

# Travis Crum

One Brookings Drive • MSC 1120-250-258 • St. Louis, MO 63130  
Anheuser-Busch Hall • Room 554 • crum@wustl.edu • (314) 935-1612

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

---

### Washington University in St. Louis

Professor of Law 2025 — Present  
Associate Professor of Law 2020 — 2024

### University of Chicago Law School

Harry A. Bigelow Teaching Fellow and Lecturer in Law 2018 — 2020

## EDUCATION

---

### Yale Law School, J.D., 2011

*Yale Law Journal*, Book Reviews & Features Editor  
Supreme Court Advocacy Clinic (member 2L year; student director 3L year)  
Morris Tyler Moot Court Finalist  
Coker Fellow (Teaching Assistant for Civil Procedure)

### London School of Economics, MSc, Comparative Politics (Politics and Markets), 2007

English Mace Semi-Finalist (National Debate Championship)

### Johns Hopkins University, B.A., Political Science and Economics, 2006

Max Hochschild Award for Most Outstanding Senior in Economics  
Bloomberg Scholar (full-tuition, merit- and need-based scholarship)

## LEGAL EXPERIENCE

---

**Mayer Brown LLP**, Washington, D.C. 2016 — 2018  
Associate

**Justice Anthony M. Kennedy and  
Justice (Ret.) John Paul Stevens**, U.S. Supreme Court 2014 — 2015  
Law Clerk

**U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Solicitor General** 2013 — 2014  
Bristow Fellow

**Judge David S. Tatel**, U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit 2012 — 2013  
Law Clerk

**Judge Myron H. Thompson**, U.S. District Court, M.D. Alabama 2011 — 2012  
Law Clerk

<b>U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section</b> Intern	Summer 2010
<b>Hogan Lovells US LLP, Washington, D.C.</b> Summer Associate	Summer 2010
<b>U.S. Attorney’s Office for the District of Maryland</b> Intern	Summer 2009
<b>Judge David S. Tatel, U.S. Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit</b> Reader and Research Assistant	2007 — 2008

## **ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS**

---

THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT:  
AN UNABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN VOTING  
(Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2028) (work in progress)

*Liquidating Reconstruction*,  
125 MICHIGAN LAW REVIEW (forthcoming 2026)

[\*The Riddle of Race-Based Redistricting\*](#),  
124 COLUMBIA LAW REVIEW 1823 (2024)

[\*The Unabridged Fifteenth Amendment\*](#),  
133 YALE LAW JOURNAL 1039 (2024)

- Winner, 2024 AALS Distinguished Scholarship Award in Election Law
- Selected for 2023 Harvard/Stanford/Yale Junior Faculty Forum

[\*The Lawfulness of the Fifteenth Amendment\*](#),  
97 NOTRE DAME LAW REVIEW 1543 (2022)

- Symposium on Kurt Lash’s *The Reconstruction Amendments: The Essential Documents*

[\*Deregulated Redistricting\*](#),  
107 CORNELL LAW REVIEW 359 (2022)

[\*Reconstructing Racially Polarized Voting\*](#),  
70 DUKE LAW JOURNAL 261 (2020)

- Cited in [\*Allen v. Milligan\*](#), 599 U.S. 1, 28-29 (2023)

[\*The Superfluous Fifteenth Amendment?\*](#),  
114 NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1549 (2020)

[\*The Voting Rights Act's Secret Weapon: Pocket Trigger Litigation and Dynamic Preclearance\*](#), 119 YALE LAW JOURNAL 1992 (2010) (student note)

- Profiled in the [Wall Street Journal](#)
- Discussed in the [New York Times](#), [Washington Post](#), and [MSNBC](#)
- Effects-test bail-in proposal included in the [John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2024](#)

## SHORTER WORKS

---

[\*The Curiously Minor Role of Minor v. Happersett\*](#), 102 WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW REVIEW 1675 (2025)  
(with Susan Frelich Appleton & Hannah Keidan)

