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THE OCHS FAMILY IN KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

A Thesis
Presented for the
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Degree
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Susan Gilbert Barnes

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The author wishes to thank, first of all, her major advisor, Prof. Jane R. Adams, not only for her invaluable assistance in the completion of this thesis but for her moral support, encouragement, and friendship throughout the past two-and-a-half years. Without her constant inspiration and her unfailing good spirits, the author would have found it impossible to finish requirements for this degree. The author would also like to thank her committee members, Dr. Joseph Rogers of the College of Communications and Dr. Bruce Wheeler of the Department of History, for their time and assistance in the preparation of this thesis. Their suggestions were most helpful and greatly appreciated.

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The author wishes to thank her husband, Dan, and her daughters, Mary Louise and Jill, for their good-humored patience during the entire duration of the author's work on this degree. Without their understanding, preparation of this thesis would not have been possible.

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ABSTRACT

Adolph Ochs began his newspaper career as a carrier for the Knoxville Chronicle in Knoxville, Tennessee. At his death sixty-four years later, in 1935, he was one of the wealthiest and most influential publishers in the world. His empire comprised not only the New York Times, which he had taken from near collapse to phenomenal success, but the Chattanooga Times, books, magazines, scholarly journals and reference works, wire services, as well as extensive real estate holdings in New York. His brothers, George and Milton, who had also been Chronicle carriers in nineteenth-century Knoxville, shared in that success, as did many other members of the Ochs family. A description of the beginning of that remarkable newspaper career in Knoxville and a profile of an equally remarkable family while it lived in that Tennessee city is the purpose of this study.

The study concentrates, first, on the head of the clan, Julius Ochs, whose penchant for unprofitable business affairs caused the family to settle in Knoxville. His lack of success was behind the amazing achievements of his eldest son, Adolph, whom he described as the "salvation" of the family. Julius and his wife, Bertha, were German Jewish immigrants to America in the 1840s. Julius spent his early life in this country as a peddler in the southeast while Bertha was reared a pampered southern belle in Natchez, Mississippi. After their marriage, the couple lived briefly in Knoxville before the Civil War. During the war, the two suffered tense moments as advocates of opposite sides in the conflict--Bertha of the Confederacy and Julius of the Union.

This familial division may have been the reason the family returned to Knoxville after the war, as it was a city "equally divided" in sympathy between North and South. Julius was the leading merchant in the city after the war until falling prices and an overload of stock bought for his dry goods store at inflated wartime rates forced Julius Ochs & Co. into ruin. The family was plagued for the next decade by lawsuits of angry creditors against the firm, and Julius Ochs' only income throughout the period was from his office as a Knox County Court member, the small insurance business he ran, and his sons' newspaper routes. Before the family left Knoxville permanently, their personal household goods were sold at auction to settle debts with former close friends, along with fellow Jews.

It was Adolph Ochs' move to Chattanooga, where he purchased controlling interest in the ailing Chattanooga Times in 1878, that enabled the troubled family to extricate itself from difficulties in Knoxville and move to Chattanooga. Adolph had been office boy and printer's devil for the Chronicle and put the knowledge gained there to use in his new enterprise to make it a success. Adolph and his family became leading citizens of Chattanooga, but Julius always regretted his failures in Knoxville.

It was Chattanooga and not Knoxville where Adolph Ochs chose to build his empire. Knoxville held many painful memories for the young man, and, though he maintained friendships with former colleagues there, he regarded Knoxville as "too narrow" a place to found a publishing career. He always regarded himself as a southerner and a Tennessean, but Chattanooga was the city to which the highly successful publisher of the New York Times ultimately gave his allegiance.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When Adolph Ochs began his journalism career in 1869, he made less than \$1.50 a week carrying papers to the citizens of Knoxville, Tennessee. At his death sixty-five years later, he had built the New York Times to a half-million daily circulation, making it one of the most respected newspapers in the world. Ochs was a man with little formal education, but his portrait now hangs in the Tennessee Newspaper Hall of Fame at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where young journalism scholars learn the newspaper business that Ochs knew so well. Ochs attended the state university only as a young preparatory student, but he saw to it that others in his family had the chance to attend the school he knew as East Tennessee College during the years the family lived in Knoxville. Many of those same family members became important figures in the publishing empire built by Adolph Ochs, an empire that today produces books, magazines, trade journals, and scholarly reference works as well as newspapers. The New York Times building, housing the editorial offices of many of these publications, occupies a good portion of the most valuable real estate in mid-town Manhattan.

That empire, and the remarkable journalism career on which it was built, all began when Adolph Ochs, and later his brothers George and Milton, began delivering the Knoxville Chronicle in a post-Civil War city of 3,000 that was "virtually unknown" outside Tennessee (Goodspeed, 1974, p. 849). The success story of these remarkable

newspaper men began in Knoxville, Tennessee, where the Ochs family knew little but failure. A description of the time the family spent in Knoxville--what brought them there, the difficulties they encountered there, and the way they overcame or succumbed to those difficulties--forms the basis of the following thesis. Such a description and discussion necessarily concentrates on the head of the Ochs clan, for it was Julius Ochs and his never-ending quest for business success that brought the family to the East Tennessee city and ultimately caused Adolph Ochs to leave it to begin his publishing career in Chattanooga. The first chapter of this thesis traces Julius Ochs' early wanderings through the southeastern section of the United States, his first residency in Knoxville, and his involvement in the Civil War that brought him back to live in Knoxville. The second chapter details his many business troubles that led his eldest son to become a newsboy at the age of eleven. The third chapter describes Adolph Ochs' early career in Knoxville and the events that led to the family's removal to Chattanooga. The paper finally explores some proposals as to why Ochs chose to perpetuate that career in Chattanooga rather than in Knoxville.

The years the family spent in Knoxville were formative though not necessarily happy. Julius Ochs, father of the future publisher of the free world's leading newspaper, was an itinerant wanderer of considerable intellect but little business acumen. Knoxville was the first permanent home the Ochs family knew, but it was in Knoxville that Julius Ochs suffered his most severe financial losses that eventually forced the three Ochs sons to help their parents and three sisters to survive. A founder of the Jewish congregation in Knoxville and one of the temple's early, unpaid rabbis, Julius Ochs instilled in his sons

a strong religious faith and a deep respect for education and refinement, but he provided them little in the way of material goods. It was up to Adolph, followed by George and Milton, to give the family financial independence and a position of respect that it still enjoys.

The success of these former Knoxville newspaper carriers read like a prototype "rags-to-riches" story. Adolph at age twenty was owner and publisher of his own newspaper in Chattanooga, a venture that later employed his father and both brothers and supported them handsomely. At age thirty-eight he purchased a controlling interest in the New York Times based on the success he enjoyed in reviving the Chattanooga Times in 1878. Once a respected journal during the Civil War, the New York Times in 1896 was all but finished after a period of bad management and editorial policy that did not always reflect the "sobriety of discussion and intelligent and balanced judgment" that Times readers had come to expect (Davis, 1921, p. 176). Adolph Ochs had watched his father waste his one true business talent--Julius was a first-rate bookkeeper, for other people--trying to be a merchant, public servant, and intellectual and doing none of them well while the family lived in Knoxville. Adolph therefore realized that if he were to expand his own business interests, he had to do it in a field he knew, the "newspaper game" (Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 27, 1929). When a New York acquaintance alerted him that the Times might be for sale, Adolph was interested. He wanted to make the Times once again the news paper for New Yorkers and the world. Backed only by his reputation as a small-town Tennessee journalist and letters of recommendation, including one from President Grover Cleveland, Chattanooga's

inspired him" (Chattanooga Daily Times, March 12, 1916).

"boy publisher" moved into the "larger sphere of usefulness" for which Cleveland had recommended him (Davis, 1921, p. 189).

That sphere of influence grew to include not just the New York Times, which, twenty-five years after Ochs acquired it boasted the largest aggregate income of any newspaper in the world. By Ochs' own estimation, the Times had become an institution, but so had the Associated Press that Ochs had helped to found. The Times was a newspaper for "intelligent, thoughtful people" (Davis, 1921, p. xvi) in an age of screaming headlines and yellow journalism, and those same intelligent, thoughtful people were reading the Dictionary of American Biography that Ochs had financed and the New York Review of Books supplied by the Times.

Adolph Ochs also exercised considerable world political influence. He firmly believed that American Jews like himself, as well as the Southern European Jews pouring into the United States early in the twentieth century, should assimilate and become part of mainstream America. However, he strongly supported Hebrew Union University in Cincinnati, Ohio, also one of the transient Ochs family's early homes. He built the Ochs Memorial Temple in Chattanooga to honor his parents, and he also built the awe-inspiring Times building on New York's West 43rd Street. On the golden anniversary of his marriage to a Cincinnati girl he had once ridden a free railroad pass to visit, the couple received over 500 congratulatory telegrams, including greetings from Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt, Admiral Byrd, and other dignitaries ("Ruth" to Nannie Ochs, March 4, 1933, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Cincinnati). He had fulfilled the 1875 prophecy of his fellow Knoxville Chronicle printers that he would become one of "the nation's honored sons" (Chattanooga Daily Times, March 12, 1918).

In addition, Adolph Ochs' achievement had enabled his entire family, particularly his brothers, to enter that select group of honor. Both younger boys had opportunities for education that Adolph never had, yet they relied on his successes as a basis for their own throughout their lives. George, the family scholar and heir to his father's intellect, was awarded one of the first degrees from the newly chartered University of Tennessee at Knoxville though he had completed only his junior year. He went on to serve two terms, and declined a third, as mayor of Chattanooga. He published the Philadelphia Public Ledger and a special edition of the New York Times during the Paris Exposition of 1900, after holding various editorial positions on the Chattanooga Times. He was editor of Current History and had almost completed a Ph.D. at Columbia University at his death at age seventy-two in 1933 (Schuyler, 1933).

Milton, a long-time managing editor of the Chattanooga Times, owned and published the Nashville American in the early 1900s before it was absorbed by the Nashville Tennessean. A Tennessean first, foremost, and always, Milton left his home state only briefly to become a U.S. railway agent in the west (Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1923) and for a short time to assist George at the Public Ledger. He was one of Chattanooga's most popular citizens throughout his long life (Schuyler, 1933).

In 1929, Adolph Ochs returned to Knoxville, telling a Cherokee Country Club audience that people with whom he had been associated in Knoxville compared "in mind and character" with great ones he had encountered around the world. "What I have done," continued the then-

successful publisher, "merely reflects credit on this community from which I got my inspiration" (Ellertsen, 1973). While his residency there may have inspired Adolph Ochs to engage in a bit of banquet rhetoric late in his life, it will be ultimately concluded in this paper that the time he and his family spent there was unhappy, enough so that he had no desire to return there permanently. Ochs never gave up his Tennessee citizenship despite the years he lived in New York, but his loyalty was never devoted to the city in which he began his career.

's most respected and wealthy families. Julius Ochs was never a success in business, except for a period of less than a year in post-Civil War Knoxville, but his ultimate success could be tangibly measured in the successes of his children, both professionally and personally. The year before his death in 1883, Julius Ochs wrote, "My subsequent history is submerged in the achievements of my children" (1887, p. 50). In rearing those children, however, Julius Ochs and his wife, Sertha, could boast of considerable achievement of their own. They instilled in them a strong sense of right and wrong, a respect for their Jewish faith and for morality, a penchant for decisive, independent action, and an unshakable family loyalty--all qualities that surfaced in Adolph Ochs' operation of the New York Times. Surprisingly, Julius' business enterprises, all of which ended in abysmal failure, did not turn his eldest son away from a business career; those failures only served to make him more aware of pitfalls to be avoided.

Julius Ochs always maintained that his misfortunes were of his own making. "I have never believed in luck," he wrote (1887, p. 1),

CHAPTER II

FROM EUROPE TO CIVIL WAR

When Julius Ochs walked the 600 miles from his birthplace in Furth, Bavaria, to the German port of Bremen to emigrate to the New World, he could not know that his biographers would label him a failure. "A greater misfit can hardly be imagined . . . ," wrote Gerald White Johnson in 1970 (p. 18) of the progenitor of one of his adopted country's most respected and wealthy families. Julius Ochs was never a success in business, except for a period of less than a year in post-Civil War Knoxville, but his ultimate success could be tangibly measured in the successes of his children, both professionally and personally. The year before his death in 1888, Julius Ochs wrote, "My subsequent history is submerged in the achievements of my children" (1887, p.50). In rearing those children, however, Julius Ochs and his wife, Bertha, could boast of considerable achievement of their own. They instilled in them a strong sense of right and wrong, a respect for their Jewish faith and for morality, a penchant for decisive, independent action, and an unshakable family loyalty--all qualities that surfaced in Adolph Ochs' operation of the New York Times. Surprisingly, Julius' business enterprises, all of which ended in abysmal failure, did not turn his eldest son away from a business career; those failures only served to make him more aware of pitfalls to be avoided.

