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*PRIMARY SOURCES*

# Black Newspapers and Jewish Advertising: Jim Crow on the South's Western Periphery

by

Timothy Riggio Quevillon*

**Advertisements in the *Dallas Express* for Lewin's Market, Fred Bruss Tailor, and Walden H. Cohn, 1920–21**[1]

The commercial relationship between Jewish business owners and Black customers in the American South has received substantial scholarly attention over the years. While it may seem odd to see Jewish businesses within the pages of the South's countless Black-operated newspapers, it was common and exemplifies one of the crucial pieces of southern Jewish and African American histories.[2]

The amorphous racial definition of American Jews and their role as middleman minorities often transcended the rigid Black-white segregation of Jim Crow during the early twentieth century, allowing for otherwise rare interracial economic relationships. In older southern states with long-established Jewish communities such as South Carolina or Georgia, Jews' social acceptance as white typically strained commercial relationships between Jewish shop owners and Black consumers. However, in the western peripheries of the American South, steady streams of in-migration and immigration to newly burgeoning cities blurred racial boundaries and allowed Jews to operate on both sides of the Black-white boundaries of Jim Crow.

Since Black newspapers only ran advertisements for integrated establishments, the existence of regular advertisements for multiple Jewish-owned businesses speaks to a unique economic relationship that existed

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in the American South under Jim Crow. In early twentieth-century Texas, Jews were classified as neither Black nor white, which placed them in a complicated position within a society rigidly sorted along a racial binary. Because of this, Jewish merchants regularly transcended segregated spaces to engage in commerce with Black and white populations alike, giving the merchants a unique economic status throughout the first half of the 1900s. Three Jewish businesses that regularly appeared in Texas's largest Black-owned newspaper, the *Dallas Express,* between 1919 and 1923 illustrate how Jewish commerce transcended racial boundaries in Texas and Oklahoma.

### *Understanding Advertising Patterns*

Studying advertisements and marketing in newspapers is fundamental to understanding the construction of social boundaries in the United States. While on its surface advertising's purpose is to push a simple cognizance of products or services, newspapers not only serve an effective role in informing the public but can also be used to change the way that people think and shape their attitudes. Therefore, once consumers develop a purchasing behavior, the average individual faces difficulty in controlling or altering consumer patterns. Newspapers traditionally acted particularly effectively at reaching and impacting the public because at its height, print media could be found anywhere and provided the fastest flow of consumer information to readers.[3]

Because of this impact on shaping public attitudes, establishing social boundaries served as a core function of newspaper advertising.[4] On an individual level, this results in brand loyalties, consumer habits, and, in its extreme, compulsive shopping. On a macro level, overlapping routines in consumer patterns set community boundaries and limits. In the Jim Crow South, newspaper advertisements delineated segregated spaces from one another. For example, businesses that refused to serve a Black clientele did not spend money on advertising in Black-owned newspapers, as this was a consumer base from which they would not make money. As such, it can be assumed that businesses advertising in Black newspapers served an integrated clientele.

By advertising in Black and white newspapers alike, Jewish businesses indicated their commitment to serving an integrated customer base. In a segregated city like Dallas, Jewish merchants' role as a middle-

minority that was neither Black nor fully accepted as white granted them an opportunity to simultaneously serve customers on both sides of the racial divide. In the *Dallas Express* during the early 1920s, advertisements for Jewish-owned businesses appeared regularly, always alongside Black-owned and businesses that targeted Black customers, such as Nile Queen Hair Straightening and Whitaker's Café, both run by the owner of a local Negro League baseball team. Ad placement alongside these speaks to the importance and availability of Jewish businesses to Black patrons.[5]

*Jewish Ads as a Window to the Jewish Experience*

To understand the placement of Jewish advertisements in Black newspapers and what it says about Jewish history and the history of segregation in the western South, three advertisements in the Black newspaper the *Dallas Express* are particularly noteworthy: those for Lewin's Market, Fred Bruss Tailoring, and Walden H. Cohn's mail-order elixirs. Each of these advertisements is unique, yet they have themes seen across Jewish advertising in Black newspapers. Trends common across Jewish communities in Texas and Oklahoma during the early twentieth century draw them together: they represent mercantile occupations, willingness to transgress the growing racial boundaries of the urban South, and, at least on the surface, a cultural assimilation with other ethnic groups in the region.