- Foreword to symposium on the 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of *Minor v. Happersett*: The Past and Future of Women's Rights

[\*Voting under the Federal Constitution\*](#), THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN ELECTION LAW 199 (Eugene Mazo ed., 2024)

[\*Federalizing the Voting Rights Act\*](#), 74 VANDERBILT LAW REVIEW EN BANC 323 (2021)

- Response piece to Lisa Marshall Manheim, *Presidential Control of Elections*, 74 VANDERBILT LAW REVIEW 385 (2021)

## ACADEMIC AMICUS BRIEFS

---

[\*Louisiana v. Callais\*](#), U.S. Supreme Court (Nos. 24-109 & 24-110), 2025 WL 2616565  
(in support of the *Robinson* appellants)

[\*Merrill v. Milligan\*](#), U.S. Supreme Court (Nos. 21-1086 & 21-1087), 2022 WL 2873374  
(in support of appellees/respondents), decided sub nom. [Allen v. Milligan](#)

[\*Brnovich v. DNC\*](#), U.S. Supreme Court (Nos. 19-1257 & 19-1258), 2021 WL 260088  
(in support of respondents)

## COMMENTARY

---

[Rethinking Preclearance in the Age of Trump](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 4, 2026)

[The Brewing Fight Over the 2030 Census's Citizenship Question](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG  
(Feb. 6, 2026)

[Turtle Mountain Cert Petition Remains Pending: What Does this Mean for Callais?](#), ELECTION  
LAW BLOG (Dec. 8, 2025)

[Mid-Decade Redistricting and the Purcell Principle](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Nov. 19, 2025)

[Callais Re-Argument Recap](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Oct. 15, 2025)

[Originalism and Expiration Dates](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Oct. 14, 2025)

[Section 2's Limits](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Oct. 14, 2025)

[Amicus Brief on the Fifteenth Amendment in Louisiana v. Callais](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 3, 2025)

[Alabama Dodges Bail-in](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Aug. 8, 2025)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Alabama](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (July 28, 2025)

[Waiting for Callais](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (July 25, 2025)

[Three-Judge District Court Finds Alabama's Congressional Redistricting Plan Intentionally Discriminated Against Black Voters](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (May 8, 2025)

[DDC Enjoins Part of Trump Elections Executive Order](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Apr. 24, 2025)

[Trump's Voting Executive Order and Section 2 of the VRA](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 31, 2025)

[Callais Oral Argument Recap](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 24, 2025)

[The Consequences of Overturning Shaw and the Continuing Relevance of Section 2](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 24, 2025)

[Questioning Shaw in Callais](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 21, 2025)

[Rewarding Loyalty and the Fifteenth Amendment](#), BALKINIZATION (July 2, 2024)  
(symposium on Mark Graber's *Punish Treason, Reward Loyalty: The Forgotten Goals of Constitutional Reform after the Civil War*)

[Justice Thomas Exits the Political Thicket](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (May 23, 2024)

[The Court v. The Voters](#), WASHINGTON MONTHLY (May 16, 2024)  
(review of Joshua Douglas's *The Court v. The Voters: The Troubling Story of How the Supreme Court has Undermined Voting Rights*)

[Originalism, Lived Experience, and the Twenty-Sixth Amendment](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Apr. 10, 2024)

[Justice Alito Embraces a Retrogression Standard](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Feb. 22, 2024)

[\*The Fifteenth Amendment's Relevance to Trump v. Anderson\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Feb. 5, 2024)

[\*The Eighth Circuit's Other Jurisdictional Problem\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Nov. 21, 2023)

[\*Stopping Alabama's Defiance of the Voting Rights Act\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Oct. 10, 2023)

[\*How the House battle for a new Speaker could topple Trump's bid for the presidency\*](#), THE HILL (Oct. 6, 2023)

