

Books, Textbooks

- Cooper, Melissa L., and Shawn Leigh Alexander. *Instructor's Resource Manual for Freedom on My Mind: A History of African Americans, with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2013.
- Menzin, Marion, Courtney Podraza, and Shawn Leigh Alexander. *The Bedford Glossary for U.S. History*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2007.

Encyclopedia Entries

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington." In *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, edited by Carl Skutsch. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." In *Encyclopedia of the World's Minorities*, edited by Carl Skutsch. New York: Routledge, 2004.
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Reviews

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of Jim Crow Capital: Women and Black Freedom Struggles in Washington DC, 1920-1945, Mary Elizabeth B. Murphy. University of North Carolina Press, 2018. American Historical Review. Forthcoming
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. Review of *Crusader for Democracy: The Political Life of William Allen White*, Charles Delgadillo University Press of Kansas, 2018. *Kansas History*. Forthcoming
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- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "History of Violence Against Black Churches." In *Office of Multicultural Affairs Blog.* July 1, 2015. http://oma.ku.edu/statements-support.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Activism After Douglass: Building on the Achievements, Departing from the Methods." In University of Pennsylvania Press Log. February 21, 2012. http://pennpress.typepad.com/pennpresslog/2012/02/activism-after-douglass-shawn-leighalexander.html.

Activity Currently in Progress

Books

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

Book Chapters

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

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

Presentations/Lectures

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

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." Kansas History Author's Day, Lawrence, KS. November 7, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lessons of W. E. B. Du Bois for the Black Lives Matter Generation." Loras College, Dubuque, IA. October 22, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Out of Touch or Visionary?: W. E. B. Du Bois, Self-Segregation and the NAACP." ASALH, Atlanta, GA. September 26, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington: His Image and Legacy after 100 Years." ASALH, Atlanta, GA. September 24, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil War, African American Soldiers and General Order #143." Independence Public Library, Independence KS. September 8, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Booker T. Washington After 100 Years." Organization of American Historians, St. Louis, MO. April 16, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Struggle in the Age of Accommodation." Amherst Books, Amherst, MA. December 4, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle before the NAACP." University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. December 3, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Worse than Slavery: Race, Violence, and the Defining of the Nation in Post-Emancipation America." Freedom Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence KS. February 27, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Convict Leasing and Peonage in the Shaping of Post-Emancipation America." Atchison Public Library, Atchison, KS. February 26, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Trials of Muhammad Ali." Labette Community College, Parsons KS. February 24, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""The Lynching of Fred Alexander and the Early Civil Rights Struggle in Kansas"." Lansing Historical Museum, Lansing, KS. January 25, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go into the courts and fight it out': T. Thomas Fortune, the Afro-American League, and the Origins of the NAACP's Legal Strategy." University of North Carolina, Charlotte. January 16, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lynching of Fred Alexander." Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, Branch of ASALH. November 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "'Young Africa' and The Struggle for Historical Memory." African American Studies Annual Lecture, Mississippi State University. October 15, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Long Movement: The State of the Field." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 6, 2013. Chair and Commentator

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Plenary: African American Studies Past and Present: A Session in Appreciation of John H. Bracey." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 3, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Meier's Negro Thought in America 50 Years Later." ASLAH, Jacksonville, FL. October 5, 2013. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." ASALH, Jacksonville, FL. October 4, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Exploring the Legacy and Significance of Black Health Activists." ASALH, Pittsburgh, PA. September 27, 2012. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "From Whence Commeth Our Help: Black Women and Black Power." ASALH, Pittsburgh, PA. September 27, 2012. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Plenary: The Legacy of the Civil War." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 8, 2011. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Religious Thought and the Civil War." ASALH, Richmond, VA. October 6, 2011. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "New Geographies of Reconstruction: African American Politics in the North and Midwest, 1865-1900 (Part I)." OAH, Houston, TX. March 18, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African and African American Studies." MAAAS Annual Meeting, Lawrence, KS. October 9, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Afro-American Agitator: T. Thomas Fortune and the Struggle for Historical Memory." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 2, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Radical Voices in Journalism During the Nadir." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 2, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Economic and Civil Rights in Kansas and Missouri." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. October 1, 2010. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Economic Empowerment Beyond Jim Crow, Racial Democracy and Domesticity." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. September 30, 2010. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Gender, and Women's Social and Political Activism in the Twentieth Century." ASALH Annual Meeting, Raleigh, NC. September 30, 2010. Chair and Commentator