To understand the wider implications of the Jewish advertisements, we begin by dissecting their content. The first example, for Lewin's Market on Elm Street in Dallas, appeared in every issue of the *Express* during the late 1910s and early 1920s. As a butcher, Ludwig Lewin advertised various cuts and varieties of meat including beef, veal, lamb, mutton, turkey, and sausages.[6] Within this advertisement appears an initial sign of a necessary assimilation into the wider culture of Texas: Lewin's was not kosher. In fact, the meats and cuts at the top of its listed menu were all pork-based. This represented a conciliation on the part of Lewin's to abandon traditions in an effort to serve the wider community around it, the bulk of whom were not Jewish.

Particularly noteworthy in Lewin's services was its "Automobile Delivery." For Jews on the western peripheries in the early twentieth century, the emergence of automobiles allowed a transition from peddling and small-trade enterprises to sustainable retail businesses. It facilitated the

expansion of a customer base to areas outside of their immediate neighborhoods.[7] A delivery service let the Lewins sell meat and groceries throughout Dallas to Black and white neighborhoods alike. Deliveries allowed the company to skirt around segregated spaces and regularly cross Jim Crow divides in the city. Although their storefront sat in the heart of the Black neighborhood, they still reached white customers in other parts of the city. Thus, automobiles offered a crucial element to local Jews' position as a middleman minority.

Another Jewish establishment, Fred Bruss's tailoring business, also regularly advertised in the *Dallas Express*. Located a block from Lewin's, Bruss advertised for a penny laundry, sanitary pressing machines, and cleaning and renovating services for furs.[8] Working in the retail garment industry, Bruss exemplified a common experience in American Jewish history. Born in Germany in 1878 and immigrating to the U.S. in 1902, Bruss lived in one of Dallas's historically Black neighborhoods in the Ninth Ward. While the majority of this community was Black and had been the site of freedmen's towns in the nineteenth century, a number of Jewish immigrants resided in the neighborhood.[9]

As a tailor, Bruss also worked in an industry dominated by Jewish workers. Even before their arrival in the United States, many Jews already carved out a niche in *shmatte* (literally "rag") peddling across central Europe. When arriving in the United States, Jewish enclaves in New York's Lower East Side and Chicago's West Side became centers of a burgeoning garment industry. As the American frontier pushed west in the mid- to late nineteenth century, Jewish peddlers moved with pioneers, providing them with crucial clothing and tailoring services.[10] As expansion into Texas and Oklahoma began in earnest in the late antebellum years, opportunities opened for Jews to migrate south and west with Anglo planters and provide much-needed tailoring services. Jewish tailors played a crucial role in manufacturing clothing for Union and Confederate soldiers during the Civil War, further establishing themselves in the South and on the western peripheries. As a German-Jewish immigrant and tailor in Dallas, Bruss's success exemplified a story that was commonplace at the time and provides yet another in the myriad of examples of Jews succeeding in the "rag race."

Finally, advertisements for Walden Cohn, an elixir salesman in Tulsa, regularly appeared in the wider regional news section of the

*Dallas Express*. Jews have a long history with peddling as a profession, and this profession particularly provided the opportunity to Jewish immigrants to the South to rise into the middle class in just a generation or two. While peddlers primarily worked as travelers upon their initial arrival, they often saved money with the hope of becoming shopkeepers.[11]