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but that "each individual is the architect of his own fortune." It was true that, in many of the places Julius lived and worked after arriving in America, he left lucrative employment or sold a going business to help a less fortunate family member. He was often a victim of that family's whim or of natural catastrophe. Adolph Ochs was to turn that devotion to family into a business asset with his ability to recognize talent and to put it to use in its best capacity. However, his father allowed himself to be manipulated by his family--an older brother who would not allow him to finish college in Germany, a brother-in-law who refused him permission and assistance to continue his education in America, and various other in-laws and cousins who joined in his business endeavors, never with good results. Julius Ochs, the business blunderer, thus embarked on a life of itinerant wandering and errant success before finally settling in Knoxville; but wherever he found himself, there were three constants to which he tied his life--his love of music, his devotion to his Jewish faith, and later his staunch Unionism and abhorrence of slavery.

Both Julius and Bertha Levy Ochs were products of the political unrest that swept across mid-nineteenth-century Europe. The period of the 1840s was a time when both these devout German Jews joined 200,000 others of their nationality and faith in a wave of emigration to America (Shankman, 1957). Garibaldi was marching in Italy and the independent state of Bavaria was buffeted by forces that wanted to unify as one Germany. The young Julius, born in 1826 in the aftermath of Napoleonic Europe that saw the first Jewish immigrants come to the new United States (Weirnik, 1912), was primarily a linguist during his

early schooling; but the unrest that was beginning in Bavaria and other German states made military training necessary for the youthful intellectual. Playing at soldier was a welcome diversion from his scholarly work, but he was never to use that training in his home country. A number of forces working against him caused him to leave Bavaria in 1845 before the German unification conflict reached its height.

Julius was the son of Lazarus Ochs, a successful diamond broker and ultra-orthodox leader of the Jewish temple in Furth, and of Nannie Wetzler. The family was an old and a prominent one in Furth, where the graveyard was full of Ochs tombstones dating back to the earliest history of the village. So respected was the family in the area that the Furth city council, in need of a new city hall to be located where the home of Julius' grandmother stood, refused to evict the old woman, waiting until her death to raze the house and build the town hall (Schuyler, 1933). In Furth there was little of the persecution the Jews felt so strongly in the rest of Germany, oppression that caused the flood of emigration in which Julius took part for his own reasons. It was however, felt by Lazarus Ochs in his travels across the country in his diamond brokerage business. In parts of the country, wrote Julius, Jews were only tolerated and in others the word "Jew" was a reproach (1887). They were not considered citizens, although they paid taxes, and they were not even allowed to live in the nearby city of Nuremberg. According to Adolph Ochs' biographer, Gerald White Johnson, it was this persecution that denied Julius a university education and caused him to migrate to America. However, as Julius in his autobiography never referred to himself as a victim of persecution,

it was more than likely the death of his father that made him cut his ties with the Old World.

Lazarus Ochs was a believer in education; "the most precious inheritance he would leave us was a love for knowledge," Julius later wrote (1887, p. 5). Lazarus began educating his children at home and at the rabbinic school at the temple they attended. When he was old enough, Julius entered the Hyman-Schwabacher Institute in Furth to study modern science and languages. It was a harsh place, where absent children were retrieved by the local police, and, if caught "playing hooky," were arrested and given bread-and-water rations. If they were caught once more, they were publicly given twelve lashes. However, it was also a place where one learned one's lessons well, and Julius, at age ten, was the only resident of the village who could communicate with the English engineer who had come to construct the first railroad in Germany (Ochs, 1887). By the time Julius left for the New World he was fluent in French, Italian, Spanish, and Hebrew, as well as German and English, and that knowledge was useful in his new life (Johnson, 1970).

Julius proved to be an able scholar, and it was the life he would always love. He was sent to a "high school" in Cologne in preparation for entering college, but, in his second year, his father died suddenly. Maier, the oldest son in the family, ordered young Julius to leave his studies; at age fifteen, Julius Ochs had finished his formal education. For three years he tried to learn, variously, the tobacco, dry goods, and bookbinding trades. To the young scholar who loved languages and music, it was "a life of drudgery" (Ochs, 1887,

p. 15). Trade guilds, membership in which was necessary for the businesses Julius tried to enter, had been forbidden to Jews during the political turbulence of the time; the young man had apparently reached a dead end. At the urging of his sister Caroline, who had married Samuel Selliger and had emigrated to Louisville, Kentucky, Julius left Furth on May, 1, 1845, and with a companion walked the 600 miles to Bremen to set sail for the New World. He was eighteen years old.

Two years later and less than a hundred miles to the southeast of Furth, young Bertha Levy of Landau, Bavaria, left her homeland in a much more dramatic fashion. The daughter of Joseph and Regina Levy, whose parents in turn had been aristocratic French Jews before the Revolution, Bertha was imbued with a much more fiery revolutionary spirit than her future husband. As a fifteen-year-old student at Heidelberg Seminary during the height of the unrest in Germany, Bertha became known for her "brilliant intellect and logical, clear mind" (New York Times, February 1, 1908). Those qualities led her to take actions in the interest of the revolt against the old order going on in Europe at the time that were sometimes not in her own best interest. She was forced to leave Germany and the university after taking part in a demonstration at the graves of some slain revolutionaries. Her parents were advised to get her out of the country or she would most certainly be arrested, and she was sent in 1848 to live with an uncle in Natchez, Mississippi (Schuyler, 1933). By the time she married Julius Ochs in Nashville seven years later, the story of her departure had been somewhat romanticized. She was said to have attended the execution of one of the revolutionaries and then gone into the street

to wipe up his blood with her handkerchief, afterwards parading through the streets of Heidelberg while waving the stained kerchief like a banner (Frank, 1962). Whatever the true story, Bertha once again had opportunity to display her volatile spirit during the American Civil War, much to the chagrin of her husband, who found her perfectly capable of leading impassioned parades for a cause in which she believed.

Bertha's arrival in the New World was more uneventful than her future husband's, and her life as a pampered southern belle was a much more stable one. Julius was not so fortunate, as we fell once again under the control of a family that did not always have his best interests at heart. It was indicative of the bad luck that was to befall him the rest of his life when, on his first night after arriving in New York, Julius had a bucket of water unceremoniously dumped on his head as he sat on the sidewalk playing his guitar and singing (Ochs, 1887). Like other Jews of this period who had come to America through the port of New York, Julius did not stay long in that unhospitable city. Many of the 200,000 German Jews arriving at this time settled in the less populated areas of the South and Midwest, particularly along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. They found themselves more welcome in these underpopulated frontier towns than in the already-crowded, well-established cities of the eastern United States. Thus they chose to settle in these newer areas, and they quickly became assimilated in their new communities (Shankman, 1957). In 1848, the Reverend Isaac Leeser described the formation of Hebrew congregations in New Orleans, Savannah, Cincinnati, and Louisville, saying that in "the Southern and Western states the arrival of the Israelites is but recent" (1955, p. 84).

Though congregations had been founded in Cincinnati and Louisville as early as 1792 and 1814 respectively, the new wave of immigration swelled their memberships enough to impress a newcomer like Leeser (Weirnik, 1912).

It was one of these thriving Jewish congregations that drew members of the Ochs family who came to America before Julius. After Caroline's arrival in Louisville, Kentucky, as a bride, other family members soon followed. Sara Ochs married Samuel Bissinger there, and her brothers Leopold and Maier (Americanized to Meyer) and sister Nannie, who married a Frenchman named Solomon Franck, also made their homes in Louisville. Eventually their widowed mother joined them there, making the immigration of the entire Ochs family complete (Schuyler, 1933). When Julius joined them in 1846, he very much wanted to continue his college education, but his brother-in-law Selliger, with whom he was living temporarily, insisted that he earn his keep.

Julius, in his memoirs, preferred to call himself a "traveling merchant" (p. 18), but it cannot be denied that he was really nothing more than a horse-and-buggy peddler, like so many German Jews who brought with them to the New World a mercantile background but found little opportunity to use their talents except in competition with the traditional New England Yankee peddlers. When it became clear that there was not enough business to go around in rural New England, the Jews were driven out into the rural areas of the South and Midwest in the 1830s to continue their peddling in isolated inland areas badly in need of such a service. They began their travels first with packs, later operating as "wagon barons" and then as successful shopkeepers. They purchased

their goods on credit from Jewish wholesalers in the eastern cities, and many of them were founders of large department store chains still operating today in the South and Midwest (Destler, 1976). Julius Ochs followed this predictable pattern with some success at first, but it will be seen later on that the Civil War, his family, and his own bad business judgment got him into all kinds of trouble with his eastern creditors. For those reasons and others, there is no Ochs Department Store in Louisville or Cincinnati or Knoxville or Chattanooga to carry on the family name.

Julius Ochs remained an itinerant throughout the period following his immigration to America until the beginning of the Civil War, although he at first resisted the idea of becoming a lowly peddler. Soon after beginning his travels through Kentucky, he met the headmaster of the Mt. Sterling Female Academy who was in need of a French teacher. Julius, the linguistics scholar, was so fluent in that language that the headmaster and the local population thought him a native Frenchman. Julius never cleared up the misconception, as he perceived that Germans were still highly unpopular in the area that remembered too well Hessian involvement in the Revolutionary War (Ochs, 1887). That same local citizenry that held such a strong dislike for Germans also had very little cash money to spend, and Julius was paid his salary by the barter system. His family back in Louisville soon became unhappy with that arrangement and insisted that Julius go back to his horse-and-buggy route. He did, but with much regret at ending a "time delightfully spent" in his teaching duties (Ochs, 1887, p. 18).

However, while Julius had been teaching at Mt. Sterling, the United States had declared war on Mexico, and Julius seized the opportunity to enlist in the Army in 1848. Though he was only twenty-one years old and had been in America less than three years, he used his early military training in Germany to become an officer in his regiment. The unit never got into the fighting, though, as the war ended before it could reach the front (Schuyler, 1933). Julius found himself back in the traveling merchant trade, after spending a short time back in Louisville serving as "lay rabbi" (Ochs, 1887, p. 19) for the Hebrew congregation there.

He struck out for New York once again, arriving there with only a dollar in his pocket and no prospects of a job. Always the esthete, Julius spent that last dollar to attend a performance of Lucia di Lammermoor but was rescued from his financial straits the next day when he got a job with a watch importer. He traveled to Cincinnati to open a branch office for his employer and had a going concern until he was called home to Louisville to unravel "complications in the business affairs" of his brother Leopold (Ochs, 1887, p. 21). Using his considerable book-keeping skills and about a year of his time, Julius got the business back on its feet and, on his brother's behalf, made his first trips to the deep South, traveling for the first time to Chattanooga in 1850.

What Julius found in the city where he would end his days only thirty-eight years later was an "aggregation of warehouses and straggling stores," no hotel, a wharf jammed with flatboats and a railroad linking the tiny village to the equally small town of Atlanta (Schuyler, 1933, p. 378). Less than enchanted, Julius moved on to Natchez, Mississippi,

which he found so delightful that he decided to stay. In Natchez Julius had his first successful business and his first real encounter with the horrors of slavery that was to lead him to staunch support of the Union during the Civil War. Also in Natchez he met Bertha Levy, who was to become Julius' wife but who would never forget her southern upbringing. Julius lived in Natchez for three years, becoming a member of the Natchez home guard and finding himself welcomed in the best homes of the city. He enjoyed all the cultural advantages of a thriving river town of 5,000, but he could never acclimate himself to the slavery system that supported that way of life (Schuyler, 1933).

"I saw the poor wretches in droves, direct from Africa," Julius wrote in his autobiography, describing slaves who lived in such "deplorable conditions . . . tears of pity gushed from my eyes" (p. 23). Julius learned, however, that it would be unwise for a businessman who depended on local slave owners for his livelihood to criticize the system under which he lived. "To express an opinion in that community, hostile to the established institution," he wrote, "was to jeopardize your life" (p. 23). Julius jeopardized neither his life nor his business, becoming so successful that he opened branches of his dry goods store in Trinity and Bayou Sara, Louisiana, and in Camden, Arkansas. He was so occupied with the growing business that he made only passing acquaintance with the young Bertha. The relationship never had time in Natchez to become anything more than casual, as once again Julius' family intervened in his affairs. His brother Maier, "a man of family" (Ochs, 1887, p. 26), had suffered financial reverses in Louisville and wanted to join the rush to find California gold. Julius, who had no wife or children, agreed to sell

his chain of dry goods stores to finance the trip. After three years of living the life of a well-to-do merchant, he found himself a clerk in one of the stores he had previously owned (Ochs, 1887).

