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 disproportionately on behalf of white female victims, follows a direct historical line of 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

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This balance was disrupted by Missouri’s petition to become the 25th state to join the bourgeoning country, as a slave state. 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. 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. 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. 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 and has been described by historians as “the most fateful single piece of legislation in American history.”

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. Ironically, the emigrants who journeyed to Kansas were primarily influenced by land, not a particular cause. However, motivation did not matter as Kansas became part of the unfolding drama

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4 Id.
8 Muehlberger, supra, at 25; and Etchesonm, supra.
10 Muehlberger, supra, at 26.
11 Drake, supra.
between South and North and the settlers became surrogates for the bigger existential issues. 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. Kansas soon received the nickname of “Bleeding Kansas” in eastern newspapers.

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. This was followed four days later by the retaliatory Pottawatomie murders—led by John Brown—of five pro-slavery men. 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. Kansas voters rejected this constitution in 1858, and ultimately, Kansas emerged from this bloodshed as a free state in 1861. Just a few months later the Civil War began.

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. In 1862 the Leavenworth Daily Times called this migration a “stampede” noting that parts of Missouri were

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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.
18 Id.
19 Id.
20 Id.
“almost denuded” of Black people. 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. Quindaro quickly became a thriving port town home to abolitionists and an Underground Railroad station for slaves escaping from Missouri.

The Black population grew from 627 in 1860 to 12,641 in 1865. 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. 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.”

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. This retreat accelerated in the decade following the war. Between 1866 and 1874 lynch mobs executed at least 25 Black men in sixteen incidents.

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22 Leavenworth Daily Times, Aug. 15, 1863 at 3.
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.
28 Campney, *supra*, at 45.
29 Id. at 25.
In 1879, former slaves began a widely-publicized mass migration to Kansas from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas, who were soon dubbed Exodusters.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{31}

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

\textsuperscript{31} Painter, Nell Irvin. \textit{Exodusters}; and Campney, \textit{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.


\(^{34}\) Campney, supra at 65.

\(^{35}\) Id. at 66.

\(^{36}\) Id. at 65; 75.


\(^{38}\) Campney, supra, at 69.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{45} If the analysis is limited to those individuals lynched who

\textsuperscript{40} Id. at Appendix 1.
\textsuperscript{41} Id. at 31.
\textsuperscript{42} Id. at 75.
\textsuperscript{43} Id.
\textsuperscript{44} Genevieve Yost, History of Lynchings in Kansas, \textit{Kansas Quarterly}, 2 199 (May 1933); See also Campney, \textit{supra}.
\textsuperscript{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

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 lynchings, or almost 34 percent.48 The lynching of Hugh Henry in Larned in 1892, and the local newspaper’s account

46 Id.
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. 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. 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.

VI. Racialized Violence, 1920-1929

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

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49 The Tiller and Toiler, September 16, 1892; Campney, supra, at 88-90; 104.
53 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.”

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.\footnote{Id.}

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.\footnote{Kenneth T Jackson,\textit{The Ku Klux Klan in The City, 1915-1930} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967); Chalmers, \textit{Hooded Americanism}.} The Black population of Wichita at that time was approximately 5,000 – the same size as the Klan population.\footnote{“Seeking Full Roster of Ku Klux Members,” \textit{The Wichita Eagle}, Nov. 25, 1922; Jackson, \textit{The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930}, 237; 289.} 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.\footnote{Fletcher Powell, \textit{The KKK and Baseball History}, WBUR, May 26, 2012, \url{https://www.wbur.org/onlyagame/2012/05/26/monrovian-baseball}.}

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.\footnote{Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet In State, \textit{Arkansas City Daily Traveler}, Jul. 7, 1922; \textit{Kansas Will Hold Cities to Account for Acts of Klan}, Wichita Beacon, Oct. 3, 1922; Flogged by Klan, Kansas to Bring $100,000 Suit: Mayor of Liberty Will Claim Damages Under Mob Law; Governor Denounced Affair, The Wichita Beacon, Oct. 16, 1922.} On July 8, 1922, Governor Allen issued a proclamation prohibiting the wearing of masks

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54 Id. \\
56 “Seeking Full Roster of Ku Klux Members,” \textit{The Wichita Eagle}, Nov. 25, 1922; Jackson, \textit{The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930}, 237; 289. \\
57 Fletcher Powell, \textit{The KKK and Baseball History}, WBUR, May 26, 2012, \url{https://www.wbur.org/onlyagame/2012/05/26/monrovian-baseball}. \\
58 Allen Orders Probe of Klan Meet In State, \textit{Arkansas City Daily Traveler}, Jul. 7, 1922; \textit{Kansas Will Hold Cities to Account for Acts of Klan}, Wichita Beacon, Oct. 3, 1922; Flogged by Klan, Kansas to Bring $100,000 Suit: Mayor of Liberty Will Claim Damages Under Mob Law; Governor Denounced Affair, The Wichita Beacon, Oct. 16, 1922. \\
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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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{64} In 1925, the Klan’s Wichita chapter responded to a public advertisement in the \textit{Wichita Eagle} and challenged the Wichita

\textsuperscript{60} Governor Bars Mask Wearing in State By a Proclamation, \textit{Arkansas City Daily Traveler}, Jul. 8, 1922.
\textsuperscript{61} Id.
\textsuperscript{64} Rives, \textit{supra}.
Monrovians—an all-Black baseball team from the Colored Western League—to a baseball game at Island Park in Wichita. 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.” 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.”