Cohn's advertisements also speak to a broader phenomenon of elixir salesmen on the frontiers of the South. Traveling medicine shows were wildly popular throughout the late 1800s and early 1900s as isolated settlers on the frontier hoped for miracle cures that could provide the same security in health as the urban hospitals from which they were too far to patronize. Traveling "doctors" would move from town to town whipping up a marketing frenzy and promising a long life of fitness, health, and vitality. Since medical regulation did not yet exist in the United States, peddlers could promise any number of fictitious claims and often outright lied to the audience about the effectiveness of their "cures."[12] Cohn fit this bill, often describing himself as either a "physician" or a "metaphysicist," and his advertisements regularly promised vague and supposedly provable measures of success.[13]

Cohn's advertisements are especially amusing in their guarantees. The ads promised that Cohn's elixirs would grant the user "wisdom, knowledge, mysteries, and secrets," and that the user's "business will increase so rapidly until it will rush [them] to fill [their] orders." Cohn's elixir sold for ten dollars (worth roughly 180 dollars today) and promised users a tenfold return in health and success.[14] This speaks to the vague metrics commonplace among medicine peddlers in the rural South and West. By promising an amorphous metric of granting wisdom, the success or failure of Cohn's products could never be measured or quantified.

The names of Cohn's elixirs highlight the same trend of assimilation and acculturation to non-Jewish clienteles as Lewin's advertisements. "Keys to the Kingdom" is a Christian phrase rooted in the New Testament and a phrase that Cohn's non-Jewish clientele recognized and to which they ascribed meaning. Like Lewin's selling of nonkosher meats, the inclusion of this wording indicates an understanding and acceptance on the part of Jewish shop owners that their clientele would largely not be Jewish.

*Jewish Ads and the Black Newspaper*

The existence of these three advertisers in a Black newspaper indicates a lot about Jim Crow segregation in the South. Their appearance speaks to an integration of Jewish immigrants into primarily Black neighborhoods. In a South firmly entrenched along racial lines, the existence of large immigrant communities in non-white neighborhoods exemplifies one of many ways in which the immigrant experience transcended Jim Crow.

Understanding Black newspapers is critical to understanding media representations of Jim Crow. During the first half of the twentieth century, the *Dallas Express* was North Texas's largest Black-owned newspaper. Founded by W. E. King in 1892, the paper reported on lynching and incidents of violence against Black Texans that other papers often ignored. It also attacked segregation and voting restrictions. The paper outlived King's death in 1919 and continued through multiple owners before ceasing publication in 1970. King often grandiosely referred to his paper as "The South's Oldest and Largest Negro Newspaper."[15]

*Front-page banner from the* Dallas Express*, March 5, 1921. (Newspapers.com.)*

At the newspaper's height, it covered Dallas and North Texas and had a regional distribution that included large parts of Oklahoma. It filled a void because Oklahoma lacked a long-running Black-owned newspaper during the early twentieth century. Oklahoma's longest-running Black newspapers—Tulsa's *Oklahoma Eagle* and Oklahoma City's the *Black Dispatch*—did not begin publication until the 1920s. Other existing Black newspapers in Oklahoma struggled to survive more than ten years, leaving a regional publication hole for the *Dallas Express* to fill.

In the 1920s, typical issues of the *Dallas Express* ran eight pages in length. National and regional news covered the front half of the paper and Dallas and Fort Worth local news dominated the rear pages. No

*Page of ads from the* Dallas Express*, February 28, 1920. The ad for Fred Bruss Tailor is at right-center. (Newspapers.com.)*

dedicated sections within issues existed for classifieds or advertisements. Instead, the *Dallas Express* peppered them throughout, placing national and regional businesses toward the front and local businesses alongside localized news stories.