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 21, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, and John Stauffer. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War in Cultural Memory." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 18, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "New Negroes in a New Light: Black Activism in the Urban Upper South, 1918-1929." ASALH Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH. October 3, 2009. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Re-examination of Black Leadership in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." ASALH Annual Meeting, Cincinnati, OH. October 1, 2009. Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." AHA Annual Meeting, New York City, NY. January 5, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""An Army of Christ:" T. McCants Stewart and his quest to create a "Negro Nationality"." University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 9, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""A Negro Nation within a Nation:" The W.E.B. Du Bois Controversy of 1934-35." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 4, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "State of the Black Union: Young Scholars Respond." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 4, 2008. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Portraits in Black: African American Biographical Sketches." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 2, 2008. Chair and Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Look Back and Wonder: The Genesis of Afro-American Studies at the University of Massachusetts Amherst." ASALH Annual Meeting, Birmingham, AL. October 3, 2008. Respondent
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Hybridity, Absorption or a New American Race: Notions of the "Future American" in the Late 19th and Early 20th Centuries." American Seminar, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. April 16, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Bartow Black and the Heritage of Reconstruction." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. October 5, 2007.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Print Paths From Slavery to Freedom: Africans in the Americas, One Hundred Years, 1827-1927." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. October 5, 2007.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black, Greek, and Female: Black Sororities at Home and Abroad." ASALH Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA. September 29, 2006.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""Afro-American Agitators:" Civil Rights Organizations in the Age of Accommodation." ASALH Annual Meeting, Charlotte, NC. September 28, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""It is Strike NOW or NEVER": The Afro-American Council and the Origins of the Niagara Movement." Niagara Movement Academic Symposium, Harper's Ferry, WV. August 16, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""It is Strike Now Or Never:" The Afro-American Council's Struggle Against Disenfranchisement Legislation." OAH Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. April 20, 2006.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Origins of the Niagara Movement: The Afro-American League and the Afro-American Council." ASALH Annual Meeting, Buffalo, NY. October 7, 2005.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Lynching of Fred Alexander, the Afro-American Council and the call for a Legal Defense Fund." ASALH Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA. September 30, 2004.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African America's Participation in the Civil Rights Struggle at Home and Abroad." ASALH Annual Meeting, Pittsburgh, PA. September 30, 2004. Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "History, Heritage, Hate or Hype? Perspectives on the Recoloration Proclamation Controversy." Gettysburg College, Gettysburg, PA. September 16, 2004. Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go Into the Courts and Fight it Out." OAH Annual Meeting, Boston, MA. March 27, 2004.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "A Conversation on African American Religion in the Mid-20th Century." Amherst College, Amherst, MA. November 14, 2003 - November 16, 2003. Panelist/Commentator
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Unite and Organize: The Afro-American League and the Struggle for Equality." ASALH Conference, Milwaukee, WI. September 25, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. ""We Must Wake Up!" African America's Organizational Response to the Rise of Jim Crow." NEHA Conference, Bentley College, Waltham, MA. April 26, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W.E.B. Du Bois and *Souls*: The Centennial." DMCA Annual Black History Month Lecture, East Harford, CT. February 26, 2003.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black Response to "a Revolution Gone Backward:" Agitation in the Age of Accommodation." Bridging Disciplinary Differences: University of Massachusetts Graduate Student Conference, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. May 17, 2002.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The NAACP during the Roaring Twenties." Association for the Study of African America Life and History, Amherst Branch: Symposium on Mark Schneider's We Return Fighting: The Civil Rights Movement in the Jazz Age. University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. May 11, 2002.

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

Research Funding/Fellowships

University of Kansas

Externally-Funded Grant/Contract

Funded

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal), John Rury (Co-Principal), and Clarence Lang (Co-Principal). "Teaching the "Long Hot Summer" of 1967 and Beyond." National Endowment for the Humanities \$180,247, Submitted February 24, 2016 (October 1, 2016 - December 31, 2017).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "Created Equal: America's Civil Rights Struggle." National Endowment for the Humanities and the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History (2013 -2016).

General Research Fund

Funded

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

Not Funded

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2013 2014).
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2011 2012).

Internal Award

Funded

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

New Faculty General Research Fund

Funded

Alexander, Shawn Leigh (Principal). "New Faculty General Research Fund Grant." University of Kansas (2008 - 2009).

Other Organization or University

Externally-Funded Grant/Contract

Under Review

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

Not Funded

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

Dissertation/Thesis Supervision

University of Kansas

Dissertation Defense Committee Co-Chair Alyssa Cole, History Karenbeth Zacharius, History, Status: completed. 2012

Dissertation Defense Committee Member Dan Chmill, History Titus Firmin, History Andi Ghaderi, French, Francophone and Italian Joao Batista Nascimento Gregoire, History Benton James Bajorek, Communications Anthony Guy, Communications Sarah Tackett, Sports Management. William Adams, American Studies Maurico Gómez Montoya, School of Education Roger Booker, Jr, School of Education Sarah Tackett, School of Education/Sports Management Carsten Holm. School of Education Caleb Stevens, Theatre and Dance, Status: completed. 2021 Will Cunningham, English, Status: completed. 2017 Jason Roe, History, Status: completed. 2012 David Peavler, History, Status: completed. 2008