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. 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.

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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.


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.”\(^7\) 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.\(^7\) After false rumors circulated that one of the assaulted girls had died, the lynch mob “commenced to stone any colored person on the streets.”\(^7\) 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.\(^7\) The National Guard then swiftly deployed to Coffeyville, where they occupied for four days to quell the race riots.\(^7\) 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.\(^7\) Even after the spectacles of Klan cross burnings, public threats of violence, and lynch mobs faded from the public eye after the 1920s, Klan-elected policymakers preserved the ideology of white supremacy and racialized violence forever shaping Kansas’s state carceral and capital punishment systems.

VII. History of Racial Bias in the Criminal Legal System

\(^{71}\) 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.
enforcement had declined to substantiate any of the 592 racial profiling complaints made over the previous five years.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{86}

\textbf{VIII. The Death Penalty in Kansas}\textsuperscript{87}

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.

\textsuperscript{84} K.S.A. 74-9101(b)(1).
\textsuperscript{85} Governor’s Commission on Racial Equity & Justice, Initial Report 22 (Dec. 2020).
\textsuperscript{86} Prison Policy Initiative, Racial and ethnic disparities in prisons and jails in Kansas, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/profiles/KS.html.
\textsuperscript{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.\(^91\)


\(^{91}\) See id. at 155.
When Kansas formed as a free state in 1861, it authorized the death penalty for acts of treason. The following year, the state enacted a death penalty for persons convicted of first-degree murder. The federal government carried out its first execution at Leavenworth, Kansas in 1861, when it executed Joseph Raymond, a Hispanic soldier, for stealing a coin and watch from a bar owner during a time of war. Raymond’s fellow soldiers, both of European descent, who joined him in the armed break in of the bar and “took all the liquor they could find” were not executed.

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

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Beginning in 1872 and continuing through 1907, when Kansas repealed the death penalty, no governor signed a death warrant. 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.

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. Kansas, however, historically ambivalent about the death penalty, defeated the proposed law when it came to a vote in February 1901."

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.

The Kansas legislature passed legislation abolishing capital punishment in Kansas and it was Governor Hoch who signed into law on January 30, 1907. This law remained in effect for 28 years, surviving attempts to reinstate the death penalty in 1927, 1931, and 1933. The next

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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).
99 Campney, supra, at 149.
100 Campney, supra, at 149-50.
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.
108 Galliher, supra note 9, at 376.
110 Galliher, supra note 9, at 376.
Schmidt, in an affluent Kansas City suburb.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{114}


\textsuperscript{113} Campney, supra, at 40.

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.” 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.

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. 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.” 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

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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.\(^\text{119}\)

Cities of second-class status, those larger than 2,000, but smaller than 10,000, such as Fort Scott, were divided into wards.\(^\text{120}\) Each ward had its elementary school, and since Black Kansans were concentrated in one of the two areas of the city \textit{de facto} segregation in education resulted.\(^\text{121}\) 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.\(^\text{122}\) 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 staffs.\(^\text{123}\) 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.\(^\text{124}\)

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.”\(^\text{125}\) 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

\(^{119}\) Id.  
\(^{120}\) Id.  
\(^{121}\) Id.  
\(^{122}\) Id.  
\(^{123}\) Id. at 213.  
\(^{124}\) Id. at 56.  
\(^{125}\) Id.
making derogatory statements about Black students. 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. When several Black students drank from the designated white buckets, the teacher expelled them from school. 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.

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

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127 Woods, *supra*.
128 *Id.*
129 *Id.*
became known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. There, the Court held segregation in education was not constitutional.\(^\text{130}\)

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.\(^\text{131}\) 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.\(^\text{132}\) 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.\(^\text{133}\) This process of dislocation placed the burden of integration solely on Black, rather than white students.\(^\text{134}\)

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

\(^\text{130}\) *Wichita Bar Association Deskbook*, 12-13; Kluger. *Simple Justice*.


\(^\text{132}\) *Id.*

\(^\text{133}\) *Id.*

\(^\text{134}\) *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

136 Johnson and Torbenson, supra at 224.
137 Id. at 223-24.
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. 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):
cultured or refined and there are others where if he rents or buys his life and property are in danger.”\(^\text{142}\)

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.\(^\text{143}\)

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.\(^\text{144}\)

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.\(^\text{145}\)

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.\(^\text{146}\)

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

\(^\text{142}\) Id.