[\*Justice Scalia's Draft Dissent from Denial of Certiorari in Rice v. Cayetano\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (May 23, 2023)

[\*Coming of Age Reading the Election Law Blog\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 3, 2023) (symposium for the Election Law Blog's 20th anniversary)

[\*The Fifteenth Amendment and the Independent State Legislature Theory\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Dec. 8, 2022)

[\*Shaw and the City\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Apr. 26, 2022)

[\*Bailing in the Sunshine State\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 31, 2022)

[\*Revising Sections 2 and 5 in the John Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2021\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Aug. 17, 2021)

[\*Avoiding Avoidance in Brnovich\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (July 1, 2021)

[\*Rethinking the Race or Party Question in Brnovich\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 1, 2021)

[\*The Fatal Flaw that Should Undo Amendment 3\*](#), ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH (Oct. 21, 2020)

[\*Abridging the Right to Vote in the Fifth Circuit\*](#), TAKE CARE BLOG (Sept. 15, 2020)

[\*The Voting Rights Act Should be Amended to Apply to the Federal Government\*](#), TAKE CARE BLOG (Aug. 20, 2020)

[\*The Fifteenth Amendment Goes to Guam\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (May 4, 2020)

[\*The Curious Disappearance of Shelby County\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 27, 2020)

[\*The Fifteenth Amendment and DNC v. Hobbs\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Jan. 31, 2020)

[\*Racially Polarized Voting and the Fifteenth Amendment\*](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Jan. 30, 2020)

[Originalism, Colorblindness, and the Fifteenth Amendment](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Jan. 29, 2020)

[The Voting Rights Act of 1869](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Jan. 28, 2020)

[The Fifteenth Amendment at 150](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Jan. 26, 2020)

[Requiem for a Lone Star Bail-in](#), TAKE CARE BLOG (July 25, 2019)

[Rucho and Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (June 27, 2019) (cross-posted at [TAKE CARE BLOG](#))

[The Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2019](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Mar. 1, 2019) (cross-posted at [TAKE CARE BLOG](#))

[A Lone Star Bail-in?](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Feb. 14, 2019) (cross-posted at [TAKE CARE BLOG](#))

[The House Should Pass an Effects-Test Bail-in Provision](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Nov. 15, 2018) (joint symposium with [TAKE CARE BLOG](#))

[Raising Red Flags About Shelby County](#), TAKE CARE BLOG (Oct. 15, 2018)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Texas: Strategic Considerations](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 17, 2018)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Texas: The Constitutional Argument for Bail-in](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 16, 2018)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Texas: The Statutory Argument for Bail-in](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 15, 2018)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Texas: Recent Bail-in Litigation](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 14, 2018)

[The Prospect of Bailing-in Texas: Initial Thoughts](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (Sept. 13, 2018)

[An Effects-Test Pocket Trigger](#), ELECTION LAW BLOG (July 8, 2013)

[October 19-22, 2009 Military Commission Hearings](#), in 2 NIMJ REPORTS FROM GUANTÁNAMO 20 (2010)

[The OpenRedistricting Project](#), BALKINIZATION (Apr. 6, 2009)

## ACADEMIC PRESENTATIONS

---

### *Liquidating Reconstruction*

- Law & Politics Workshop, Harvard Law School (Apr. 22, 2026) (scheduled)
- National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars, James E. Rogers College of Law, University of Arizona (Mar. 6, 2026) (scheduled)

### **THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT:**

#### **AN UNABRIDGED HISTORY OF THE FIGHT AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN VOTING**

- Faculty Workshop, Saint Louis University School of Law (Oct. 16, 2024)

### *The Riddle of Race-Based Redistricting*

- Faculty Workshop, Washington University in St. Louis (Apr. 24, 2024)
- Election Law Conference, Washington University in St. Louis (Mar. 22, 2024)
- Second Founding Conference, Tulane Law School (Mar. 15, 2024)
- Faculty Workshop, Northwestern Pritzker School of Law (Mar. 4, 2024)