Doctoral Comprehensive Exam Committee Member Anthony Guy, Communications, Status: completed 2021 Titus Firmin, History, Status: completed 2021 Joao Batista Nascimento Gregoire, History, Status: completed. 2020 Sarah Tackett, School of Education/Sports Management, Status: completed. 2020 Caleb Stevens, Theatre and Dance, Status: completed. 2020 Benton James Bajorek, Communications, Status: completed. 2020 Roger Booker, Jr, School of Education, Status: completed 2019 Dan Chmill, History, Status: completed. 2019 Maurico Gómez Montoya, School of Education, Status: completed. 2019 Alyssa Cole, History, Status: completed. 2019 Carsten Holm, School of Education, Status: completed. 2018 Ben Schmack, American Studies, Status: completed. 2017 William Adams, American Studies, Status: completed. 2017 Will Cunningham, English, Status: completed. 2015 Amanda Schlumpberger, History, Status: completed. 2011

Master's Examination Committee Chair

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

Master's Examination Committee Member Noemi Tracy, AAAS, Status: completed. 2015 Amanda Schlumpberger, History, Status: completed. 2011

Master's Thesis Committee Chair
Joseph Terrell, AAAS, Status: scheduled Fall 2021
Courtland Smith, AAAS, Status: scheduled Spring 2022
Philip Dixon, History, Status: completed Spring 2020
Raychel Gadson, AAAS, Status: completed Spring 2020
Allison Lewis, AAAS, Status: completed 2019
Owen MacDonald, AAAS, Status: completed 2019
Tarik Black, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016
Paul Fowler, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016
Caroline Kastor, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016
James Baker, AAAS, Status: completed. 2015
Hassan Bailey, AAAS, Status: completed. 2011

Master's Thesis Committee Co-Chair Ginger Feather, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012

Master's Thesis Committee Member Alexandra Haggerty, GIST, Status: completed 2020 Jessica Borowicz, AAAS, Status: completed. 2017 Anita Easterwood, AAAS Status: completed. 2016 Adhima Miller, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016 Sheldon Nash, AAAS, Status: completed. 2016 Jessica Sirico, AAAS, Status: completed. 2014 Devon Lee, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012 Leathett Jackson, Religion/Indigenous Studies. Status: completed. 2012 Erika Kraus, AAAS, Status: completed. 2012 Emmanuel Birding, International Studies, Status: completed. 2009

Undergraduate Honors Thesis Advisor Christopher Davis, AAAS, Status: completed. 2010 Bethany Blackman, AAAS, Status: completed. 2008 Christopher de la Cruz, AAAS, Status: completed. 2008

Undergraduate Honors Thesis Member Jennifer David, History, Status: completed. 2013

Summary List of Courses Taught

University of Kansas (Fall 2007 – Fall 2020)

Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2021) Seminar in Africana Studies (Fall Semester 2021)

Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2021) Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2021) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2021) Intro to Africana Studies I (Spring Semester 2021) Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2021) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2020) Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2020) Civil Rights Movement (Spring Session 2020) Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2020) Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2019) Research Methods in Africana Studies (Fall Semester 2019) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2019) Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2019) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2019) Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2019) Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Spring Session 2019) The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2019) #BlackLivesMatter and the Struggle for One's Humanity (Spring Semester 2019) Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2018) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2018) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2018) Civil Rights Movement (Summer Session 2018) Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2018) Life & Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2018) Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2017) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2017) Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Summer Session 2017) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2017) Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2017) Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2017) Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2016) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2016) Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2016) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2016) Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2016) The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2015) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2015) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2015) Research Methods in Africana Studies (Summer Session 2015) Life & Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2015) Black Experience in the Americas: From Emancipation to Present (Spring Semester 2015) Intro to Africana Studies I (Fall Semester 2014) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2014) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2014) Race, Sports, and Society (Spring Semester 2014) Seminar in Africana Studies (Spring Semester 2014) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2013) The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2013) Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 2013) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2013) Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2013)

The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2013) Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2012) Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2012) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2012) The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2012) Black Leadership (Spring Semester 2012) Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2011) Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2011) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2011) Rethinking the Age of Booker T. Washington (Spring Semester 2011) The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2011) The Black Power Movement (Fall Semester 2010) Black Leadership (Fall Semester 2010) Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2010) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2010) Introduction to Africana Studies I: African American (Fall Semester 2009) Black Experience in the Americans: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2009) Special Topics in Africana Studies: Black Sociology (Fall Semester 2009) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2009) The Life and Times of W. E. B. Du Bois (Spring Semester 2009) Black Experience in America: From Emancipation to the Present (Spring Semester 2009) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2008) Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 2008) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Summer Session 2008) Black Experience in America: From Emancipation to the Present (Spring Semester 2008) The Black Power Movement (Spring Semester 2008) Black Experience in the Americas: From Slavery to Emancipation (Fall Semester 2007)

Yale University (Spring 2007)

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

Gettysburg College (Fall 2004 - Spring 2005)

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

University of Massachusetts (Fall 1999 - Summer 2003)

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

Introduction to African American Studies (Spring Semester 2000). History of the Civil Rights Movement (Winter Session 2000). History of the Civil Rights Movement (Spring Semester 2002). African American History, 1865-1954 (Spring Semester 2001). African American History, 1619-1865 (Fall Semester 2000). Introduction to African American Studies (Fall Semester 1999).