That arrangement proved unsatisfactory, and Julius resumed the traveling life, arriving in Nashville, Tennessee, in 1853 to join a cousin in business. It apparently was not his first visit to Nashville. In 1848 he was in the city long enough to help found the first Jewish congregation there. With eight other young men Julius Ochs was listed as one of the group's original members who met at the home of Isaac Garritson that year to hold formal services (Frank, 1962). The earliest recorded Jewish settlement in the state had been in 1788 on the Holston River in upper East Tennessee's Hawkins County (Derby, 1974), but the Nashville group in the early 1850s had become well enough organized to attract not only Julius Ochs back to its fold but also Bertha Levy and her father, Joseph, who by this time had immigrated to the New World and owned a clothing store and tailor's shop in Nashville (Frank, 1962).

Bertha and Julius, renewing the acquaintance begun earlier in Natchez, were married in Nashville on February 28, 1855; despite their later differences during the Civil War and Julius' business failures, it was a happy union. Thirty-two years later Julius wrote:

We have raised a family of six children; we have experienced prosperity and adversity, happiness and sorrows, yet neither of us has ever regretted the step. . . . nothing has occurred to mar the harmony and unity of spirit which have subsisted since our wedding day (1887, p. 29).

At first their union did seem idyllic. Julius' business was doing well, and their home was a center for cultural and musical activities, as well as a gathering place for the small Jewish congregation (Schuyler, 1933).

As both Bertha and Julius had acquired some college preparatory education in their native Germany, they were asked to teach in the small Hebrew school in Nashville. Julius taught the young boys languages and science, and Bertha tutored the girls in "ornamental" areas such as needlework, a skill she and her daughters would be called upon to use later in less prosperous times (Frank, 1962, p. 99). The Ochses also formed valuable friendships that would last throughout their remaining years in Tennessee.

This period of contentment was a short one for the newlyweds. Julius' business burned to the ground, uninsured, only a few months after the wedding, and the Ochses were left penniless. It was this disaster that caused them to make their first move to Knoxville in the fall of 1855, along with Bertha's widowed father (Ochs, 1887). Knoxville was a city of less than 3,000 people whose principal income was from agriculture (Ochs, 1887). Most of those agricultural products left the city by way of the Tennessee River, on whose banks Knoxville perched, but the town had just acquired its first rail line (Crews, 1961). Ochs and his business partner, L. D. Goldberg, must have thought Knoxville a likely place to seek their fortune. On November 12, 1855, the two applied for a business license as agents for the firm of S. Levi & Bros. (Book of Merchants License, 1855), which may have actually been Joseph Levy, Bertha's father, who had been in business with an S. Levi in Nashville (Frank, 1962). Whoever the mysterious Mr. Levi/Levy may have been, he and his "Bros." did not remain involved in the venture for long, for when the license was granted on November 15, 1855, the S. Levi firm's name had been marked out of the application. Goldberg and Ochs were on their own; the total worth of their establishment was \$250 (Book of Merchants License, 1855).

The "little place" (Ochs, 1887, p. 30) opened in Knoxville by Julius Ochs and his partner Goldberg, who had been a master cigar maker in his tobacco shop on Cedar Street in Nashville before moving east (Frank, 1962), was a tavern. The two businessmen, in obtaining their liquor license, swore not to sell spirits to slaves, of which there were few in Knoxville at the time, or to allow "same" to be at their establishment without permission of their "master, mistress or overseer." They further would allow no gambling for "whiskey, wine, . . . brandy, money or anything to eat or drink or other valuable things," including those same slaves (Book of Merchants License, 1855, p. 208). Though Julius Ochs never allowed a playing card in his own home (Johnson, 1970), card playing was permitted at the tavern, but only if the county tax on the decks had been paid before they were brought in. The proprietors further promised to turn over to the grand jury any known gamblers frequenting the establishment (Book of Merchants License, 1855).

The tavern was apparently a quality establishment, attracting to its tables some of Knoxville's leading citizens. Major James Swan, Knoxville's mayor and president of the bank, druggist E. M. Crozier, whom Julius called "the leading capitalist," and future President Andrew Johnson were among the frequent visitors at Julius' "private office" (Ochs, 1887, p. 30). This small group of friends, because it included Johnson and Ochs, a Jew, soon drew the wrath of Knoxville's quarrelsome newspaper editor W. G. "Parson" Brownlow. Brownlow was a bitter political enemy of Johnson, and a member of the minority-baiting Know-Nothing party at the time; thus Julius Ochs found himself denounced, along with Johnson, on numerous occasions on the pages of Brownlow's

paper. He chose, however, to ignore the "coarse invective" and "hot personal insults" of the fiery editor until much later when, during the Civil War, Brownlow was forced to call upon Julius' military knowledge (Ochs, 1887, p. 30).

There were few other Jews in Knoxville at the time on whom Brownlow could vent his spleen. These, including Goldberg, the Ochsese, and Joseph Levy were not well enough organized to form a real congregation. Abraham Schwab, whom Julius, Bertha, and her father had known in Nashville, also opened a store to sell liquor and wine in Knoxville in the mid-1850s, and theatre owner Peter Staub would arrive in the city before the Civil War, but at the close of the decade there were only about ten Jewish families numbered in Knoxville's population (Derby, 1974). Nevertheless, those few, along with other Knoxville citizens, often gathered at the home of Julius and Bertha Ochs for the musical and dramatic activities for which the young couple soon became known. The music club, wrote Julius, was "quite a cosmopolitan organization . . ." (p. 30); in fact, life in Knoxville seemed almost ideal for the Ochs family. Julius read law with Major Swan and found the people of Knoxville "hospitable." The couple made "many friends" (Ochs, 1887, p. 30).

Some of those friends, however, could see that all was not perfect for Julius and Bertha Ochs in their new home. The tavern was not making a large profit, and Bertha found it necessary to advertise in the November 1, 1855, issue of the Knoxville Register that she was giving lessons in embroidery (Rothrock, 1946). The couple owned no real property, only a horse and buggy purchased from A. Roche on December 18, 1855 (Knox County Probate of Deeds, 1850-1860). Bertha's friends, inclined to believe

she had "driven her ducks to the wrong market" in marrying Julius (Johnson, 1970), saw the couple leave the city less than a year after their arrival there. A difference of opinion with Goldberg caused the two men to sell their tavern in September of 1856 to Charles S. Douglas, who also took over their tippling license for the remainder of the one-year term. Douglas paid state, local, and corporation tax totaling \$12 for the tavern's assets of \$290 (Book of Merchants License, 1856). Julius and his bride were once again without a home.

The few years left before the beginning of the Civil War were unsettled ones for Julius and Bertha. After leaving Knoxville early in 1856, they went to live in Cincinnati, where Julius began traveling for the forerunner firm of the Mosler Lock and Safe Company (Schuyler, 1933); he also engaged in the wholesale jewelry business again (Ochs, 1887). The family knew no real permanency for this time, and Julius was frequently away from home during long periods. The couple's first child, Louis, was born in 1857 while Bertha was visiting her Ochs in-laws in Louisville. The boy died two years later of scarlet fever (Schuyler, 1933), and Julius, who was not at home when the baby became ill was unable to reach Louisville before his son's death, was inconsolable. Julius Ochs--victim of many tragic business failures, who saw his immediate family almost torn apart by the Civil War, who came to rely on his teen-age sons for the family's livelihood, and who above all was tenderhearted to a fault--counted his first-born's death as the greatest tragedy of his life (Ochs, 1887). It was a blow not softened by the birth of six other healthy, and ultimately supremely successful, children.

The event did not, however, cause Julius to give up his itinerant life and make a permanent home for his growing family. Julius once again appeared in Knoxville in 1859, probably for a long period of time, as he was listed in the 1859-60 Knoxville Directory as a director of Knoxville's Turnverein (Rothrock, 1946)--German name for the Turner's Association, a group founded to "give Knoxville more and better music" (Crews, 1962, p. 73). Julius must have been impressed with the city's growth since he had closed his business there two years earlier; Knoxville in 1860 boasted a new gaslight system, a telegraph company, three banks, thirty lawyers, two bakers, and numerous lumber and marble merchants (Crews, 1961). Its population was growing, and it appeared a likely town in which to make a permanent home, which Julius did at the end of the war.

His family, nevertheless, remained in Cincinnati, which Julius regarded as his home, though he was usually there just long enough for four of his children to be born--Adolph in 1858, Nannie in 1860, George in 1861, and Milton in 1864 (Schuyler, 1933). The Julius Ochs family was counted as residing in Ward Seven of Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, in the 1860 Federal Census. There were no other members of either Julius' or Bertha's family living in that ward at the time, though there were many Levys in other parts of the city; thus it appears that they were not living with any members of their families (Harshman, 1979). Bertha and her young children apparently lived rather precariously in a succession of rented hotel rooms while Julius opened a branch of Mosler's wholesale jewelry house in Nashville in 1861 (Schuyler, 1933).

Julius was in Nashville when the Civil War broke out with the South's attack on Fort Sumter, and, as a staunch Unionist and abolitionist who made no secret of his political leanings, he soon found himself unwelcome in that Confederate state capital. In fact, he recalled in his memoirs that he was "run out" of Nashville at the beginning of the war; his many friends there, acquired when he and Bertha were leaders in the fledgling Jewish congregation after their marriage, were all sympathetic to the southern cause, and even his fellow Jews thought it best for Julius to get out of town (Ochs, 1887, p. 32). One of those friends was Abraham Schwab, also a resident of Knoxville for a time when Julius and Bertha had lived there in the mid-1850s. Schwab in 1862 was caught smuggling quinine from Louisville to Nashville and then to Knoxville in false-bottomed wagons to Rebel troops in those areas. His son, Peter, died from scarlet fever before the first Battle of Bull Run in 1861; he was the first person buried in the little Jewish cemetery (now called Old Jewish) in Knoxville (Derby, 1974).

Unable to count on anyone in Nashville to ensure his personal safety, Julius returned to Cincinnati "with all possible speed" to join the Union army (Schuyler, 1933, p. 380). By the time he arrived there, Lincoln had called for volunteers for three-month tours of duty; Julius sold all his worldly goods and enlisted (Ochs, 1887). Though he counted himself a member of the 52nd Ohio Volunteer Infantry (Schuyler, 1933), Julius was never a member of the regular army. Despite his early military training in Germany, Julius apparently only enjoyed playing soldier rather than joining in the thick of the action. He was as much a misfit at soldiering as he was at business. In several detailed histories of the

52nd Ohio Volunteers, Julius Ochs and his commander, A. E. Jones, are never mentioned. However, one of those regimental historians, Nixon B. Stewart--himself a member of the unit--mentioned that there were two companies recruited in Cincinnati, Companies H and K. Though Ochs' and Jones' names do not appear on either company roster in Stewart's book, the author admitted that he was unable to unearth much information about either group, especially Company K. It was Stewart's opinion that the company was probably mustered out early, which lends evidence to the idea that this may have been the company in which Ochs served (1900).

Julius, in fact, was a member of the Cincinnati home guard. The company's duties were rather critical, since Cincinnati is located right across the Ohio River from Kentucky, an area that, during the Civil War, never quite lived up to its "neutral" status. The state was a haven for Rebel troops, both regular army and marauding irregulars. An illegal trade in contraband goods flourished across that river during the war, and it was the "Julius Ochs Company" of the Third Brigade of Ohio Volunteers (Julius Ochs Military Record, National Archives) that was charged with guarding the bridge across the Ohio (Ochs, 1887). Julius was mustered into the company, unofficially, on September 27, 1861 (Julius Ochs Military Record, National Archives). He served as a member of the state militia and received a major's pay, though he was only ranked a captain (Ochs, 1887)--his official military record does not indicate that he was paid at all. Four months later, the company was called into service in the regular army by Brigadier General O. W. Mitchell, who ordered his troops to advance through Kentucky to take the city of Knoxville, an advance that was countermanded by his superiors in

the Union army. That reverse of Mitchell's plan, wrote Ochs in his memoirs twenty-five years later, was a grave mistake, as the Confederate army in Tennessee fed from the state's eastern breadbasket for the next two years (1887).

After the proposed raid on Knoxville was aborted, Julius refused the commission offered by Mitchell in the regular army. Bertha, at home with two small children and a new baby, practically penniless, insisted that he come home to earn a living for the family (Ochs, 1887). It appears that the entire company followed the lead of their captain in refusing to become a part of the 52nd Ohio Volunteers that would ultimately follow Sherman through Georgia to the sea; military records show that the whole group was mustered in and out of the regular army on the same day--January 9, 1862--a bookkeeping device to account for time actually served by the unit (Julius Ochs Military Record, National Archives).