Whereas an overwhelming majority of the advertisements in the *Dallas Express* were for Black-owned businesses, advertisements for Jewish-owned businesses across North Texas and Oklahoma regularly appeared. The advertisements for Jewish-owned businesses did not overtly identify as such and in many ways appear no different from non-Jewish advertisements in the paper. Because these advertisements were aimed at a non-Jewish customer base, indications of kashrut status or discussion of Jewish holidays that would have appeared in a Jewish newspaper are absent in the *Express*. Of note is Lewin's advertisement in the April 3, 1920, issue of

the *Dallas Express*. Running at the beginning of Passover, Lewin's advertised "Special prices for One Week." Although the sale ran for the duration of Passover, no mention of the holiday or anything else within the advertisement set it apart from those around it.[16]

*What This Says About Jews and Segregation in Texas and Oklahoma*

The presence of Jewish advertisers such as Lewin's Market, Fred Bruss Tailoring, and Walden Cohn speaks to the unique economic position occupied by Texas's Jewish community during the first half of the twentieth century. These advertisements represent two major aspects to Jewish life in that time and place. First, the advertisements represent three of the most prominent industries in which newly arrived Jewish Texans partook during the early twentieth century: grocery and dry goods; tailoring and the rag trade; and traveling merchantry. Their presence in a Black newspaper also speaks to the community's ability to operate on either side of the Black-white racial divide.

As a borderland and western frontier for much of the nineteenth century, the majority of Texas's population history centers around migration and immigration. On the eve of the nineteenth century, the region housed only 1,300 non-Indigenous inhabitants, but by 1900 this number ballooned to over three million.[17] The seizure of land and forced expulsion of Indigenous Americans from the territory opened lands in the western South to American expansion. An ensuing population boom resulted from the migration of Anglo Americans from the northern and eastern United States, forced migration of slaves from the lower South, voluntary migration of newly freed Black Americans in search of looser social restrictions on the western frontier, and the immigration of west and central European immigrants to the growing cities. The constant in-migration created social hierarchies that were often more fluid than in older, established regions in the American South.

In the late nineteenth century, social hierarchies in Texas hardened around growing Jim Crow segregation, drawing a firm social distinction between white and Black. In Texas, Jim Crow included full separation of physical and social space, from proscribing which parts of town people could live in to requiring Black and white pedestrians to walk on opposite sides of the street. While on the hinterlands and western frontiers Jim Crow was slow to take over, Texas's cities quickly adopted laws firmly

segregating public space. By 1900, a majority of white-owned stores in North Texas refused to serve Black clientele. Integrated stores were a minority.[18] Jewish merchants entered this firm system of Black-white separation during the early twentieth century.

Aside from malleable social dynamics, Texas also acted as a frontier for most migrating Jews. In *The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas*, Bryan Edward Stone notes that Jews migrating to Texas were simultaneously part of two frontiers, the movement of Americans into the North American West and the further "scattering of Jews across the globe."[19] Their life in Texas constituted a constant negotiation between being removed from traditional population centers in search of economic opportunity and attempting to maintain ties to a Jewish tradition and identity which often set them apart from their new neighbors. The sense of frontier and periphery within the Texan-Jewish mind primarily manifested in the interaction between Jews and other ethnic groups in Texas. Texas's Jews often defined themselves in relation to non-Jewish groups in the state.

The location of Lewin's and Bruss's shops along Elm Street in Dallas represented the growth of Jewish communities within Black neighborhoods in the South. Organized Jewish populations developed in North Texas in the postbellum years, but large populations did not exist until the end of the nineteenth century when immigrating eastern European Jews arrived in Dallas, primarily settling along Elm Street in the heart of the traditionally African American neighborhood known as "Deep Ellum." "Deep" referred to the neighborhood's distance from the city center, and "Ellum" was the phonetic spelling for the colloquial pronunciation of Elm used by both African Americans and Jewish immigrants. Pawn shops, clothing outlets, brothels, and bars littered the neighborhood, and as a musical district it attracted regional blues legends such as Blind Lemon Jefferson and Leadbelly.[20]

Although a small community existed before the Civil War, the majority of Jews arrived in Dallas in the late nineteenth century primarily from central and eastern Europe and largely settled along Elm Street, often living in apartments above the stores they operated. Many Jewish businesses popped up along Elm Street in the late century, including Wasserman's and Bradford's Grocery Store. Engelberg's Market, a competitor to Lewin's, similarly set up shop along Elm Street, but only once