### *The Unabridged Fifteenth Amendment*

- Constitutional Law Colloquium, Loyola University Chicago Law School (Nov. 10, 2023)
- Workshop on Politics, Economics, and Society, Washington University in St. Louis (Nov. 3, 2023)
- Harvard/Stanford/Yale Junior Faculty Forum, Yale Law School (June 30, 2023)
- Faculty Workshop, Washington University in St. Louis (May 24, 2023)
- Faculty Workshop, George Washington University Law School (Nov. 9, 2022)

### *Voting under the Federal Constitution*

- Conference for Oxford Handbook on American Election Law (Aug. 5, 2022) (virtual)

### *The Lawfulness of the Fifteenth Amendment*

- Conference on the Reconstruction Amendments, University of Chicago Law School (Apr. 22, 2022)
- Faculty Workshop, Washington University in St. Louis (Apr. 6, 2022)
- National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars, James E. Rogers College of Law, University of Arizona (Feb. 19, 2022) (virtual)
- Symposium, Constitutional Reconstruction: The History of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, Notre Dame Law School (Oct. 29, 2021)

### *Deregulated Redistricting*

- ACS Junior Scholars Schmooze, Washington, DC (May 6, 2022)
- Faculty Workshop, Indiana University Maurer School of Law (Jan. 29, 2021) (virtual)
- New Voices in Election Law, AALS Annual Meeting (Jan. 9, 2021) (virtual)
- Constitutional Law Colloquium, Loyola University Chicago Law School (Nov. 6, 2020) (virtual)
- Faculty Workshop, Washington University in St. Louis (Oct. 21, 2020) (virtual)

### ***Reconstructing Racially Polarized Voting***

- Washington University in St. Louis (Nov. 4, 2019)
- University of Illinois Law School (Oct. 22, 2019)
- Junior Scholars Colloquium, University of Chicago Law School (Sept. 24, 2019)
- Moot Camp, Yale Law School (Sept. 6, 2019)
- Work-in-Progress Workshop, University of Chicago Law School (Aug. 28, 2019)

### ***The Superfluous Fifteenth Amendment?***

- Law & Society Association Annual Meeting, Washington, D.C. (May 31, 2019)
- National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars, James E. Rogers College of Law, University of Arizona (Mar. 10, 2019)
- Junior Scholars Colloquium, University of Chicago Law School (Mar. 5, 2019)

### **Commentator**

- Panelist, Florida State University Election Law Center Conference in Washington DC (Apr. 17, 2026)
- Moderator, *Districting and Democracy*, Election Law Conference, Florida State University (Sept. 13, 2025)
- Panelist, *The Future of Constitutional Interpretation*, Childress Symposium, Saint Louis University School of Law (Oct. 25, 2024)
- Moderator, *Voting Rights Panel, Washington University Law Review Symposium, The 150th Anniversary of Minor v. Happersett: The Past and Future of Women's Rights* (Sept. 27, 2024)
- Moderator, *Keynote Panel*, Election Law Conference, Washington University in St. Louis (Mar. 22, 2024)
- Panelist, Lightning Round, *Translating Elections*, National Conference of Constitutional Law Scholars, James E. Rogers College of Law, University of Arizona (Feb. 24, 2024)
- Panelist, *Voting Rights in a Politically Polarized Era*, Washington & Lee Law School (Feb. 16, 2024)
- Panelist, *Multiracial Democracy after the Supreme Court's Decisions in Allen v. Milligan and Students for Fair Admissions, Inc. v. Harvard College*, AALS Annual Meeting, Washington DC (Jan. 6, 2024)
- Panelist, *Reviving Article V: A Structural Approach to Defending Democracy*, AALS Annual Meeting, Washington DC (Jan. 5, 2024)
- Panelist, *Constitution Day 2023: U.S. Supreme Court Review*, Washington University in St. Louis (Sept. 26, 2023)
- Panelist, *Supreme Court Decision Round-Up: A Roundtable Discussion*, Washington University in St. Louis (July 25, 2023)
- Panelist, *The 2022 Midterm Elections*, The Weidenbaum Center, Washington University in St. Louis (Nov. 17, 2022)
- Panelist, *Evaluating Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, Washington University in St. Louis (July 21, 2022)
- Panelist, *Redistricting St. Louis*, Gephardt Institute for Civil and Community Engagement, Washington University in St. Louis (Dec. 6, 2021) (virtual)