The unit's short service was not an unusual phenomenon, however. Military service was not mandatory early in the Civil War, and many soldiers apparently enlisted for short periods without re-enlisting when their tours of duty were up. Nixon Stewart, in his history of the 52nd Ohio, pointed out that by April of 1863, when the war began to heat up in earnest, the regiment was badly depleted by the discharge of men "anxious to reach home and mother" (1900, p. 44). The officers' ranks were particularly affected by the discharges; by April, eighteen of the original ones had resigned. Stewart told of the sad plight of one Colonel D. D. D. Cowen who resigned on February 18, 1863, after receiving a letter from his wife, telling him she was "dying of consumption, with five small boys and a girl, all helpless." She was pleading with Cowen to come home.

Stewart attempted to comfort the Colonel saying, "... no man in the regiment will blame you" for going home (1900, p. 206).

Julius' own situation, while not quite that heart-rending, was somewhat similar. Although declining the regular army commission, he did retain his post in the home guard as Adjutant General for Lieutenant Colonel Jones. The unit remained headquartered at the Cincinnati City Barracks and guarded the bridge of the Ohio and Mobile Railroad, a prime target for Rebel sabotage. He wrote in his memoirs that the company put an "immediate stop" to the contraband trade across the Ohio carried on by the "many Rebel sympathizers in Cincinnati" (1887, pp. 33-34). He continued, "... feeling against them (the Rebel sympathizers) was extremely bitter" in Cincinnati (1887, p. 33).

One of those Rebel sympathizers, who eventually engaged in that illicit trade across the Ohio River, was none other than Julius Ochs' own wife, Bertha. The former southern belle of Natchez, Mississippi, shared none of her husband's abhorrence of slavery or his Unionist fervor; she was caught during the war smuggling quinine in the baby carriage of her youngest son George across the same river her husband guarded (Schuyler, 1933). The story of the war's youngest smuggler was a favorite in the Ochs family, told so often in later years as to become almost apocryphal. Adolph Ochs was fond of provoking George to tears by claiming that it was he, Adolph, and not George in whose diaper the contraband medicine was concealed. Adolph would usually admit, however, that since he was born in 1858 and George in 1861, George probably was the baby in question (Johnson, 1970). Julius, whose excellent reputation with his commanding officer, Lieutenant Colonel Jones, kept Bertha from going to jail when

she was caught, chose not to mention the event in his own memoirs. He did, nevertheless, describe two other occasions during the war when his wife caused him further difficulty.

Julius, after the quinine smuggling incident, thought it prudent for the family to leave Cincinnati, where Bertha was in uncomfortable proximity to her southern-sympathizing family just across the river in Covington, Kentucky (Fanny Levy to Oscar Levy, November 1, 1864, Oscar Levy Letter File, Cincinnati). He had strongly protested the growing custom of wealthy young men who bought substitutes to take their places in the Union army draft; the resulting unpopularity Julius suffered caused him to ask for a furlough from his commission with the home guard and move his wife and children to Memphis, which had recently fallen into the hands of Union General U. S. Grant and his Army of the Cumberland (Ochs, 1887). In Memphis Ochs noted the "almost ecstatic zeal" of southern women in supporting the Confederate cause (1887, p. 36).

"They were fierce, implacable in their hatred of the North; many spies were from the weaker sex," he wrote. "They were outspoken in their deep detestation of anything Northern and I often heard them exclaim they could gladly bathe in 'Yankee blood'" (1887, p. 36). One of those women he described was his own wife, whom he termed an "ardent rebel." She again ran afoul of the Union authorities in Memphis when she conversed with a southern spy concealed in a neighbor's home. By not informing the authorities or her husband, who was officially still a Union officer, of that contact, she was guilty of abetting the enemy; once more Julius' good reputation with the Union army kept her from being arrested (Ochs, 1887, p. 36).

Julius, though still fiercely loyal to the Union, interceded for another southern sympathizer while on furlough in Memphis. The culprit was a fellow Jew, A. E. Frankland, a rabid Secessionist who never succumbed to or accepted Union occupation of his West Tennessee home city. Julius first befriended Frankland when barrels of flour Frankland was shipping into the city were found to contain guns. Julius pleaded for Frankland's release from jail, and he was set free for a time (Ochs, 1887). However, Frankland was later arrested again after refusing to take a loyalty oath to the Union. Frankland was thrown into a bare cell with little to eat and no heat, but his friend "Ox"--Julius--brought the imprisoned man "a cot and a mattress" and once more interceded to gain Frankland's release (Frankland, 1952, p. 112). Frankland was not particularly grateful, writing in his polemic poem commemorating the ordeal that he "resented Jews from Cincinnati as he resented all Northern carpetbaggers who came to Memphis under Union occupation" (1952, p. 83).

Julius, in befriending his fellow Jew, was apparently reacting to an order issued by General Grant late in 1862. By that time the illicit trading in which Abraham Schwab, A. E. Frankland, and Bertha Ochs were engaged had become so widespread that Grant ordered all Jews out of the Department of Tennessee, regardless of their political affiliation, health, or family situations. General Order Number Eleven justified the banishing of a whole group of people from the Tennessee war theatre "because (they) are Jews, and are neither a benefit to the Union or Confederacy" (Korn, 1957, p. 122). Julius felt the order was a "rank and inexcusable injustice" (1887, p. 38).

The accusations of the order--that Jews were "neither a benefit to the Union or Confederacy"--were also rank and inexcusable falsehoods. There were anywhere from 150,000-400,000 Jews living in the United States during the Civil War, and between 10,000 and 12,000 served in the Confederate army. About half that number wore Union blue, with the second largest troop total coming from Ohio (after New York). Obviously, Confederates among the Jews far outnumbered their Union counterparts, largely because Jewish immigrants had first settled in the South and many were second and third generation "natives." The northern Jews were relative newcomers and did not burn with the same intensity for their adopted country (Weirnik, 1912). These southern Jews, while intensely loyal, were not always well treated, even by other southerners. In Thomasville, Georgia, three German Jewish families were expelled from the community as the war began to turn against the South and hard times intensified for all in the Confederacy. Jewish peddlers had been accused in that area of Georgia of circulating counterfeit money, and, since the "stereotype of the unscrupulous Jewish merchant was deeply rooted in the Southern cultural psyche," the three families were asked to leave Thomasville (Schmier, 1980, p. 10). In Tennessee, Jews had been asked to vacate an entire state, but the unpopular and unworkable order was rescinded at the direct insistence of President Lincoln on January 4, 1863 (Korn, 1957).

Nevertheless, Julius Ochs thought it wise to take his wife and family back to Cincinnati for the duration of the war. Once again Julius found himself defending the city in the home guard; Bertha, who had once refused to be intimidated by anti-revolutionary forces in

Germany, was again in trouble for her southern sympathies. Julius and the company stationed at the City Barracks were called out to defend Cincinnati against Confederate General Kirby Smith and his troops, who were advancing north through Kentucky. With the approaching danger, feeling against Copperheads--those northerners who opposed the war--ran high in Cincinnati. Bertha and her children, while Julius was off defending the city, were living in a hotel, the Four Mile House, where the other tenants were strongly Unionist. In characteristic fashion, Bertha "boldly denounced 'the Yankees' whenever the occasion arose" and was thus ordered arrested (Ochs, 1887, p. 43). Once more Lieutenant Colonel Jones interceded in her behalf, and she avoided going to jail for her dissidence.

That those two fiercely opinionated and diametrically opposed people remained married, and totally devoted, to each other during this period of intense conflict is no less surprising than the fact that their two families also apparently suffered no lasting ill feelings from their incompatible political views. Bertha's brother Oscar, who was serving with his Natchez regiment first under Confederate General Braxton Bragg in Tennessee and then under General A. S. Johnston as Sherman marched through Georgia, always asked, in his letters to his parents, to be remembered kindly to "Dear Bertha, Ochs, & Children." This was the same Oscar Levy who lamented the fact that he had not written to "Dear Sister Bertha and Brother Julius," while in the same letter expressing a wish to "drive the enemy beyond the Ohio, & draw a Bee line between Ky. & Ohio. . . ." He continued that he "would vote for not letting another Yankee put his foot on Southern soil again after we achieve our

Independence. . . ." (Oscar Levy to his Family, 1864, Oscar Levy Letter File, Cincinnati).

It is interesting to note, further, that had Julius Ochs accepted his commission in the regular Union army, he would have been fighting directly across the battle lines from his brother-in-law at some of the bloodiest conflicts of the war--Stones River, Chickamauga, Lookout Mountain, and Sherman's march to the sea. The 52nd Ohio Volunteers participated in all these clashes, but Julius Ochs was not with them (Stewart, 1900). It was perhaps for this reason that Oscar Levy was able to carry on a fond correspondence with the Ochs family, even after Adolph became a successful publisher in Chattanooga. The domestic waters of the Ochs family were eventually smoothed at the war's end, but they never forgot their loyalties. Julius became an active member of the veterans' group of the Grand Army of the Republic in Chattanooga; Bertha was a founder of the Chattanooga chapter of the Daughters of the Confederacy. Though Bertha, grief stricken, became a semi-invalid after her husband's death, the two perpetuated their wartime disagreement. At Julius' funeral in 1888, his casket was covered by an American flag; Bertha requested that the Stars and Bars fly over her grave. Their final resting places, side by side, are in sight of the Confederate and National Cemeteries in Chattanooga, "surrounded by battlefields immortalized by Blue and Gray. . . ." (Schuyler, 1933, p. 4).

This strong opposition in political views in the Ochs family made for more than a romantic, touching story of devoted hearts and true love. It may have also been the ultimate reason that Julius Ochs chose once again to bring his family to live in Knoxville, Tennessee, a city "equally divided" in sympathy between North and South (Goodspeed, 1974, p. 850).

CHAPTER III

FROM WAR'S END TO REMOVAL

At the close of the Civil War, Knoxville, Tennessee, was a microcosm of a nation torn apart by conflicting ideologies, and the Julius Ochs family was a microcosm of the microcosm. While the powerful, influential and wealthy citizens of Knoxville sympathized with the Confederate cause, the yeomanry of the city aligned themselves with the Union. The resulting class struggle scarred the city for years to come (Campbell, 1947). Similarly, Bertha Levy Ochs, who grew up as a pampered southern belle in Mississippi, never lacking for the creature comforts, was unable to reconcile herself to the staunch Unionism and abolitionist sympathies of her husband, the former itinerant peddler and tavern keeper. Julius found himself incompatible with his wife's ardently rebellious friends during their brief stay in Memphis; Bertha, always outspoken, constantly endangered herself with the Union authorities when the family returned to live in Cincinnati. Oddly, the two were completely devoted to each other, so that a parting of the ways was never an option for this family of divided loyalties.

Thus it became imperative that Julius Ochs find for his family a permanent home where both he and Bertha could live happily and comfortably. It was also imperative, given the desperate condition of the family's finances, that Julius find both a home and promising business opportunities. In 1864, Knoxville filled both of these requirements, but later the city proved not to be the ultimate solution to the financial problems of Julius and Bertha Ochs.

Though it had not seen the major battles that swept Middle, West, and Southeast Tennessee, the eastern portion of the state to which Julius and Bertha Ochs were to immigrate had known its share of suffering during the Civil War. As Julius' former commanding officer, General O. W. Mitchell, had predicted at the war's outset, East Tennessee had served as the breadbasket of the Confederacy. The majority of its citizens remained loyal to the Union and wanted no part of the new southern nation, but local residents and farmers went hungry themselves while feeding the Rebel army. Confederate sympathizers in Knoxville were few in number, but their wealth and power enabled them to conduct a veritable reign of terror against the Unionists while Confederate forces occupied the area. Vocal Unionists, such as Parson Brownlow, Horace Maynard, Cal Netherland, and Andrew Johnson, were forced to flee East Tennessee into Union-held territories, with Brownlow and Maynard settling for a time with a large number of other East Tennessee loyalists in Ochs' home city of Cincinnati (Campbell, 1947). It is not surprising, then, that Union General Ambrose Burnside and his troops were met by flag-waving crowds in Knoxville when they finally broke the Confederate hold on the city in 1863 (Campbell, 1947).

The new occupants of the East Tennessee city were also met by devastated fields, rampant inflation, empty store shelves and a flood of Unionist refugees from outlying counties still held by Rebel troops. "The people were poor," wrote a member of Ochs' old regiment, the 52nd Ohio Volunteers, upon his arrival in war-torn East Tennessee. "They read the Bible and Parson Brownlow's Whig and death to all enemies of the Union was the watchword (sic)" (Stewart, 1900, p. 78). Relief associations

were formed to aid these suffering loyalists as the war came to a conclusion. One of these was located in the large community of exiled East Tennesseans in Cincinnati (Rothrock, 1946). It is possible that this was the source from which Julius Ochs learned of the business opportunities in Knoxville that would eventually cause him to move his family there.