\(^\text{143}\) Id.

\(^\text{144}\) 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.

\(^\text{145}\) Woods, supra, at 191.

\(^\text{146}\) 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{147} Johnson and Torbenson, \textit{supra} at 230-31.
\textsuperscript{149} Randall B. Woods, \textit{Integration, Exclusion, or Segregation? The "Color Line" in Kansas, 1878-1900}, 14 W. Historical Quarterly 2, 189 (1983)
\textsuperscript{150} \textit{Id.} November 20, 1888 and November 21, 1896.
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


\(^{155}\) Woods, *supra*, at 190.

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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 20\textsuperscript{th} and 21\textsuperscript{st} centuries\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{157} Id.
\textsuperscript{158} Id.
\textsuperscript{159} Johnson 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
\textsuperscript{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
\textsuperscript{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. Black Kansans also found work as hod carriers, carpenters, waiters, and stonemasons. The coal mines around Pittsburg, Leavenworth, and Oswego were major employers of African Americans. One Riverside coal company near Leavenworth employed 126 African Americans and four whites. Tellingly, the white employees were the foremen and more skilled laborers.

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. 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.

**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

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162 A number of the immigrant workers today are Somali and they have experienced a mix of reactions to their movement into rural Kansas. *See, for example* the documentary *Strangers in Town* (2019). Additionally, in 2016 three white men were arrested for plotting to attack the Somali community in Garden City, Kansas. They were convicted of terrorism and sentenced in 2018. 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.


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,

Dated: February 4, 2022

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Curriculum Vitae

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

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Teaching Assistant, African American Literature, 1992 - 1993

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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)


Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History Dissertation Fellowship, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture (Summer 2003)


Publications

Books


**Book Chapters**


**Journal Articles**


**Books, Textbooks**


**Encyclopedia Entries**


Reviews


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


**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**


Presentations/Lectures

Chair and Commentator


Chair and Commentator

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.


Chair and Commentator


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. "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.


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).


General Research Fund

Funded


Not Funded


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

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Other Organization or University

Externally-Funded Grant/Contract

Under Review

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

Yale University (Spring 2007)
African American Social and Political Thought, 1880-1920: A Reexamination of the Age of Booker T. Washington

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

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

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

### Consulting

**Academic**


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).


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


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


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).


University Service

University of Kansas

Advisor

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

Co-Chair

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

Coordinator
2nd Annual The Power of Sport: A Conversation on Business, Race and Sports. (February 18, 2016)
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 - 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)
Campus Climate Study Task Force. (2015 - 2017)
1965 Strong Hall Sit-in Commemoration Committee. (2015 - 2016)
IT Faculty Consultation Group. (2014 - 2016)
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

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)

Member
William Tuttle Annual Lecture Committee. (2011 - 2022)
College Committee on Appointments, Promotion & Tenure (CCAPT). (2015 - 2017)
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

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

Member
AAAS 50th Anniversary Committee. (2019 - 2021)
Search Committee for Department Lecturer Positions. (2007 - 2016)
Department Scholarship Committee. (2007 - 2015)
Search Committee for Faculty Position in African Art and Culture. (2011 - 2012)
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

_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)
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, Charlotte

Book and Article Manuscripts

Mississippi Zion: The Struggle for Liberation in Attala County, 1865–1915 University of Mississippi Press. (2019)
Selling the Colfax Massacre: Rape Myths and White Reconstruction Memory, Journal of Southern History (2019)
Remembering the Memphis Massacre: An American Story, University of Georgia Press (2018)
All Outside is the Sea: Navigating Race, Citizenship and Party in Boston, Massachusetts, University of North Carolina Press. (2017)
African American Citizenship, the 1883 Civil Rights Cases and the Creation of the Jim Crow South, History: The Journal of the Historical Association. (2016)
The African American Journey, Oxford University Press. (2016)
Culture and Resistance, Cengage Press. (2013)
The Philadelphia Negro Revisited, Contexts. (2013)
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)
"We have seen the fate of the Indian: Western influences on African American leadership in the Gilded Age", American Nineteenth Century History. (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)

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. "Harriet Beecher Stowe’s Uncle Tom’s Cabin." Baldwin City Public


Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Student Activism and Campus Climate." Student Affairs, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 12, 2016.


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


Alexander, Shawn Leigh. "Race, Sports and American Society." Osher Institute, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. October 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. "Young Africa and the Struggle for Historical Memory." Department of Communications Colloquium Series, Kansas Union, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS. February 15, 2012.


**Other Activity or Information**

**Language Proficiencies**

- French, reading capability
- Japanese, speaking capability
APPENDIX B
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Race</th>
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<td>Alfred B. Richie</td>
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