Amherst College (Spring 2003)

African American History from Reconstruction to the Present

Westfield State College (Spring 2003)

Readings in American History, 1815-1914

Sight and Sound College (1995 - 1998)

American and African American History and Culture

Mie University (1996 - 1997)

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

University of Iowa (1992 - 1995)

Introduction to African American Society (1993-1995) Black Culture and Experience: African American Social and Political Thought (Summer Session 1994) African American Literature (1992-1993)

Consulting

Academic

- Making Black America: African American Social Network (McGee Media/PBS Documentary), Consultant, New York, NY (2020)
- Reconstruction (McGee Media/PBS Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (2017 2019).
- Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Firelight Media Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (2016 2018).
- The T. Thomas Fortune Preservation Project, Consultant (2013 2019).
- Ben Rosen Christian Science Monitor, "Police union to Amazon: take "Bulletproof: Black Lives Matter" shirts off shelves", Consultant (December 26, 2016).
- Ellen Powell Christian Science Monitor, "Why Walmart pulled a 'Black Lives Matter' shirt from its website", Consultant (December 21, 2016).

- Rowena Lindsay Christian Science Monitor, "Ex-officer charged in fatal shooting that launched Milwaukee protests", Consultant (December 16, 2016).
- David Iaconangelo Christian Science Monitor, "Protests last through the night in Charlotte, N.C., after police shooting", Consultant (September 21, 2016).
- Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "How Milwaukee flipped the script after fatal police shooting", Consultant (August 15, 2016).
- Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "New Black Lives Matter platform: From indignation to remedies", Consultant (August 2, 2016).
- Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "Baton Rouge tragedy puts focus on challenges faced by black officers", Consultant (July 17, 2016).
- Muhammad Ali's Legacy Deutsche Welle News, Consultant (June 10, 2016).
- Henry Gass Christian Science Monitor, "Freddie Gray case: Would Black Lives Matter accept acquittals of officers?", Consultant (December 3, 2015).
- Tell Them We Are Rising: The Story of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (Firelight Media Documentary), Consultant and Commentator, New York, NY (November 4, 2015 November 6, 2015).
- Sean Cockerham McClatchy News Service, "In the wake of Charleston, Obama ask to launch attack on domestic extremists", Consultant (June 26, 2015).
- Anita Kumar McClatchy News Service, "Race Relations arguably worse in "Age of Obama", Consultant (December 11, 2014).
- Anita Kumar McClatchy News Service, "Obama on race: Watch what he does not what he says", Consultant (August 19, 2014).
- Documentary entitled Bricks and Straw: The Triumph and Tragedy of Booker T. Washington, Consultant and Commentator (September 2010).
- Brian Burns, Kansas City Star, NAACP Annual Convention and History of NAACP, Consultant (July 12, 2010).
- Documentary entitled Little House on the Prairie: The Legacy of Laura Ingalls Wilder, Consultant and Commentator (March 2009).
- Dawn Turner Trice, Chicago Tribune, "New Faces Among Black Studies Scholars", Consultant (March 5, 2009).

University Service

University of Kansas

Advisor

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

Chair

Faculty Ombuds Search Committee. (2019) Langston Hughes Visiting Professorship Committee. (2013 - 2014)

Co-Chair

Langston Hughes Visiting Professorship Committee. (2014 - 2017)

Co-Director

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

Coordinator

- 5th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 21, 2019)
- 4th Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 1, 2018)
- 3rd Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 2, 2017)
- 2nd Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 18, 2016)
- 1st Annual Race and Sports in American Culture: A KU Symposium. (April 23, 2015)

Protecting the Vote: Dialogues on Citizenship, Elections and the Franchise. (October 8, 2015) Fight for Freedom! A Century of the NAACP and the Struggle for Racial Equality. (February 13, 2009)

Facilitator

Enhancing Cultural Competency Conference. (February 23, 2017) KU Common Book – *Citizen*. (August 22, 2017) KU Common Book - *Between the World and Me*. (August 21, 2016) Enhancing Cultural Competency Conference. (March 23, 2016)

Faculty Mentor

Faculty Mentor Program – Men's Basketball. (2008 - 2020)

Faculty Senator

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

Member

Provost's Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Committee. (2020-2022)
Chancellor's Public Safety Task-Force (2020)
Vice Provost for Diversity, Equity and Inclusion Search Committee. (2019-2020)
Provost Search Committee. (2019-2020)
Hall Center for the Humanities, Book Publication Award Committee. (2019)
Academic Integrity Committee. (2019-2020)
Undergraduate Research Faculty Advisory Board. (2018-2020)
University Committee on Promotion and Tenure. (2018-2020)
Athletics Advisory Committee. (2017 - 2020)
Faculty Senate Executive Committee. (2017 - 2020)

University Senate Executive Committee. (2017 – 2020)

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

Participant

"Publishing Workshop – Meet the Editors," College Diversity, Equity & Inclusion Workshop, The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas October 17, 2019)