*Dysterbach's department store, Elm and Pearl Streets, Dallas, c. 1915.*
*(Courtesy of the Dallas Jewish Historical Society.)*

*Deep Ellum streetcar line under construction,*
*date unknown. Engelberg's Market is on the left.*
*(Dallas History & Archives Division, Dallas Public Library.)*

advertised in the pages of the *Dallas Express*. The local community also frequently used these stores as temporary religious sites in the absence of formal synagogues. Before establishing a dedicated space, the Orthodox congregation Shaareth Israel met in of some of these Jewish retail spaces, an indication of the booming Jewish community and commercial district growing in the heart of Black Dallas.[21]

Dallas historian Robert Prince described Deep Ellum as a convergence of three growing populations: Mexican immigrants fleeing the revolution, immigrant Jews, and Black Texans migrating to the city in search of economic opportunity. What resulted was a cultural crossroads and nexus where these three distinct populations could interact and craft the interracial social and economic relationships that built the neighborhood. It was not rare to see Black patrons leaving Itzhack Abramson's dry goods store and purchasing tamales from a Mexican man cooking them over a charcoal-fire bucket on the street corner. In Prince's words, "Deep Ellum was a Babel."[22]

Lewin's Market and Fred Bruss Tailoring demonstrate the growth of Jewish businesses in Deep Ellum. Both shops operated along Elm Street, with Lewin's near the corner of Hawkins and Fred Bruss on the corner of Preston. Both were along Dallas's segregated streetcar line which crossed through the city's Black neighborhoods, providing easy access for Black customers.[23]

Walden Cohn's business on Greenwood Avenue in Tulsa shared many of the same cultural hallmarks as Lewin's and Bruss's. Tulsa's Greenwood District was one of America's most famous and successful Black neighborhoods during the first decades of the twentieth century. Ironically, the economic isolation of Black Tulsa from the rest of the city prompted a reactionary economic independence that allowed Greenwood to overcome the struggles of Jim Crow and flourish. Migrating African Americans encountered a city strictly divided along racial lines necessitating the creation of retail and service businesses, schools, and entertainment open to Black clientele. This gave rise to a vibrant, self-contained economy that quickly became the talk of Black America.[24]

Jewish settlement into Oklahoma was slower than in any other part of the American South. Migration of Jews into the territory began only after the Land Run of 1889 and statehood in 1907. Even with small Jewish communities arising during the early twentieth century, larger

communities only cropped up after the Great Depression and Dust Bowl. Jewish immigrants first arrived in Tulsa as the population exploded from the oil industry. What had been a town of 1,390 people in 1900 grew to 131,000 by 1930. This larger migration brought Jewish merchants with it. Several Jewish businesses opened in Tulsa in the mid-1900s, with Simon Jankowsky's Palace Clothiers and Sig Werner's dry goods stores being the most notable.[25]

Most famously remembered for its main thoroughfare, Greenwood Avenue—locally known as "Black Wall Street"—the neighborhood also offered haven to numerous Jewish immigrants, most of whom owned businesses alongside their Black neighbors. Socially cast into a not-quite-white status, immigrating Jews found themselves shut out of Tulsa's white neighborhoods, forcing them into the city's non-white enclaves. Like Deep Ellum, Greenwood was a multiracial Babel that allowed for immense economic, social, and cultural exchange between Black and Jewish residents.

Greenwood's fate was forever changed in the spring of 1921 when a white supremacist mob sacked Black homes and businesses, destroying a thirty-five-square-block area and killing as many as three hundred residents. Property damage totaled in the millions of dollars, and the entire Black community of Tulsa lay in ruin after two days of destruction. Destroyed businesses were almost entirely Black-owned, but given the sheer level of destruction, collateral damage to neighboring Jewish businesses was unavoidable. Despite appearing regularly between January and April, advertisements for Walden Cohn's business do not appear in the *Dallas Express* or local newspapers in Oklahoma after May 1921. This suggests that his business may have succumbed to the same violence that destroyed so many Black businesses.[26]