In 1864 Julius was searching desperately for any means of supporting his family. His fortunes, small though they had been, were decimated by his sporadic soldiering in the Cincinnati home guard. His family, now with four children, was nearly penniless. At this time Julius heard of the favorable business conditions in Knoxville for a would-be dry goods merchant like himself--high prices, few goods, and a city glutted with Union soldiers and refugees. With his brothers-in-law Samuel Bissinger and Solomon Francks, and another business partner named J. Goldsmith, Ochs managed to raise enough capital to outfit four wagons and load them with merchandise to sell in the city recently liberated from Rebel troops. The wagons, specially built to resemble "a moving hotel" were carried by rail as far as Nicholasville, Kentucky. From there they were pulled by teams of five horses through the Cumberland Mountains of Kentucky and Upper East Tennessee (Ochs, 1887, p. 38).

It was not an easy trip, although it ultimately proved to be a profitable one. Ochs later wrote that road conditions on the trip "beggar(ed) description" (1887, p. 39) and that the wagons seemed to break down at least fifty times a day; the caravan covered less than two miles in twenty-four hours. At Richmond, Kentucky, one of the wagons sustained a broken axle, and the group of prospective traders began to reconsider the wisdom of their venture. However, further south at Barbourville, the group encountered exiled Knoxvilleans Netherland, Maynard,

Brownlow, and Andrew Johnson, at the time military governor of Tennessee and soon to be elected vice president of the United States (Ochs, 1887). These men told Ochs and his cohorts more about the business conditions in Knoxville--flour selling for \$20 a barrel, butter for \$1 a pound, potatoes for \$3 a bushel, corn meal for the same price. Since the beginning of the war, coffee had risen in price from \$.14 a pound to \$1 in 1864; salt had gone from \$.025 a pound to \$.30, and calico had risen more than 800 percent (Campbell, 1947). To the group of fledgling merchants, who had purchased their goods at low Yankee prices in Cincinnati, the prospective profits must have seemed almost unbelievable. Fired with the speculative zeal, they pushed on to the Cumberland Gap.

At this juncture near the Kentucky-Tennessee line the traders received an offer they could not refuse. As they came nearer to the border of the Confederacy, they experienced frequent close encounters with Rebel patrols, and it was rumored that John Hunt Morgan, recently escaped from a Yankee prison, was in the area. Therefore, when Knoxville Jack (Louis) David, who later married one of Bertha Levy's sisters, offered to buy their entire cargo for \$16,000, the four men eagerly accepted. David paid them \$10,000 in cash in advance, promising the remaining \$6,000 after he sold the goods in Knoxville. To collect the remainder and to protect the wagons and teams he and his partners still owned, Julius accompanied David the rest of the way into the city. Arriving there, they found that Burnside's soldiers had just been paid, and the men stormed the wagons to purchase supplies. Julius recalled in his memoirs that he and David sold \$15,000 in merchandise their first day in Knoxville (1887). Julius was impressed with the business possibilities of the wartime city.

Thus Julius Ochs cast his lot with the city whose normal population of 3,000 had been swelled by the aftermath of the war. Julius, and Jack David as well, joined a growing number of merchants applying for business licenses in the East Tennessee city nestled at the foot of the Great Smoky Mountains. In 1864, the Knox County Book of Merchants License recorded only sixty-three pages of new applications; a year later applications covered 223 pages of the same book (1861-66). As Julius had applied for a permit to bring in more goods to the desperate city on February 8, 1864, it would seem that he was in the vanguard of a wave of post-war prosperity. It was not to be so, but Julius was unaware of the pitfalls that awaited him when he paid his \$45 in business taxes that day in 1864--\$25 state tax, and \$10 each for county and railroad taxes. He estimated the worth of his goods at less than \$10,000 (Book of Merchants License, 1861-66)--his share of the transaction with David actually came to \$7,000, with which he intended to purchase more goods in Cincinnati (Ochs, 1887). He returned home with a merchant's license good for one year, money in his pocket, and high hopes.

Julius Ochs was one of many immigrant German Jews--the inland peddlers of the antebellum South--who sought to amass great fortunes in merchandising after the war. Quite a few of them were successful, and many of them became anxious to limit further the immigration of their countrymen and fellow Jews who might become business competitors (Wiernik, 1912). Julius Ochs, though he never achieved the success of the others, was also vitally interested in immigration laws and procedures following the Civil War. After his own permanent settlement in Knoxville, he became the president of the city's Immigration Bureau, handling the many

requests from German families to come to the East Tennessee city. He eventually came to believe, as did his son, Adolph, that Tennessee had assimilated its German Jewish population well--they were among the leading citizens of the state and of the South--but he also concluded that the area could take in no more, lest it suffer the same overcrowded ghetto-like conditions of the large northern cities. He therefore became an advocate of limiting immigration of German Jews to East Tennessee, though the Jewish community in Knoxville remained small and struggling (Campbell, 1948).

Julius made numerous overland trips from Cincinnati to Knoxville during 1864, finally establishing a store on Gay Street "2 doors North of Cumberland." His wares included "Clothing, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Caps, Hosiery, Notions, Stationery, and Cigars," and he welcomed the public as well as soldiers as customers (Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator, November 23, 1864). Though he advertised in the newspaper Brownlow had revived since his return from exile, Julius and the Parson were at first on less than friendly terms. Brownlow had become even more vituperative in his hatred of southern sympathizers than when Julius had first made his acquaintance in the mid-1850s, having been badly treated by Knoxville's Rebels--Julius' friends Crozier and Swan among them--before the city finally fell to Union troops. Brownlow held a particular contempt for southern women, writing at one time that they were "brazen as the Devil, full of impudence, with but little sense, and less prudence, flirting about, meddling in everybody's affairs, and seeking notoriety by acting and talking as a well raised lady would be ashamed to act or talk" (Campbell, 1947, p. 68). Brownlow, though unknowingly, was

describing Julius Ochs' wife, and it may be assumed that Julius could not help questioning the reception his wife would receive when Brownlow advocated the building of a special prison to house all the women of Knoxville who had supported the southern cause (Rothrock, 1946).

If that were not enough to estrange Julius from this self-appointed "ventilator" of recalcitrant Rebels, Brownlow also attacked, possibly with good cause, speculators who bought cheap goods in the North and brought them south to sell in desperate areas such as East Tennessee. Brownlow had no use for businessmen, with whom Julius Ochs could be classified, who profited from the misery of war's innocent victims (Campbell, 1948). Thus, when General Joseph Wheeler's Rebel forces once again threatened the city in 1864, Julius was reluctant to accept the commission offered him by Brownlow in the hastily organized Knoxville home guard. Julius recalled Brownlow's advocacy of the Know-Nothing party in the 1850s, when the fiery editor had tangled with then-Governor of Tennessee Andrew Johnson. Johnson had frequented the Ochs tavern with those other Brownlow enemies, Crozier and Swan. Brownlow attacked Johnson for that friendship with Ochs, calling Julius through his newspaper columns "that damned Jew" (Ochs, 1887, pp. 43-44). In 1864, with Wheeler's troops threatening the city, Ochs remembered that slight and demanded--and got--an apology from Brownlow before accepting the temporary lieutenant's bars.

Thus it was that Julius was once again a soldier. He took command of a platoon of twelve Jewish soldiers sent to guard Armstrong's Ferry from a band of Rebel raiders sworn to kill any of "Brownlow's men" they might find (Ochs, 1887, p. 44). Though the majority of East Tennesseans

"believed in him (Brownlow) next to the Bible" (Stewart, 1900, p. 53), there were also those who equated him with the Devil himself. It was against a band of these men that Julius Ochs and his little group were sent to fight, an extremely dangerous assignment. However, the attack on Knoxville failed to materialize, and Ochs and company were mustered out of the army for the last time. The outcome of the entire Brownlow-Ochs affair was that, largely because of Julius' bravery during a difficult mission, the two became mutual admirers. In 1865, Julius served as a delegate from Knox County to the state convention that nominated Brownlow for governor, and he was instrumental in getting his former nemesis elected (Schuyler, 1933).

Where Julius Ochs managed to find twelve other Jews to serve in his platoon to repel the Rebels remains a mystery. Captain William Rule, in his Standard History of Knoxville, Tennessee, wrote that there were "but few Israelites in Knoxville" during the Civil War (1900, p. 589), and most of these were Confederate sympathizers. Led by the Ochs's old friend from Nashville, Abraham Schwab, Knoxville Jews had formed the Hebrew Benevolent Association in August 1864 to maintain the little Jewish cemetery in which Schwab's son Peter had been buried early in the war, having given his life to the Confederacy. The Hebrew congregation called Beth El did not formally organize until 1866, and Julius Ochs and his various in-laws and relatives who accompanied his family to Knoxville made up a good portion of the original twenty-five members (Rule, 1900). It was a struggling group, although its members were counted among the leading citizens of post-war Knoxville. The congregation had no temple and met for High Holy Days at the First Presbyterian Church, where they

were required to enter through the back door (Knoxville Hebrew Congregation Beth El, undated pamphlet). For ordinary sabbath services they met at Spiro's Vinegar Store, where they sat on barrels to hear the sermons of their volunteer rabbi, Julius Ochs (Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964). With his firm background in Talmudic scholarship bequeathed by his father, Julius made a "first-class emergency rabbi" (New York Times, April 9, 1935). With his talent for bookkeeping, he was also a competent secretary for the congregation.

Collecting the \$10 membership fees and the \$6 annual dues from the members of Beth El was no easy task for Ochs (Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964). As the Civil War came to a close in 1865, almost everyone in Knoxville was poor--everyone, that is, except Julius Ochs. Reapplying for a business license on March 24, 1865, Julius Ochs & Co. Retail and Wholesale Merchants were taxed for goods valued at \$27,000, up from \$7,000 the year before. Business taxes rose accordingly, from \$45 to \$125.50 (Book of Merchants License, 1861-66). The firm had quickly become the largest of its kind in Knoxville (Chattanooga Daily Times, October 27, 1888), prompting the three brothers-in-law--Ochs, Bissinger, and Franck--to open two more stores outside the city limits and to add groceries to the stock of their Gay Street store (Ochs, 1887; Rothrock, 1946). Julius estimated the net worth of the goods for sale in the three stores at \$50,000 to \$75,000, "considerable in those days" (Ochs, 1887, p. 45).

The Union soldiers crowding the city were being mustered out after peace was achieved in April 1865; a good part of the extra pay they received was spent at Julius Ochs & Co. Three days' receipts at

the dry goods and grocery store at one time totaled \$33,000, with part of that sum going to the tavern Julius and his partners decided to open in addition to their dry goods and grocery businesses. In obtaining its liquor license on August 23, 1865, Julius Ochs & Co. agreed not to "mix or adulterate with any substance . . . any spiritous or alcoholic liquors" that they might "manufacture, rectify, sell or offer for sale" to the hordes of celebrating soldiers (Knox County Court Clerk's Liquor Dealers' Oaths, 1860-1870). The future for the Ochs family did, indeed, look bright. Julius decided it was time to bring his unreconstructed and unrepentant wife, along with their four children, to Knoxville to establish a permanent home. *had also bought 100 acres of land from John-*

The reason Julius gave in later years for not leaving his family in Cincinnati where so many of their relatives lived--he had run his business in Knoxville for over a year while making only an occasional buying trip back to Cincinnati--was that his youngest son Milton, born in 1864, was sickly and needed to move to the warmer southern climate (Ochs, 1887). The temperate weather apparently agreed with Milton, for he lived most of his ninety-one years in Tennessee, but his health may have been only a convenient excuse to get Bertha out of Cincinnati after the incident at the Cincinnati boarding house where she had been branded a Copperhead and detained for a short time by Union authorities. In Knoxville, Bertha would have to face the venomous pen of Parson Brownlow and his particular hatred for southern women, but even that was preferable to being in jail. And, as Julius and Brownlow had by this time patched up their differences, it may be presumed that Bertha was not personally a target for the editor's wrath. In Knoxville the couple had friends,

both Jews and Gentiles, who had been loyal to both sides in the conflict; with Julius operating a really successful business for the first time since his days at Natchez, both he and Bertha could look forward to years of contentment.