- "Mentoring Student Athletes," KU Athletics, Beyond Sports Symposium, Burge Union, University of Kansas (October 7, 2019)
- "Perspective on Music and Movements." The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas (April 30, 2019)
- "Klan Violence and the Black Community's Response." The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas (April 6, 2018)
- "Confederate Monuments." The Commons, Spooner Hall, University of Kansas (September 8, 2017)
- Hall Center for the Humanities Collaborative Best Practices Workshop. (October 9, 2015) New Faculty Colloquia: Planning for Promotion & Tenure from Day One. (October 9, 2014) Architecture(s) in (and of) the World, Office of International Programs Seminar. (January
 - 2013 May 2013)
- "Teaching Race, Space, and Gender in the Academy". 3rd Spring Symposium on the Scholarship of Diversity (March 28, 2013)
- Dan Rasmussen, "The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt" lecture, Hall Center for the Humanities. Introduction for Dan Rasmussen (February 17, 2011)

Representative

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

Respondent

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

College Service

University of Kansas

Co-Chair

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

Coordinator

Jesse B. Semple Brownbag Series (2008-2022)

Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lecture Series at Lawrence Public Library (2015-2021)

KASC Fall Seminar, Celebrating 40 Years of Africana Studies: Reflection and Visualization. (2010)

KASC Fall Seminar, "Come to Africa and Its Here!" African Americans and Africa. (2008)

Faculty Mentor

CLAS Faculty Mentor Program. (2016 - 2019)

Lecture

"Africanisms in America," KASC Teacher Summer Institute. (June 9, 2010)

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

Member

William Tuttle Annual Lecture Committee. (2011 - 2022)
College Committee on Appointments, Promotion & Tenure (CCAPT). (2015 - 2017)
African and African American Studies Working Group. (2013 - 2014)
Task Force on Online Courses in the College. (2012 - 2013)
COGA Director Search Committee. (2011)
Task Force on Online Courses in the College. (2009 - 2010)
Kansas African Studies Center (KASC) Executive Committee. (2008)
KASC FLAS Committee. (Spring 2008)

Participant

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

Department Service

University of Kansas

African & African-American Studies

Chair

AAAS 40th Anniversary Committee. (2010 - 2011)

Director

Langston Hughes Center. (2008 - 2022) Graduate Program. (2007 - 2018)

Faculty Advisor

Africana Club. (2007 - 2015)

Member

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

Professional Service

Editorial Responsibilities

Editor

H-Afro-Am Net. (2015 - Present)

Co-Editor

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

Editorial Board Member

International Journal of Africana Studies. (2015 - 2022) Journal of African American History. (2018 - 2023)

Other Professional Service

Chair

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

Co-Chair

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

Coordinator and Director

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

- The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher's Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 12-18, 2015)
- The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher's Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 13-19, 2014)
- The Civil Rights Movement. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher's Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 22-28, 2013)
- Civil Rights and the Road to *Brown*. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher's Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 21-27, 2012)
- Presidential Politics, Civil Rights and the Road to *Brown*. Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Teacher's Seminar, Lawrence, KS (July 24-30, 2011)

Member

T. Thomas Fortune Foundation and Cultural Center Board of Directors (2019-2023) Douglas County Historical Society Board of Directors (2018-2022)

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

Association for the Study of African American Life and History ASALH Program Committee. (2008 – 2020)

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship Review Committee (2018) Zinn Education Project's Teach Reconstruction Campaign Advisory Committee (2017-2019)

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reviewer

Promotion and Tenure

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

Book and Article Manuscripts

W. E. B. Du Bois: Lost and Found, Polity Press (2019)

Mississippi Zion: The Struggle for Liberation in Attala County, 1865–1915 University of Mississippi Press. (2019)

Consider the Source: Selecting Authentic Black/Africana Course Materials, International Journal of Africana Studies. (2019)

- Selling the Colfax Massacre: Rape Myths and White Reconstruction Memory, Journal of Southern History (2019)
- Beyond Busing: A New History of the Long Civil Rights Movement in Boston, University of North Carolina Press. (2019)

'I Define Myself as a Black Nationalist': New African National Identity Construction in the Republic of New Africa, International Journal of Africana Studies. (2019)

Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-1920, University of Pennsylvania Press. (2018)

Remembering the Memphis Massacre: An American Story, University of Georgia Press (2018)