- Panelist, *Voting Rights in a Constitutional, Legal, and Historical Context*, Missouri State Bar Association Annual Meeting, (Sept. 23, 2021) (virtual)
- Panelist, Louisiana Law Review Symposium on the 15th and 19th Amendments and the 2020 Election (Mar. 5, 2021) (virtual)
- Panelist, Rucho: *Renaissance of the Passive Virtues?*, Connecticut Law Review Symposium on the Political Question Doctrine (Oct. 9, 2020) (virtual)
- Panelist, *Race, Sex, and Voting Rights: Past, Present, and Future*, Washington University in St. Louis, Public Interest Law & Policy Speaker Series (Sept. 21, 2020)
- Interviewee, *U.S. Grant History Chat*, Ulysses S. Grant National Historic Site (May 21, 2020) (virtual)
- Discussant for Vicki Schultz's *Rationalizing the Workplace: Title VII's Lasting Contribution to American Society*, Workshop on Regulation of Family, Sex, and Gender, University of Chicago Law School (Oct. 31, 2018)
- Speaker, *The Use of Data in Election Law*, Geometry of Redistricting Conference, University of Texas at Austin (Feb. 3, 2018)

### **Redistricting Testimony**

- St. Louis City Aldermanic Redistricting Hearing (Nov. 3, 2021)
- Missouri State House Independent Bipartisan Citizen Commission (Oct. 21, 2021)
- Missouri State Senate Independent Bipartisan Citizen Commission (Oct. 16, 2021)

### **TEACHING**

---

Constitutional Law (Spring 2027; Spring 2026; Spring 2025; Fall 2023; Spring 2023; Spring 2022; Spring 2021)

Law of the Fourteenth Amendment (Spring 2027; Spring 2026; Spring 2025; Fall 2023; Spring 2023; Spring 2022)

Voting Rights Seminar (Fall 2026; Fall 2024; Spring 2024; Fall 2022; Fall 2021; Spring 2020)

Leaves/Sabbaticals (Fall 2025, Parental; Fall 2022, Pre-Tenure)

### **ACADEMIC SERVICE**

---

#### **The Profession:**

Co-Organizer, Florida State University Election Law Conference (Sept. 2025)

Organizer, Washington University Election Law Conference (Mar. 2024)

Co-Advisor, *Washington University Law Review* Symposium, The 150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of *Minor v. Happersett*: The Past and Future of Women's Rights (Sept. 2024)

Contributor, Election Law Blog (2025 — Present)

Peer/External Reviewer: *Election Law Journal*; *Stanford Law Review*; *University of Chicago Law Review*; *Yale Law Journal*

**Washington University in St. Louis:**

Member, Appointments Committee (2023 — 2024)

Member, Clerkship Committee (2024 — Present; 2020 — 2023)  
Chair (2021 — 2022)

*Washington University Law Review* Board of Advisors (2026 — Present)

Faculty Research Fellow, Weidenbaum Center on the Economy, Government, and Public Policy,  
Washington University in St. Louis College of Arts & Sciences (2023 — Present)

**BAR AND COURT ADMISSIONS**

---

Maryland  
District of Columbia  
4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, and D.C. Circuits  
U.S. Supreme Court

*Last Updated: March 4, 2026*