Black residents fled their homes, seeking asylum anywhere they could, often finding sanctuary among their Jewish neighbors. Countless stories exist of Tulsa's Jews shielding their Black neighbors. Sam and Rose Zarrow hid Black friends in large, empty pickle vats; Abraham Solomon gathered all his Black neighbors into his house and stood in the front door with a shotgun ready to shoot anyone attempting to attack those inside; and Nathan Livingston and his family hid eight Black families in their basement for the duration of the riot.[27] These stories highlight the rich and deep social relationships that developed between the Black and

*"Black Wall Street," the Greenwood District in Tulsa, Oklahoma, c. 1920. (Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, Gift of the Families of Anita Williams Christopher and David Owen Williams.)*

*Blocks of destroyed homes in the Greenwood District following the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre. (Courtesy of the Tulsa Historical Society & Museum.)*

Jewish residents of Greenwood and Jewish immigrants' ability to transcend the traditional Black-white binary of Jim Crow in Oklahoma.

*Not-Quite-White in Texas and Oklahoma*

Although they were not the first Jews in the region, the direct immigration of eastern European Jews, often from the Russian Empire, into Texas and Oklahoma complicated the existing racial hierarchies in the region's larger cities. While Jewish immigrants arrived from Europe and typically held definitions of legal whiteness, their non-Christian identity and popular designation as "Asiatic" often meant that attaining social whiteness was a bit trickier.[28] Immigrating Jews regularly faced threats from conservative fringes of society including Dallas's Ku Klux Klan leaders who accused Jews of having "alien blood" and grouped them with African Americans as racially inferior.[29]

Similarly, conservatives among the region's upper class often attempted to define immigrating Jews as non-white in the same way they did immigrating Latinos. While many white leaders often pushed back against the overt antisemitism of groups like the Ku Klux Klan, they also regularly chided Jews for "crowd[ing] Americans from jobs."[30] This worked part and parcel with the anti-immigrant nativism running rampant in the years after World War I. Anglo leaders also fretted over new immigrants' uncertain attachment to existing social orders. They argued the influx of Jews into cities like Dallas and Tulsa could upend the firm Black-white color line, as they did not fit neatly into either racial definition. As such, city leaders often attempted to force immigrants into a non-white social status to quell concerns among the Anglo population.[31]

The pushback against immigrating Jews often forced them into non-white neighborhoods like Deep Ellum in Dallas and Greenwood in Tulsa. As a result, Jews in Texas and Oklahoma often transgressed the Black-white binary present in larger cities. They formed social and economic relationships with both Black and Latino communities, which further fueled their association with non-white populations. In particular, the cultural relationships between Jewish immigrants and Black and Latino communities provided a common source of consternation for the Klan-affiliated newspaper *Colonel Mayfield's Weekly*, which believed such relationships caused the social ills that plagued Texas's cities in the twentieth century. Similar sentiments pervaded Oklahoma as well where white

residents often scapegoated Jews as corrupting local culture and despoiling communities. The most publicized case of this occurred when the editor of the *Guthrie Leader* blamed Oklahoma's Jews for turning Oklahoma City into a cesspool unfit to house the state capital. An inflammatory November 1912 headline read "Shylocks of Oklahoma City Have State by the Throat," and the article alleged a Jewish conspiracy to "loot the state for twenty-five years."[32] The Ku Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups regularly targeted Tulsa's Jewish businesses with economic boycotts, although outright violence was rare.[33] Events such as these pushed Jews in Texas and Oklahoma into a not-quite-white status, even while the economic opportunities of whiteness remained available. This middle-minority status allowed Jews to simultaneously operate across Black and white communities.