The future did look rosy when Bertha brought Adolph, Nannie, George, and Milton to the house Julius had rented for them and "fitted . . . out well" (Ochs, 1887, p. 45). Though his home was only rented, Julius and his business partners had purchased one of their business sites west of Gay Street between Church and Clinch Avenues, a tract measuring twenty-one feet by 140 feet, from E. N. Parham (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3). They had also bought 100 acres of land from Knoxville lawyer and Confederate sympathizer William Swan, who had been forced by Brownlow to move to Memphis after the war (Rothrock, 1946). The Ochs family boasted a "carriage, fine horses, and a beautiful farm" (Ochs, 1887, p. 45). The farm, called Ochsenburg, comprised eighty-one acres on "the Ridge sometimes called Sharp's Ridge." Ochs paid \$1,200 for the property, located four miles from Knoxville, to A. Charney, who had bought the land from Knoxville settlers Alfred and Rebecca Sharp for \$500 (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3, p. 581). Value of the stock in "Store Number One" alone had risen to almost \$30,000 in March of 1866, and the business firm paid almost \$450 in business taxes in renewing its license (Book of Merchants License, 1861-66).

With their newly found opulence, the Ochses soon became leaders in the social, cultural, and religious circles of Knoxville. It was a treat to be invited to an evening of entertainment at the Ochs home-- Julius would play his guitar and his talented family would sing some of

their father's original compositions, while Bertha served refreshments in the southern tradition (Ochs, 1887). Julius, in addition to his office with the Knoxville Immigration Bureau, was named a delegate from Knox County to the state constitutional convention in 1866; he was an active member of Knoxville's German Association, the American Legion, and the Schiller Order of the Knights of Honor (Chattanooga Daily Times, October 27, 1888). With noted Knoxville music teacher Profesor E. Hacker, Julius was a director of Turnverein, or Turner's Association, organized in 1865 to give the young men of Knoxville regular instruction in gymnastics and to provide the city "more and better music" (Crews, 1962, p. 73). The group boasted its own chorus, orchestra, brass band, and a music hall on Main Street. In 1868 it opened a school for boys ages nine to seventeen (Crews, 1961) and expanded its activities to include promoting the care of the sick and the establishing of a public library (Rochrock, 1946). The group, according to the Knoxville Daily Press and Herald, was "composed of Germans" and was "not a political organization." "They number among its members," continued the newspaper, "both radical and conservative, ex-Federal and ex-Confederate soldiers" (March 25, 1870). Turnverein was thus a comfortable organization to which Julius and Bertha Ochs could belong, and they did so throughout the time they resided in Knoxville.

In addition to their musical and civic activities, the family remained involved in the small Jewish congregation, Beth El. Julius continued to serve as a member of the Benevolent Association and as volunteer, unpaid rabbi, drawing frequent praise for his sermons. These he sometimes delivered both in English and in German, and they

were so well-prepared that members of the Christian community often came to hear them. Julius' daughters Nannie and Ada (born after the family moved to Knoxville and thus a very small child at the time) were members of the congregation's first choir, trained by members of Turnverein. Bertha and her sister Fannie Levy, who had come to Knoxville with the Ochs family, were equally active in the little group whose temple was a vinegar store. Devoted as they were to liberal, Reform Judaism in the United States (Adolph Ochs would later marry the daughter of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, leader of that American movement), the two women gave lessons in "fancy work" with the proceeds going to support the Reform congregation of which they had been members in Nashville in the 1850s. Jews in Knoxville, after early attacks by Parson Brownlow, apparently were not the victims of persecution that they were in other areas of the South. They were "highly respected by the Knoxville community" (Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964, p. 6).

This idyllic existence for the Ochs family, however, was short-lived. Suddenly the soldiers had all gone back to their homes, leaving in their places those Knoxvilleans who had lost loved ones, homes, and fortunes in the war. These survivors could ill afford the goods for sale at Julius Ochs & Co. at any price, much less at the inflated wartime prices at which Julius and his brothers-in-law had purchased their wares (Goldsmith had since left the partnership). But Julius Ochs blamed no one but himself for the disastrous business reverses that struck the firm barely a year after it was founded. He wrote:

I can trace every reverse I have ever experienced to my own lack of judgment, mismanagement, extravagance, or other personal fault. It is easy to ascribe failures to "ill fortune," but in nearly every instance, a careful self analysis will

prove that the fault lies with the doer--lack of energy, industry, prudence, economy or some similar cause (1887, p. 1).

However, later on in his memoirs he was willing to lay the fault of the collapse at the feet of his sisters' husbands, Bissinger and Franck, whom he described as "carried away on the wave of prosperity" (p. 46). They had bought carloads of goods when prices were at their peak, expecting the "wave of prosperity" to continue. Calico bought for \$.32 a yard plummeted in price to \$.18; their competitors, who had bought at post-war prices, were able to sell their goods nearer the going rate.

The firm of Cowan, McClung and Company (later C. M. McClung), in fact, was the largest taxpayer in the state in the same year, 1867, that Julius Ochs & Co. was struggling financially. By 1874, when the Ochs dry goods business and wholesale house was out of existence, Cowan, McClung was doing a \$2 million business (Rothrock, 1946). Similarly, W. W. Woodruff hardware company was prospering and growing. Woodruff had applied for a business license at about the same time as had Julius Ochs in the mid-1860s, but, unlike Julius, Woodruff's name did not disappear from the tax rolls a few short years later (Book of Merchants License, 1861-66). Knoxville, with its improved rail and river transportation and central location between North and South, was indeed becoming a mercantile center. The Richmond Whig, in a post-war edition, said of Knoxville that "no city of the south except Atlanta has improved more rapidly since the war" (Rothrock, 1946, p. 221). Other businesses similar to Julius Ochs & Co. that shared in that success were owned by C. H. and D. L. Coffin, C. Morgan, R. S. Payne, Daniel Briscoe, and E. J. Sanford (Rothrock, 1946).

Julius Ochs & Co., however, had finally fallen victim to the wages of speculation against which Brownlow had railed. Unopened boxes of merchandise purchased in New York and Cincinnati sat on the sidewalk outside the Gay Street store, and the partners watched as their "fortune faded away" (Ochs, 1887, p. 46).

Though Ochs was later to equate his business failure with the Panic of 1867 that swept the country as a whole (Schuyler, 1933), it is clear from public records that the firm's problems actually began well before that. The company's business license had come due again in March of 1866, but the partners were unable to renew their license by paying their business taxes until November of 1867. When they finally did renew the license, the estimated value of their goods had fallen from more than \$30,000 to \$17,500. They owed back taxes of almost \$400 from the year and a half since they had last paid their business assessments (Book of Merchants License, July 1867-November 1871).

During that time, though they were still buying and selling property on speculation with the hope of curing their financial ills, the three brothers-in-law had already lost two of their stores to trustee sales. Other relatives and fellow members of Beth El congregation did everything possible to help the three resolve their difficulties, signing trust and warranty deeds, co-signing and securing notes, or buying property outright from the trio. Jack David, married to Bertha's sister, often appears in public records as guarantor for Ochs' notes or as buyer for his property, as did Louis Gratz, who, like Julius Ochs, had begun his life in America as a peddler in the rural

South. Gratz had married Lizzie Bearden, member of a pioneer Knoxville family, and his Bearden in-laws also appear in the record books as receivers of the Ochs & Co. property (Marcus, 1956). Other names prominent in the decade of proceedings were J. E. Haupt and successful Knoxville photographer T. M. Schleier, both of whom were good friends of Julius and members of Turnverein.

In October of 1866 David purchased from Ochs the Gay Street property between Church and Clinch that housed the firm's first store. David, whose own business had proved much more successful than that of the group from whom he had bought four wagon loads of goods at Cumberland Gap, paid \$2,000 for the tract, plus assuming two notes of \$200 each that Julius had executed against the property (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3). The next month the company's troubles deepened. Listing debts of \$56,882.05 and assets of only \$38,039.62, Julius Ochs & Co. assigned all the goods in its warehouse on the south side of Gay Street to William Bearden, who was instructed to dispose of those goods in the quickest possible manner to settle the firm's debts (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3).

That stock of goods, the same stock that Julius remembered in his memoirs as stacked in unopened boxes on the sidewalk outside the building, was considerable, confirming Julius' contention that his partners had become quite carried away with wartime speculation. The list of goods, kept by scrupulous bookkeeper Julius Ochs, covered eighteen ledger pages. There was almost nothing one could not buy at Julius Ochs & Co. in 1866, from a pair of diaper pins for a quarter to an office safe for \$175. Examples of other goods sold at the store and their prices

included a saddle for \$10.50, a lady's fur hat for \$2.25, a corset for \$.85, suspenders for \$.65, and a pair of "drawers" for \$1.25. In addition to buying their spices, tea and sugar (at \$.11 a pound) at the store, ladies of Knoxville could get a hoop for their skirts for \$.50 or a parasol for \$2.50. Their husbands could buy a military map for a quarter or a revolver for \$8.50. Anyone could purchase a Julius Ochs & Co. casket for \$20. William Bearden was given twelve months to sell these and other goods for the best price, or he could put them up for public auction (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3).

In January of the new year Julius turned over his interest in the Swan property to his brother-in-law Bissinger, who continued to borrow money against the property throughout 1867 until the 100 acres was sold in October to Mary McCaughy. The \$1,200 she paid for the land did not help Bissinger's fortunes much, going to pay back taxes and various liens and notes against the tract (Record of Warranty Deeds, E-3). In the meantime, the three partners had lost the last of their stores. In May of 1867 Julius Ochs signed a warranty deed putting E. N. Parham, from whom Ochs had bought the site of his original store, in charge of "management and control" of the business. Parham also acted as salesman, and Ochs was required to put up his Sharp's Ridge farm, a wagon and two mules as security for Parham's salary of \$133.60 per month. In turn, Parham agreed to "devote his undivided time and energy" to the business, working in a manner "just as faithful and diligent as if he were doing that business for himself" (Record of Warranty Deeds, E-3, pp. 29-30). It was for this store that the merchant's license was renewed and back taxes paid in November of 1867.

Though intemperate buying practices, as well as the shaky financial conditions prevailing all across post-war America, precipitated the collapse of Julius Ochs & Co., it seems that the firm was itself extending credit to bad risks. Several large, outstanding accounts that proved uncollectable even though several recovery suits were filed by the Ochs firm included that of William G. Price, who owed Ochs and his partners \$2,888.86 for goods purchased plus another \$11,600 in promissory notes when the firm's financial troubles began in 1866 (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3). Suits against Price, first filed in 1867 and refiled and consolidated in 1871, were not finally settled until 1874, when Knox County Chancery Court decreed that Price owed Julius Ochs & Co., long since dissolved, \$4,209.82. It was one of a number of judgments against Price, and there is no record that the debt was ever paid (Chancery Court Minute Record, K). Another major creditor of the Ochs company was George W. Kirk, against whom Ochs and Bissinger had filed suit for debt collection as early as 1865. Kirk's house and lot had been ordered sold to settle the debt to the dry goods firm, but other lienholders against the property filed suit to stop the sale. After complicated legal maneuvering, the house was finally sold at auction in March 1867, bringing \$1,100. However, Ochs could not collect his money until February of 1868 and then received only about half of the proceeds of the sale after taxes, interest and court costs had been paid (Chancery Court Minute Record, F). At any rate, the sale was too small and came too late to save Julius Ochs & Co.

By that time--1867-68--the company was embroiled in suits in which it found itself the defendant. Julius had been sent to New York

and Cincinnati to try to settle accounts with the company's suppliers, an experience he described as "painful" (1887, p. 46). Some of the principal creditors listed in the Ochs business accounts and in subsequent lawsuits included Guiterman Bros., to whom the company owed well over \$5,000; Mack Bohm, who had sold the company \$1,216.63 worth of goods for which he had not been paid (Record of Warranty Deeds, D-3). Another \$5,000 creditor was Wm. Kreigsharber & Co., who took the Ochs partners to court to satisfy his debt.

Many of the suits against the firm filed by Guiterman and Bohm as well as a fourth major creditor, Stine & Bros., dragged on until the mid-1870s. Julius was dismissed as a defendant from some of the suits after declaring personal bankruptcy on October 30, 1868 (Knox County Probate of Deeds, 1860-1870). He continued, however, to dispose of his property, selling the last piece--a lot at the corner of Depot and Williams streets--to his brother-in-law David for \$450. Property at Asylum and Broadway co-owned by the three partners was eventually ordered sold at a sheriff's auction in 1869 with proceeds going to Kreigsharber (Circuit Court Minute Book, 19). Once again, Julius Ochs and his family were nearly penniless.