- "The Battle for Humanity is Not Lost or Losing": The Critical Social Theory of W. E. B. Du Bois, Peter Lang Publishers (2018)
- "Down Where The South Begins," 1899-1930, Journal of African American History (2018) The Wings of Atlanta: Essays Written Along the Color-Line, Camden House (2018)
- Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-1920, Temple University Press. (2017)
- All Outside is the Sea: Navigating Race, Citizenship and Party in Boston, Massachusetts, University of North Carolina Press. (2017)
- Black Self Reconstruction of Baltimore: Activism, Race and the Fight for Equality, 1865-1920, University of Pennsylvania Press. (2017)
- Plessy's Peers: Racial Determination and the Jim Crow Jury for the American Journal of Legal History, American Journal of Legal History. (2016)
- African American Citizenship, the 1883 Civil Rights Cases and the Creation of the Jim Crow South, History: The Journal of the Historical Association. (2016)
- 'South Africa is the Mississippi of the World': Anti-Apartheid Activism in the Administrative State, Journal of American History. (2016)
- Forty Acres and a Carabao: T. Thomas Fortune's Journey to Hawaii and the Philippines, 1902-03, Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. (2016)
- The African American Journey, Oxford University Press. (2016)
- Struggle for Freedom: A History of African Americans, Pearson Education. (2016)
- Tithe, Time, and Talent: African Americans, Philanthropy and Civil Rights 1925-1968, University of Georgia Press. (2016)
- A Union Among Ourselves: African Americans and Urban Politics in Boston, Massachusetts, 1865-1903, University of North Carolina Press. (2016)
- The Racial Politics of a Southern Black College President: James Edward Shepard, 1875-1947, University Press of Florida. (2016)
- Black Pragmatism: A New Paradigm of African American Progressive Thought and Industrial Education after Reconstruction, American Nineteenth Century History. (2015)
- "The Holy Land of Matrimony: The Popularization and Politicalization of "Jumping the Broom" in Historical Memory, American Studies Journal. (2015)
- Reconstructing Justice: William Monroe Trotter's Usage of Jeremiadic Rhetoric to Demand Racial Equality, American Studies Journal. (2015)
- John Davis and Woodrow Wilson's Segregation Regime: Racism and Resistance in the Nation's Civil Service, 1882-1928, Journal of Southern History. (2015)
- *Race, Reality and Realpolitik: Haiti and the United States on the Lead Up to the 1915-1934 Occupation, Lexington Books. (2015)*
- The African American Journey, Oxford University Press. (2015)
- Anna Julia Cooper: Human Rights Educator, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)

Let Nobody Turn Us Around: An African American Anthology, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)

- Sine Qua Non: Africa in Twentieth Century Black Liberation Activism, Roman and Littlefield Publishers. (2015)
- A Great Man Has Fallen, University of Illinois Press. (2015)
- *Trotter: A Biography of Race and Politics in New England, 1872-1934*, University of Massachusetts Press. (2015)
- The Racial Politics of a Southern Black College President: James Edward Shepard, 1875-1947, University Press of Florida. (2015)
- *The Devil Himself: A Tale of Honor, Insanity, and the Emergence of Modern America,* Oxford University Press. (2014)
- New Perspectives on the Nation of Islam, Routledge Press. (2014)
- Culture and Resistance, Cengage Press. (2013)

Major Problems in African American History, Cengage Press. (2013)

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

Service Presentations

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, "Fantastic Dreams and Radical Visions: Researching and Writing on the NAACP's Anti-Lynching Activism in the Age of Trump", Langston Hughes Center/Lawrence Public Library's Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lawrence, KS. November 11, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Deborah Dandridge, Jennifer Wilmot and John Rury "65 Years After Brown v Board", Langston Hughes Center/Lawrence Public Library's Diverse Dialogues on Race and Culture, Lawrence, KS. May 13, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Dinaw Mengestu's *The Beautiful Things That Heaven Bear*." Shepard's Center, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Kansas City, KS. May 1, 2019.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race and the Supreme Court." Gilder Lerhman Institute Teaching History Through History Workshop, Texarkana, TX. October 8, 2018.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin." Baldwin City Public

Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Baldwin City, KS. September 9, 2018.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Parks' *The Learning Tree*." Butler Community College, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, El Dorado, KS. December 6, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, Lua Yille, Randal Fuller and Kevin Wilmott, "Confederate Monuments." The Commons, The University of Kansas. September 8, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter*." Hays Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Hays, KS. June 5, 2017.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Defining Justice: Between the World and Me." Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, MO. December 5, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Black History in Kansas and Beyond." St. John Catholic School, Lawrence, KS. November 21, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Battle for Respect: Black Soldiers in WWI." The Black Archives of Mid-America, Kansas City, MO. November 10, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Student Activism and Campus Climate." Student Affairs, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 12, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race and the Supreme Court." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Bayonne, NJ. September 30, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Dover, NJ. September 23, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Student Success." Hawk Link, Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. September 20, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and College Athletics." National Letterwinners Association Conference, Lawrence, KS. June 23, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Night Tulsa Burned." National Archives at Kansas City and the Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, ASALH Branch, Kansas City, MO. April 21, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Social Movements Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Racine, WI. April 6, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, New York, NY. March 15, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Maya Angelou's' *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*." Bashor Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Bashor, KS. March 11, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American History and Our Current Moment." United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Leavenworth, KS. February 2, 2016.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." Greater Kansas City Black History Study Group, ASAALH Branch, Kansas City, MO. January 25, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Madison, NJ. January 12, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Parks' *The Learning Tree*." Atchison Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Atchison, KS. January 7, 2016.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The History and Lessons of Reconstruction Violence and the Ku Klux Hearings." ECM University Forum, Lawrence, KS. November 4, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "W. E. B. Du Bois: An American Intellectual and Activist." KAZI 88.7 FM, Austin, TX. September 7, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 12, 2015 July 18, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Forming Racial Identity." KUCR Central Standard. June 24, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Freedom Summer Film and Discussion." Langston Hughes Center and Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. April 22, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Loving Story Film and Discussion." Langston Hughes Center and Office of Multicultural Affairs, Lawrence, KS. April 8, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Baldwin City, KS. January 20, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lerhman Institute Professional Development Seminar, Los Angeles, CA. January 12, 2015 January 13, 2015.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Graduate School from Coursework to Dissertation." University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. December 4, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and American Society." Osher Institute, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and American Society." Osher Institute, Tallgrass Creek Retirement Community, Overland Park, KS. September 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Civil Rights Movement." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 13, 2014 July 19, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Freedom Riders Film and Discussion." Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence, KS. March 4, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gordon Park's *The Learning Tree*." Topeka Aldersgate, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Topeka, KS. February 28, 2014.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Legacies of Brown v. Board of Education." Black Student Union,