The immigrant Jewish populations in these neighborhoods also rarely shared the same racial sentiments as the Anglo majority. Because they often lived alongside their Black customers, Jews in these mixed neighborhoods did not expect signs of deference from their Black neighbors, such as averting eye contact or saying "yes ma'am" or "no ma'am" regularly in conversations. Jews in mixed neighborhoods in Texas also rarely held the same racial animosity toward Mexican immigrants as the Anglo population. Whereas white Texans often derided Mexicans because of lingering feelings from the 1836 war for Texas independence, as new immigrants "San Jacinto didn't mean a damn thing" to Jews.[34] Similar hostilities were often missing toward Black residents, as immigrants did not share a memory of antebellum racial orders. Thus, the same barriers to economic and social integration seldom appeared.

Unfortunately, this social mobility across both sides of Jim Crow did not last forever. As immigrating Jews increasingly assimilated into the dominant white racial hierarchy during the 1940s and 1950s, business owners increasingly acquiesced to the prevailing racial order. Larger Jewish-owned department stores in Dallas such as Sanger Brothers, Titche-Goetinger's, and Neiman Marcus either excluded Black customers or had discriminatory policies toward them, such as prohibiting them from trying on clothing in the store.[35] Unlike the examples advertised in the *Dallas Express*, these were larger, more financially successful stores. Sustained financial growth in Texas and Oklahoma required a reliance on white customers, many of whom expected adherence to the Jim Crow standards

of the region. For the region's Jews, growing acceptance as a white population resulted in growing attachment to white-dominated social hierarchies. The era of Black and Jewish economic cohesion did not last beyond the interwar years.

Ultimately the existence of these regular advertisements tells us a lot about the economic status of Jews under the oppressive system of Jim Crow in Texas and Oklahoma. It illuminates the vibrant multiracial character of neighborhoods such as Deep Ellum and Greenwood and speaks to a rich tradition of Black and Jewish commercial relationships that existed in the early twentieth century. These neighborhoods flourished because of the cultural integration of multiple immigrating populations and the blurring of Jim Crow color lines within them. One hundred years later, the existence of advertisements for Lewin's, Bruss Tailoring, and Walden Cohn speak to this rich history.

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**Advertisements in the *Dallas Express* for Lewin's Market, Fred Bruss Tailor, and Walden H. Cohn, 1920–21**

Dallas Express*, February 28, 1920. (Newspapers.com.)*

Dallas Express*, January 17, 1920. (Newspapers.com.)*

Dallas Express*, March 12, 1921. (Newspapers.com.)*

## *NOTES*

[1] Each of these businesses ran recurring advertising, but see, for example, Lewin's Market, February 28, 1920, Fred Bruss Tailor, January 17, 1920, and Walden H. Cohn, March 12, 1921, *Dallas Express*.

[2] The commercial relationship between Black and Jewish communities in the American South features a wide array of different books including studies of southern Jewish communities such as Steven Hertzberg, *Strangers Within the Gate City: The Jews of Atlanta, 1845–1915* (Philadelphia, 1978); Marcie Cohen Ferris and Mark I. Greenberg, eds., *Jewish Roots in Southern Soil: A New History* (Hanover, NH, 2006); in overviews of Black-Jewish relations such as

Maurianne Adams and John Bracey, eds., *Strangers & Neighbors: Relations between Blacks & Jews in the United States* (Amherst, MA, 2000) and Clive Webb, *Fight Against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens, GA, 2003); as well as in examinations of Black migration to the urban South such as Bernadette Pruitt, *The Other Great Migration: The Movement of Rural African Americans to Houston, 1900–1941* (College Station, TX, 2013) and Luther Adams, *Way Up North in Louisville: African American Migration in the Urban South, 1930–1970* (Chapel Hill, 2010).

[3] Yushan Lin, et al., "Impact of Facebook and Newspaper Advertising on Sales: A Comparative Study of Online and Print Media," *Computational Intelligence and Informational Science*, August 24, 2021, 1–13.

[4] Thomas C. O'Guinn and Ronald J. Faber, "Compulsive Buying: A Phenomenological Exploration," *Journal of Consumer Research* 16 (September 1989): 147–57.

[5] *Dallas Express*, January 17, 1920.