"I retained nothing save my good name, a clear conscience, and the respect of my friends and neighbors," Julius wrote (1887, p. 46). It was that excellent reputation--Julius was never dishonest--that enabled the family to survive the trauma of bankruptcy during the ensuing years. Julius traveled New York and other areas of the North during 1868-69, selling a combination level, plumb and bevel square he had invented. He sent all of his meager earnings home to his family, which,

in the three years since moving to Knoxville had added daughters Ada and Mathilda (Mattie). Julius, just recently the owner of the largest retail business in Knoxville, often existed on a half loaf of bread a day during his travels (Ochs, 1887).

It did not take long for this former linguist, musician and intellectual to realize that he was not "fitted for salesmanship of mechanical contrivances" (Ochs, 1887, p. 47). He returned to Knoxville, where he was elected to County Court and once again became unpaid rabbi to "the little Jewish flock" (Schuyler, 1933, p. 381). The Beth El congregation was always of the opinion that their lay leader--they did not have a regular rabbi until 1898--was largely the reason for the strong moral tone of the County Court committee reports for which he was responsible (Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964), particularly evident in the report from the committee to improve the county workhouse, which Ochs chaired.

There had been talk in Knox County during 1870 that the correctional institution, which had fallen into an abominable state of disrepair and mismanagement, should be abolished. Julius Ochs and his committee recommended against the move, maintaining that the workhouse exerted a "moral influence" in lessening crime, whereas a jail system in which prisoners were not required to work "encourages criminals after they come out to sin again. . . ." That type of punishment "held no terror for them." The committee recommended a six-month trial period in which its members--Ochs, Matthew Simpson, and John L. Moses--could oversee the management and record-keeping of the workhouse. The arrangement proved so successful that at the October 1871 term of the Court

the Ochs committee was made a permanent "Commission to Superintend the Workhouse" with the authority to hire and fire superintendents. The commission was also charged with inspecting the county jail (Knox County Court Minute Book, 25, pp. 258-62).

Other committees of the Court on which Ochs served usually involved the wise spending of tax funds or the efficient operation of county facilities, despite his recent personal financial difficulties. In 1871, Julius was appointed a school commissioner, charged with deciding how to spend the newly levied county school tax. He was named to a committee formed to settle accounts with former tax collector H. C. Tarwater, on whose newspaper Adolph would later work. Julius was also on the board of weights and measures, responsible for obtaining the proper seals and weights from the state (Knox County Court Minute Book, 25). Perhaps his most significant appointment came when he was named, along with squires W. A. A. Conner, John L. Moses, Alfred Caldwell, John Tunnell, and M. Nelson, to the commission to oversee the building of the Gay Street Bridge, the first permanent span across the Tennessee River in Knoxville. When the commission was formed in 1871, it was appropriated \$75,000 with which to contract the building of the bridge. The bridge was finished in 1874, after Julius had left office, at a cost of \$163,653.65 (Goodspeed, 1974). There is evidence throughout County Court minutes of the period that there was some discontent among Court members and the public regarding the cost overruns, but the Court eventually concluded that the cost of the bridge had been underestimated at the beginning rather than finding any evidence of graft (Knox County Court Minute Book, 25).

In the end it was Julius' high principals that lost him his seat on County Court, and what little income went with the post. In 1872, when Julius was up for reelection, he was offered the lucrative office of County Court Clerk if he would abandon his support of Liberal Republican party presidential candidate Horace Greeley and work locally for President U. S. Grant's reelection. Julius refused and attended the Liberal Republican convention in Cincinnati that nominated Greeley (Schuyler, 1933). Local Republicans and Democrats alike withdrew their support, and Julius lost his seat on County Court (Ochs, 1887). He continued to serve, however, as First District tax assessor and justice of the peace, earning small sums--usually less than \$30--for performing his duties (Knox County Court Minute Book, 25). He maintained a small office at Asylum and Reservoir streets until 1876, when he moved his various enterprises to Clinch Avenue near his home "between Crozier and Clinch" (Helm's Knoxville City Directory, 1869; Directory of Knoxville and Suburbs, 1876-7). Besides his tax assessor and justice of the peace duties, Julius served for a short time as manager of Staub's Theatre, opened on Gay Street in 1872 (Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964), and he was an agent for the Phoenix Insurance Company of Brooklyn, New York.

Despite the severe financial straits in which the family found itself, Julius Ochs and his clan never lost their zest for life. They were a close-knit family, devoted to each other, and they did not let their poverty stand in the way of a good time. Julius managed to maintain "his position of dignity in the community" (Schuyler, 1933, p. 381) and his membership in good standing in the various civic groups to which

he belonged, including Turnverein. In July of 1871 the musical group performed an original comic opera, Napoleon and William or Duel Between the Sovereigns, written by Julius Ochs along with noted Knoxville music teachers Professors E. Hacker and G. R. Knabe. It was a "grand operetta extravaganza" (Crews, 1962, p. 73) that was so popular that a second performance was scheduled after several requests for an encore were received by the local newspapers. For those lucky enough to obtain tickets for \$.50 or \$.75 (reserved seats), the Knoxville Daily Press and Herald promised that "a great treat is in store" (July 14, 1871). Ochs drew praise for his own performance--"Mr. Ochs as the personification of a Prussian soldier was excellent." Other cast members included T. M. Schleier as Napoleon, as well as Bissinger's son and daughter. It was "one of the most laughable performances that has ever been placed upon a Knoxville stage," the paper continued, and that was meant as a compliment. The Herald added that Germans, who were responsible for the operetta, "possess a philosophy of making themselves happy at all times" (July 18, 1871).

Despite the high praise, Julius realized that his writing talent had its limitations. If his lyrics for the later operetta, The Megilla, were an indication of those in Napoleon and William, his doubts were probably justified. Verses in The Megilla, a musical comedy based on the Biblical story of Esther, were sung to familiar opera tunes that "any lady who can play the piano will certainly have . . . among her repertoire" (Ochs, The Megilla, p. 2). Julius added, in his introduction to the piece, that the operetta could "easily be localized, by a few changes to fit any community" (p. 3). He apparently wrote the piece

while in Knoxville, for in one of the verses--sung, appropriately, by a traveling peddler--he mentioned such familiar Knox County communities as Pleasant Ridge. The rest of that lyric was autobiographical, as well:

A wandering Jew am I, and here I landed;
Commenced a clothing store,
With goods from Baltimore,
But times were hard with me, and I got stranded;
But kept my honor clear,
And now I'm peddling here.
I'd open a saloon, this would pay better,
But our Police Commission
Are bent on Prohibition.
And now I trot about in all kinds of weather,
By rain and shine as well,
A little goods to sell (p. 14).

The play closed with a rousing chorus, sung to the tune of "John Brown's Body," advocating, instead, hanging "old Haman" from a sour apple tree (p. 32). Julius realized that his work was not great poetry, but the work was all in fun. As he quipped in the introduction:

If you can do it better,
Just let me know by letter,
And I'll put you on the list,
As one who can be missed.

Both The Megilla and Duel Between the Sovereigns proved extremely popular, being performed in Cincinnati and Chattanooga as well as Knoxville.

However, the Ochs family's musical triumphs, as well as their friendship with the Schleiers and another Turnverein member, J. E. Haupt, were soon to end. Haupt had served with Ochs as a director of the musical group almost since its inception, and Julius had dedicated Duel Between the Sovereigns to Schleier's wife, who had also been one of the principal players in the operetta (Knoxville Daily Press and Herald, July 14, 1871). It is not surprising that he turned to these two when his financial fortunes reached their lowest point. Both men held

mortgages on the Ochs household goods and personal effects, helping Julius to raise capital to pay off some of the judgments resulting from the failure of Julius Ochs & Co. Additionally, Schleir had co-signed a \$1,000 performance bond for Julius when he became an agent for the Phoenix Insurance Company. Thus, in 1877, when Julius was unable to account for \$345.53 in premiums he was said to have collected for the company, Phoenix filed suit in Knox County Chancery Court against both Ochs and Schleier to recover the sum (Chancery Court Minute Record, 0). Therefore, in January and February of 1877, first Haupt and then Schleier was forced to take possession of the Ochs household furnishings, to be subsequently offered at public sale to settle their debts. It must have been an extremely painful step for the two old friends to take against Ochs, but it was a necessary one. Besides the performance bond with Phoenix, Schleier had also endorsed notes on Ochs' behalf with Trader's Insurance Company of Chicago, with the Commercial Bank of Knoxville and with members of the Gratz family. Haupt, too, had signed two notes for Ochs with the Commercial Bank, one for \$350 and another for \$250 (Trust Deed Book, C-1).

An inventory of the goods to be sold at public auction included the following: one piano, a sofa, rocking chair, six cushioned parlor chairs, two ottomans, one Brussels carpet, lace curtains, shades, two wardrobes, one parlor clock, three other clocks, two other wardrobes, an easy chair, writing desk, and twelve pictures with frames (Trust Deed Book, C-1). The second public sale disposed of even more: two looking glasses, a marble top table, six pairs of flower vases, one dozen china "nick nacks," a "dining extension table," four "small

tables," a "large square table," three pitchers and bowls, three wash-stands, two rocking chairs, twelve dining and kitchen chairs, two bedsteads, four mattresses, six pair pillows, four bolsters, twelve coverlets, one plated tea set, one china breakfront, various dishes, a china cake and fruit stand, one hatrack, carpets, bookshelves, dishes and cooking utensils, books, knives and forks--even the Ochs family chamber pot (Trust Deed Book, D-1, p. 3).

It is not recorded in public annals how the family survived the winter of 1877, but it is clear that they were in desperate straits. The oldest Ochs son, Adolph, at age twenty, had recently left Knoxville to pursue his publishing career in Chattanooga, purchasing the ailing Chattanooga Times with borrowed money. Though Adolph was far from turning the paper into a profitable success, at the time pouring all the paper's profits back to its operation, the family had no choice but to follow him to Chattanooga in the winter of 1878 (Schuyler, 1933). There Julius turned his considerable bookkeeping talents toward putting the paper on a sound financial footing, something he had been unable to do in his own business with less capable partners than his son.

Though the Ochs family had left Knoxville, their first permanent home, for good, they did not cut all ties with the city, nor did they leave without regret. Julius had been made legal guardian for a former Crozier Street neighbor (Knoxville City Directory, 1880-81), fourteen-year-old seamstress Annie Ruckart, and he had to travel to Knoxville occasionally to attend to her affairs until she reached legal age in 1881 (Knox County Court Minute Book, F). Julius was also involved in some minor lawsuits as late as 1881, when he and Schleier were finally

ordered to settle with Phoenix (Chancery Court Minute Record, 0). Both of the younger sons in the family, George and Milton, attended the University of Tennessee in Knoxville, allowing the family to maintain a link with acquaintances there. And in the last days of his life, Julius sought treatment from Knoxville doctors for the chronic bronchitis that eventually killed him in 1888 (Chattanooga Daily Times, October 27, 1888).

Despite his financial troubles, Julius Ochs died a respected citizen of Tennessee who never gave in to self-pity or selfishness. "He was the most sympathetic and charitable man I have ever known," wrote his son George.

Even when in his most straitened circumstances, he never turned a deaf ear to a plea for aid; if he had but a few cents in his pocket he cheerfully would divide his little pittance if a deserving call was made upon him.

George described his father as "an individual with . . . high idealism, tolerance, benevolence, (and) human sympathy. . . ." (Schuyler, 1933, pp. 383-84).

Leaving Knoxville was probably one of the saddest episodes in this good man's troubled life. In his letter of resignation as lay "minister" for the Beth El congregation, written to congregation president E. Samuel on January 6, 1878, Julius said:

. . . nothing but dire necessity would ever induce me to leave Knoxville. It is true, I have had a hard time of it, during the last five years, had many struggles, and many vicissitudes to pass through, yet nevertheless, Knoxville was always looked upon by me, as my second home, and I can never, I fear, reconcile myself to the idea of leaving it for good. . . .

If God . . . should ever place me in a condition of independence again, Knoxville would be my choice, where I would like to spend the winter of my life, if free from care. . . .
(Centennial History, Temple Beth El, 1964, p. 7).

Julius never achieved that hope, living out his days in Chattanooga, where Adolph was laying the groundwork for his publishing empire.

Adolph remembered Knoxville as a city of hardship, rather than as a "second home," and he, unlike his father, never looked back.

Just as it was not a fortuitous one for Knoxville, Tennessee. The city, like Julius and his clan, was still resurrecting itself from the ravages of the Civil War and the post-war economic peaks and valleys that contributed to the ruin of the Ochs family business. Though Knoxville had not been the scene of major battles of the war, it had been in the path of the great western armies of both the Union and Confederacy. Both sides had plundered the bountiful fields of the East Tennessee area, and returning soldiers and exiled Union loyalists more often than not found their farms destroyed and their houses and businesses reduced to piles of rubble (Rothrock, 1946). Thus almost everyone in Knoxville and East Tennessee was poor as the new decade began; the poverty that the Ochs family suffered was not unusual for the times.