University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 17, 2014.

Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes." KUCR Central Standard. February 11, 2014.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Slavery By Another Name Film and Discussion." Freedom's Frontier National Heritage Area, Carnegie Library, Lawrence, KS. February 11, 2014.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Zora Neale Hurston's *Mules and Men*." Augusta Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Augusta, KS. November 2, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "50th Anniversary of the Civil Rights Act." Kansas Museums Association, Lawrence, KS. October 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 21, 2013 - July 27, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Being Biracial." KUCR Central Standard. July 18, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Aftermath of Slavery to Reconstruction." C-Span, Lectures in History. June 15, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter*." Mount Hope Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Mount Hope, KS. January 28, 2013.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Your Vote, Your Future: Disfranchisement in America, Past and Present." Kansas Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 18, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*Race, Space, and Gender: A Conversation with KU Faculty.*" Raven Bookstore, Lawrence, KS. September 12, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 22, 2012 - July 28, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Civil Rights Pre-NAACP." KUCR Central Standard. March 6, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "The Roots of America's Civil Rights Movement." Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, MO. March 6, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Ad Astra Radio Interview." KJHK Radio. March 1, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Mount Hope Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. February 27, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "KPR Presents: Black History Month." Kansas Public Radio. February 26, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "An Army of Lions: The Civil Rights Struggle Before the NAACP." Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 16, 2012.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Young Africa and the Struggle for Historical Memory." Department of Communications Colloquium Series, Kansas Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 15, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Baldwin City Library, Kansas Humanities Council Talk Program. January 19, 2012.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Presidential Politics, Civil Rights, and the Road to *Brown*." Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Summer Seminar, Director and lead scholar. July 24, 2011 - July 30, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American Perspective: Its Link and Thread to the Present." Central Coast American History Consortium, Teaching American History Grant Summer Institute, Morgan Hill, CA. June 15, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African Americans' Views of Africa, 1880-1915." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of Kansas. June 10, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go Tell It On The Mountain." Lakeview Village Retirement Community, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program, Lenexa, KS. April 1, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Introduction for Dan Rasmussen." "The Untold Story of America's Largest Slave Revolt," lecture, Hall Center for the Humanities, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 17, 2011.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go Tell It On The Mountain." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 9, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "John Brown: Martyr or Madman?" Watkins Museum, Kansas Humanities Council Shared Stories of the Civil War Event, Lawrence, KS. August 10, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War." Wilson Creek: How A Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 21, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh, and John Stauffer. "Race, Violence, and the Civil War in Cultural Memory." Wilson Creek: How a Forgotten Battle Saved Missouri and Changed the Course of the Civil War, NEH Workshop, Drury University, Springfield, MO. June 18, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Africanisms in America." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of Kansas. June 9, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Go Tell It On The Mountain." Ottawa Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. February 4, 2010.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Bonner Springs City Library, Kansas Humanities Council Talk Program. November 16, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "*The Autobiography of Malcolm X*." Baldwin City Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. November 12, 2009.

- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gloria Naylor's *Bailey's Cafe*." Ottawa Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 14, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "John Brown: The Legend Revisited." Tonganoxie Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. September 10, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African American Leadership from W.E.B. Du Bois to Barack Obama." Africana Leadership Institute, University of Kansas. May 22, 2009.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Gloria Naylor's *Mama Day*." Wamego Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. November 18, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Politics, and the U.S. Presidential Campaign." KU Hillel Social Justice Group, The University of Kansas. November 5, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "August Wilson's *Fences*." Lawrence Public Library, Kansas Humanities Council TALK Program. October 20, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Murder in the Sunflower State: The Lynching of Fred Alexander and the Early Civil Rights Struggle in Kansas." ECM University Forum, Lawrence, KS. September 10, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "African Americans' Views of Africa, 1880-1915." KASC Teacher Summer Institute, University of Kansas. June 10, 2008.
- Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "T. Thomas Fortune: Biography as a Gateway to African American History." ASALH Lorenzo J. Greene Annual Symposium/Luncheon, Kansas City Art Institute, Kansas City, MO. February 23, 2008.