[6] Lewin's Market advertisement, *Dallas Express*, February 28, 1920.

[7] William Toll, "Mobility, Fraternalism, and Jewish Cultural Change: Portland, 1910–1930," *American Jewish History* 68 (June 1979), 471.

[8] Fred Bruss Tailor advertisement, *Dallas Express*, January 17, 1920.

[9] Information on residents of the Ninth Ward comes from the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Dallas County, Texas.

[10] For a full examination of Jewish garment peddling during nineteenth-century expansion, see Adam D. Mendelsohn, *The Rag Race: How Jews Sewed Their Way to Success in America and the British Empire* (New York, 2014).

[11] See Hasia R. Diner, *Roads Taken: The Great Jewish Migrations to the New World and the Peddlers Who Forged the Way* (New Haven, 2015).

[12] See James Harvey Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires: A Social History of Patent Medicines in America Before Federal Regulation* (Princeton, 1961); Eric W. Boyle, *Quack Medicine: A History of Combating Health Fraud in Twentieth-Century America* (Santa Barbara, CA, 2013).

[13] City Directory, Oklahoma City, OK, 1930, U.S. City Directories, 1822–1995, Ancestry.com; World War I Draft Cards (4th Registration) for the State of Oklahoma, Record Group 147, National Archives, St. Louis, MO.

[14] Walden E. Cohn advertisement, *Dallas Express*, March 12, 1921.

[15] Louis Margot III, "*The Dallas Express*: A Negro Newspaper, Its History, 1892–1971, and Its Point of View" (master's thesis, East Texas State University, 1971). See also, Diana J. Kleiner, "Dallas Express," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 10, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-express.

[16] Advertisement for Lewin's Market, *The Dallas Express*, April 3, 1920.

[17] Alwyn Barr, "Late Nineteenth-Century Texas," *Handbook of Texas Online*, accessed May 10, 2023, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/late-nineteenth-century-texas.

[18] Merline Pitre, *In Struggle Against Jim Crow: Lulu B. White and the NAACP, 1900–1957* (College Station, TX, 1999), 3–5.

[19] Bryan Edward Stone, *The Chosen Folks: Jews on the Frontiers of Texas* (Austin, 2010), 2.

[20] Alan B. Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield, *Deep Ellum and Central Track: Where the Black and White Worlds of Dallas Converged* (Denton, TX, 1998).

[21] See Rose G. Biderman, *They Came to Stay: The Story of the Jews of Dallas, 1870–1997* (Austin, 2002).

[22] Robert Prince, *A History of Dallas: From a Different Perspective* (Austin, 1993), 68.

[23] Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Dallas, Dallas County, Texas, 1921, vol. 1, Library of Congress Geography and Map Division, Washington, DC.

[24] See Hannibal B. Johnson, *Black Wall Street: From Riot to Renaissance in Tulsa's Historic Greenwood District* (Austin, 2007).

[25] Henry J. Tobias, *The Jews in Oklahoma* (Norman, OK, 1980), 8–29.

[26] Neither Walden Cohn nor his business appear in the 1930 U.S. Census for Tulsa.

[27] Phil Goldfarb, "Jews and the Tulsa Race Massacre," *Tulsa Jewish Review* 92 (May 2021): 12–13.

[28] See Eric L. Goldstein, *The Price of Whiteness: Jews, Race, and American Identity* (Princeton, 2008).

[29] Michael Phillips, *White Metropolis: Race, Ethnicity, and Religion in Dallas, 1841–2001* (Austin, 2006), 93.

[30] Ibid, 90.

[31] Tyina L. Steptoe, *Houston Bound: Culture and Color in a Jim Crow City* (Berkeley, CA, 2016), 104–109.

[32] "Shylocks of Oklahoma City Have State by the Throat," *Guthrie Daily Leader*, November 1, 1912.

[33] Tobias, *Jews in Oklahoma*, 60–61.

[34] Steptoe, *Houston Bound*, 108.

[35] Phillips, *White Metropolis*, 142–48.