

Appendix 1: Civilization Discourse

To validate our analysis of civilization discourse, we read a sample of the articles that our keyword searches identified. Because we were interested in the Italian Eleven lynching's role in spurring this discourse, we split the articles into pre, during, and post-1891 samples for validation. We read all of the articles from 1880-1892 (n=190) and a random sample of five articles for each year from 1893-1930 (n=190). First, we coded for relevance, finding that around 45% of these articles included our keywords but did not necessarily tie lynching and civilization together. Sometimes a group of news bulletins would be presented together as a single article, with lynching and civilization terms mentioned in different bulletins. Sometimes flawed optical character recognition of the original text created false matches. Sometimes an article mentioned both lynching and a civilization keyword, but the terms had no relation to one another. Crucially for our argument, however, the numbers of off-topic articles were 44% pre-1891, 34% during 1891, and 46% post-1891, meaning that removing these would only tend to exaggerate the peak in 1891, but, otherwise leave the time trend nearly the same.

We coded the remaining relevant articles in our sample for how they linked civilization and lynching. Rather than code for themes, which can sometimes be highly subjective and difficult to replicate, we focused only on what the civilization keywords were describing, either the victim or the mob, and whether the keywords marked the mob or victim as civilized or uncivilized. For example, one sentence references the supposed "savage crime" of the lynching victim, and we coded that as attributing a lack of civilization to the victim. While another article calls the Italian Eleven lynching in March of 1891 "a shame and reproach to American civilization," and we coded this as attributing a lack of civilization to the act of lynching or the mob. Most articles described lynch mobs or the lynching as uncivilized, rather than the lynching

victim, and increasingly so over time. Before 1891 31% of articles described victims as uncivilized and 56% described the mob as uncivilized, during 1891 these numbers were 20% victim, and 33% mob, post-1891 these numbers were only 3% victim while 79% considered the mob uncivilized. Thus, the time trend in these attributions exaggerates the dramatic increase after 1891 in the use of the civilization frame to denounce lynchings in the newspapers.

Appendix 2: The Early NAACP's Anti-lynching Campaign

Much scholarship identifies resistance from the early NAACP as the first significant driver of anti-lynching politics (Bernstein 2005; Brundage 1993; Ming-Francis 2014; Wood 2009). Founded in 1909, the NAACP was the leading Black movement organization of its time, and its anti-lynching campaign was the largest of its kind (Zangrado 1980). Many NAACP-centered analyses date the NAACP's increasing influence from its investigation of the lynching of Jesse Washington in 1916 and the resulting publicity (Bernstein 2005; Ming-Francis 2014; Wood 2009). This historical narrative dates the emergence of institutional resistance to lynching sometime following the NAACP's founding in 1909, particularly in response to those lynchings the NAACP had investigated and publicized, especially the lynching of Jesse Washington in 1916. A full discussion of how the NAACP influenced and created a political response to lynching is beyond the scope of this paper. However, we briefly discuss three problems with considering the early NAACP as among the first movers in anti-lynching politics or as the primary cause of anti-lynching politics.

First, NAACP-centered accounts emphasize events occurring particularly between 1916-1922: the lynching of Jesse Washington in 1916, the lynching of Berry Washington in 1919, a statement against mob violence by then-president Wilson in 1918, and the Dyer Anti-lynching bill, which the Senate filibustered in 1922. Although these events were important, NAACP-

centric accounts miss earlier anti-lynching politics. For example, Ming-Francis argues that "before WWI there was little in the papers about lynching" (2014:92), although our systematic search shows thousands of articles before 1914 in just three newspapers. Especially considering the NAACP did not exist until 1909, NAACP-centric accounts ignore the earlier developments that we document in this paper, such as the many—and sometimes stronger—statements on lynching by presidents before Wilson.

Second, NAACP-centric accounts of anti-lynching politics focus on cases that, although central to the NAACP's anti-lynching campaign, were not central to lynching politics generally. The lynching of Jesse Washington, and the NAACP's subsequent investigation, for example, is the most prominent in these accounts (Bernstein 2005; Brundage 1993; Ming-Francis 2014; Wood 2009). Although accounts differ in the effects that they ascribe to the lynching of Washington, a central assumption is that it was among the most prominent lynchings in the national press. For example, Carrigan argues that "perhaps no lynching in American history received so much attention" (2004:185). The lynching of Washington was discussed in an Op-ed in the *New York Times* and was generally widely covered nationally, so without systematic comparisons it can appear as if it was among the most highly covered lynchings. However, we find that there were *hundreds* of lynchings that received more attention in both national and international newspapers.

Third, and related to the point above, the most prominent lynchings in our data that occur after the NAACP's founding, such as the lynchings of Antonio Rodriguez, Robert Prager, or Leo Frank (see Figure 4) were prominent for reasons other than the NAACP. A similar international dynamic as that of the Italian Eleven occurred with the lynching of Rodriguez, who was a Mexican national, in Texas in 1910. When news of his lynching reached Mexico, it aroused

protests and riots in Mexico City and Guadalajara. Prominent Mexican newspapers denounced the lynching, and the offices of an American-owned English language newspaper in Mexico City, *The Mexican Herald*, was attacked by a mob (Turner 1967:504–5). The Mexican embassy, and then-President Diaz, denounced the lynching, demanded action from US authorities, and the lynching became an international news story (Carrigan and Webb 2013:142). The case of Robert Prager, a German immigrant, was again similar to that of Italian lynchings, in that the German government denounced his lynching (see: Hickey 1969; Schwartz 2002). In Leo Frank's case, he was kidnapped and lynched in 1915 following the commutation of a death sentence. During his lengthy criminal trials Frank had developed numerous allies among the Jewish community, such as the *New York Times* owner and editor Adolph Ochs (Dinnerstein 2008:91). Owing in part to these allies Frank's lynching became probably the most widely reported and condemned in American history.

To summarize, we do *not* argue that the NAACP was inconsequential, or even that it was not *among* the primary actors pushing anti-lynching politics. However, we do argue that the NAACP was only one actor among many, and much of the meaningful anti-lynching politics occurs even before the NAACP exists. A full accounting of the NAACP's impacts is beyond the scope of this paper, but our paper does demonstrate the need to look to periods before the NAACP, and to actors aside from the NAACP.