Other Activity or Information

Language Proficiencies

French, reading capability Japanese, speaking capability

APPENDIX B

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1853	John Coon, Jr.	Execution in the Territories	15	Native American	EPSY
1861	Joseph Raymond	Execution in the Territories	23	Hispanic	Execution in the Territories
1862	Alexander Driscoll	Execution in the Territories	27	U	Execution in the Territories
1862	John Bell	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1862	Jeremiah Hoy	Execution in the Territories	U	U	Execution in the Territories
1863	Carl Horne	Execution in the Territories	35	White	EPSY
1863	John Shirley	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1863	John W. Summers	Execution in the Territories	22	U	Execution in the Territories
1863	Claudius C. Frizzell	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1863	William Griffith	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1864	Charles Lockman	Execution in the Territories	U	U	Execution in the Territories
1865	John Hendley	Execution in the Territories	U	White	ESPY
1866	Ernest Wa-tee-cha	Execution in the Territories	U	Native American	Execution in the Territories
1866	Benjamin Lewis	Execution in the Territories	27	Native American	Execution in the Territories
1867	Martin W. Bates	Execution in the Territories	19	White	EPSY
1867	Scott Holderman	Execution in the Territories	23	White	EPSY
1868	Melvin E. Baughn	Execution in the Territories	32	White	EPSY
1870	William Dickson	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1887	Lee Moiser	Execution in the Territories	20	White	EPSY
1888	Jake Tobler	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	Execution in the Territories
1888	Joe Tobler	Execution in the Territories	21	Black	Execution in the Territories
1930	Carl Panzram	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1938	Glen Applegate	Execution in the Territories		White	EPSY
1938	Robert J. Suhay	Execution in the Territories		White	EPSY
1943	Brandon Levi	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	The Charlotte Observer
1944	Ernest Hoefgen	Execution in the Territories	31	White	EPSY
1944	Fred L. Brady	Execution in the Territories	45	White	EPSY

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1944	Clark B. Knox	Execution in the Territories	26	Black	EPSY
1944	Alfred B. Richie	Execution in the Territories	26	White	Execution in the Territories
1945	Walter Beyer	Execution in the Territories	32	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Willi Scholz	Execution in the Territories	22	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Hans Demme	Execution in the Territories	23	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Hans Schomer	Execution in the Territories	27	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Berthold Seidel	Execution in the Territories	30	German (White)	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Erich Gauss	Execution in the Territories	32	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Rudolph Straub	Execution in the Territories	39	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Edward J. Reichl	Execution in the Territories	37	White	World War II Enlistment records Ancestry
1945	Helmut Fischer	Execution in the Territories	24	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Fritz C. Franke	Execution in the Territories	23	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Guenther Kuelsen	Execution in the Territories	22	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Heinrich Ludwig	Execution in the Territories	21	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Bernhard Reyak	Execution in the Territories	20	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Otto Stengel	Execution in the Territories	19	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	Rolf Wizuy	Execution in the Territories	18	German (White)	Execution in the Territories
1945	George Gumtow	Execution in the Territories	21	White	EPSY
1945	Cecil F. Tate	Execution in the Territories	22	White	EPSY
1947	George Miller	Execution in the Territories	59	Black	Execution in the Territories
1950	Preston F. McBride	Execution in the Territories	24	White	EPSY
1951	James Lammers	Execution in the Territories	U	White	EPSY
1952	Nathaniel Germany	Execution in the Territories	23	Black	Execution in the Territories
1954	Merle W. Martin	Execution in the Territories	42	White	EPSY
1954	Bernard J. O'Brien	Execution in the Territories	30	White	1940 Federal Census from Ancestry
1954	Chastine Beverly	Execution in the Territories	22	Black	Execution in the Territories
1954	James Riggins	Execution in the Territories	24	Black	Execution in the Territories

Year	Name	Source	Age	Race	Race Source
1954	Louis M. Suttles	Execution in the Territories	24	Black	Execution in the Territories
1955	Thomas J. Edwards	Execution in the Territories	19	Black	Execution in the Territories
1955	Winfred D. Moore	Execution in the Territories	19	Black	Execution in the Territories
1957	Ernest L. Ransom	Execution in the Territories	21	White	EPSY
1957	Abraham Thomas	Execution in the Territories	26	Black	Execution in the Territories
1959	John E. Day Jr.	Execution in the Territories	22	Black	Execution in the Territories
1959	Lowell L. Andrews	EPSY	18	White	EPSY
1961	John A. Bennett	The Hays Daily News	25	Black	The Hays Daily News,
1962	Richard E. Hickock	EPSY	28	White	EPSY
1962	Perry E. Smith	EPSY	31	White	EPSY
1965	James D. Latham	EPSY	19	White	EPSY
1965	George R. York	EPSY	18	White	EPSY