It was not even unusual that the children of Julius and Bertha Ochs--Adolph in particular, and George and Milton and the Ochs daughters to a lesser extent--built on the hardships they suffered during their early years in Knoxville to become the foundation of one of the nation's most prominent and influential families. It was, according to New York Times historian Meyer Berger, "the age of the Horatio Alger pattern when many children found work long before they got into their teens" (1952, p. 72). It was an age when families such as the Ochs survived however they could, the boys by delivering newspapers in the early morning darkness of East Tennessee and the girls by doing "fancy work"

CHAPTER IV

THE BIRTH OF A PUBLISHING CAREER

The year 1869 was not a happy one for the Julius Ochs family, just as it was not a fortuitous one for Knoxville, Tennessee. The city, like Julius and his clan, was still resurrecting itself from the ravages of the Civil War and the post-war economic peaks and valleys that contributed to the ruin of the Ochs family business. Though Knoxville had not been the scene of major battles of the war, it had been in the path of the great western armies of both the Union and Confederacy. Both sides had plundered the bountiful fields of the East Tennessee area, and returning soldiers and exiled Union loyalists more often than not found their farms destroyed and their houses and businesses reduced to piles of rubble (Rothrock, 1946). Thus almost everyone in Knoxville and East Tennessee was poor as the new decade began; the poverty that the Ochs family suffered was not unusual for the times.

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for wealthy Knoxville ladies. These years in Knoxville had a pronounced effect on Adolph Ochs and his brothers and sisters. Though poverty cut short his education, Adolph profited from those hard times and built a publishing career that made his family wealthy and powerful. This first generation American pulled the rest of the family along with him in the wake of his success, success that had roots in Knoxville, Tennessee.

In 1869, Adolph Ochs was only eleven years old, hardly an appropriate age to set about pulling together his disintegrating family. Three years earlier, Adolph's father had been the leading merchant in the city, but the short period of prosperity the family knew vanished in a cloud of plummeting prices, unwise business decisions, and lawsuits from angry creditors. However, Adolph, born in 1858 while his parents lived in a Cincinnati boarding house, was accustomed to watching his father's life drift along largely without purpose (Talese, 1969). Julius had been absent during much of Adolph's early childhood, selling jewelry in Nashville, defending Cincinnati from Rebel troops that never appeared, moving his small family back and forth from Memphis to Cincinnati and occasionally to Louisville to stay with various members of the Ochs and Levy families who had settled there. During this time, Adolph had been deeply affected by the character of Bertha Levy Ochs. Though he possessed some of the idealism of his esthete father, Adolph was also endowed with a healthy dose of "chutzpah" (Talese, 1969, p. 84) from the woman who had defied the German authorities in Europe so long ago, the same woman who feared neither Yankee soldiers or her husband during the Civil War. Adolph was always a favorite of his mother, whose first son, Louis, had died of scarlet fever shortly after Adolph was born

(Schuyler, 1933). Julius grieved the rest of his life for his first-born (Ochs, 1887), but Bertha turned all her energies to the couple's second son, Adolph. The attentions of this woman of "brilliant intellect" who was endowed with a "logical, clear mind" (New York Times, February 1, 1908) did not go unrewarded by the recipient. Adolph, in Bertha's eyes, was the ideal son--even tempered, unlike his brother George, married to a good Jewish girl, Effie Miriam Wise (the daughter of the nation's leading Reform rabbi), unlike his brother Milton; and finally, a successful businessman, unlike his father. And in 1869, when the family was in such dire financial straits that it seemed they could no longer remain together, eleven-year-old Adolph became "a little father figure . . . even to his own father" (Talese, 1969, p. 81).

It was at this juncture that Adolph Ochs began his newspaper career, not from any burning desire to become a journalist but because his family desperately needed money (New York Times, April 9, 1935). Adolph began delivering the Knoxville Chronicle, a new paper in Knoxville founded to fill the need for a strong Republican voice in the community that had been missing since Parson Brownlow had turned the Whig over to his son John (Masterson, 1933). While Brownlow was in the governor's mansion and the U. S. Senate, where he could better "punish" recalcitrant Rebels in Tennessee (Rothrock, 1946), Captain William Rule and H. C. Tarwater began weekly publication of the Chronicle from the old Whig building--"Brownlow's Old Stand"--on Gay Street (Masterson, 1933, p. 104). George also took a route for the paper, which became a daily. Milton began carrying the Chronicle in 1875 (Tennessee, The Volunteer State, 1923). The Ochs boys would arise at 3 a.m. to arrive at the Chronicle

office in time to hand-fold the papers as they came off the press. Adolph's route covered four miles in East Knoxville (an incorporated city at the time); he had fifty customers. George's rounds took him by the City Cemetery, which held no small amount of terror for a young boy in the pre-dawn darkness (Schuyler, 1933). For their work, each boy received a quarter a day, or \$1.50 a week (Letter to the Carrier Boys of the Chattanooga Times, 1933, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Cincinnati). The work proved to be a real hardship, since the boys had to finish their routes in time to have breakfast and arrive at school by seven, but it was a necessary evil.

"My work was not a matter of choice," Adolph wrote some sixty-four years later, "but it was a welcome little contribution to my family's needs" (Letter to the Carrier Boys of the Chattanooga Times, 1933, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Cincinnati). From that experience, Adolph learned qualities that were to stand him in good stead throughout his publishing career. "I thus learned to work," he continued, "be helpful, and to do my work conscientiously I regard it as a fortunate episode in my life that I began so early to work and be helpful to my family" (1933).

Julius Ochs was not unappreciative of the financial assistance from his sons. It was badly needed, as Julius' receipts from his tax assessor's post often brought in as little as a dollar a day, and Julius did everything he could to be supportive of them. He arose when they did in the early morning hours to walk with them in the dark to the Chronicle office, "a kind of humble apology, his way of letting them know that he shared the discomforts that resulted from his misfortunes"

(Berger, 1952, p. 72). In return, the boys handed over their pay envelopes each week, unopened, from which they received a "small weekly allowance as spending money" (A. S. Ochs, 1927, p. 7). George remembered his father as a person who inspired "profoundest respect" and "highest admiration"; his children "gave him fullest obedience" (Schuyler, 1933, p. 382). *City Directory, 1869, p. 443. The school had not begun*

In later years, when Adolph was a successful publisher, he, too, gave high praise to both his parents, crediting them with nurturing his character with high "moral and ethical standards." The two elder Ochs usually appealed to reason in rearing their children, wrote Adolph, but neither did they "spare the rod to demonstrate physically the sincerity of their belief" in those high standards. He continued:

My parents were God-fearing and pious. The Golden Rule was not only in a frame on the wall, but was deeply engraved in their hearts. My home was a sweet, joyous and happy one where venerated parents were kind and indulgent but tolerated nothing coarse or vulgar. Religion, literature, music, art and the finer things of life surrounded us and were included in the family curriculum. (A. S. Ochs, 1927, pp. 7-8).

Julius further insisted that, no matter how difficult a work schedule the boys maintained, they continue their educations. Despite the financial hardships the family endured, Julius continued to "maintain a cultured home," tutoring his sons himself in addition to their formal schooling (Govan and Livingood, 1945, p. 86). The younger Ochs children attended Bell House School, one of the first public schools organized within the city limits of Knoxville. A special act of the legislature had allowed the city to operate a school system separate from that of Knox County, which had begun a school system in 1868. However, the city government made insufficient appropriations for its

new school system, forcing most of the public system to shut down shortly after it got started (Rothrock, 1946). Poor though they were, the Ochs boys somehow found tuition money to enroll in Professor Bradford's Hampden-Sydney Academy, authorized by the state legislature in 1806 to "give boys a good English education or fit them for college" (Helm's Knoxville City Directory, 1869, p. 44). The school had not begun operation, however, until 1817, and in 1820 it merged with East Tennessee College, forerunner of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, to offer college preparatory classes (Goodspeed, 1974).

All three Ochs boys were listed among the forty-six pupils enrolled in the primary grades of Hampden-Sydney Academy for 1869-70. As Adolph later remarked, though, Milton must have been in kindergarten, being barely five years old at the time (Folmsbee, 1959). Following the custom of the post-Civil War South, the school required its students to wear military uniforms, as did all students at the all-male East Tennessee College. George in 1933 remembered that "the strictest military discipline prevailed" at the school, "in accordance with the regulations at West Point." He described the uniform as "gray; trousers with gold stripe; swallow-tail coat, slashed in front with black trimmings, high collar with three rows of heavy brass globular buttons down the front and on the sleeves" (Schuyler, 1933, p. 8). Pictures of the boys wearing the cadet uniforms remain in family albums (Talese, 1969).

Adolph, however, did not wax so eloquent as did his brother about his early schooling. Showing no promise whatsoever of his future career in journalism, Adolph wrote of "E.T.U."--East Tennessee University, as the school was sometimes called:

The E.T.U. is situated at knoxville east tenn, it is situated on a hill in the north eastern part of knoxville, The government made an appropation to the University, & sent a U.S. Army Officer there; since then it has become a military school, Now to go back to my subject, At six o'clock the bell rings to rise, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past eight the bell rings again for school to take up, I will take the room I go in for my subject, The last boys in have a way of singing out "here", before even the roll is called. (jist forr the fun of it) the first thing the roll is called & then prayers & then comes grammar . . . (Berger, 1952, p. 74).

Adolph, apparently, was not the star grammar pupil of Hampden-Sydney. As he quit his formal schooling shortly after this composition was written in 1872, Adolph never really achieved a facility with words, often slipping into incorrect grammatical usage in speech. He therefore adopted a quiet, attentive manner with large groups of people in order to mask his scant education (Talese, 1969). Speaking more than fifty years later to a graduating class of the Columbia University School of Journalism, Ochs confirmed his respect for the educated newspaper employee and lamented his lack of such an education. "I wonder if you appreciate the good fortune that is yours in that you have the advantage of a college education?" he asked the graduates. He then continued:

A college education will not make a newspaper man, or any other kind of professional man, of you, but it will make a better qualified man of you, whatever your occupation. And what is more, it will give you greater joy and satisfaction in whatever you may accomplish in life, for it will broaden your understanding and give you a more secure position among men of intellect. (A. S. Ochs, 1925, p. 9).

Adolph did, despite his lack of education, prove quite capable on his newspaper route. "I did my work conscientiously, and in wet weather I saw that the paper was put in a dry place," he wrote in 1933. ". . . so excellent was my service on my route, I received a nice little Christmas present from everyone on my route," he added. Included in

those gifts were two dollars--a munificent sum in those days--from Father Abram J. Ryan, "the poet-priest of the South" (Rothrock, 1946, p. 296). Adolph's efforts did not go unnoticed by his employer. In 1872 he was promoted by Captain Rule from carrier to office boy, and he began in earnest to learn the printing trade, at that time tantamount to the publishing business.

Before Adolph could begin his new position, however, Julius took him to live for a time with Bertha's brother Oscar in Providence, Rhode Island. While attending Warner's Business School in Providence, Adolph worked in Oscar's pharmacy but lost the job for selling a customer borax instead of sal soda (crystallized sodium carbonate) (New York Times, April 9, 1935). In 1881, as a successful publisher, Adolph assured his Uncle Oscar that he was much more dependable, "not the same boy that I was in Providence" (Ochs to Levy, March 23, 1881, Oscar Levy Letter File, Cincinnati). Adolph spent the rest of his stay in Providence working as a "cash boy" in a grocery (Hamer, 1933). The move to Providence was one of several unsuccessful attempts Julius made to get his eldest son to leave home--though they were devoted to each other, Adolph's absence would mean one less mouth to feed. But Julius had not reckoned with the strength of Adolph's attachment to the family. Within only a few months after leaving for Rhode Island, the thirteen-year-old boy was back in Knoxville, which he regarded as home, and back in the newspaper business.

Even as a child Adolph had realized that one of his father's principal faults had been his inability to center his efforts in one area, drifting through the occupations of peddler, teacher, merchant,

and soldier with so little success. Adolph's one fling at "trade" was his last, and, except for some rather disastrous land speculation in Chattanooga years later, Adolph never went into any other business except publishing (Talese, 1969). He seemed well aware that his future lay with newspapers, not drugstores.

Adolph was therefore anxious for the chance to become Captain Rule's office boy. To earn his \$1.50 per week he was expected to clean the Chronicle's kerosene lamp chimneys and see that the lamps' wicks were trimmed, sweep the floor, and empty the cuspidors that the newspaper crew filled all too often (Berger, 1952). Captain Rule, recognizing the true worth of his employee, wrote that the young Ochs "swept out my sanctum and cleaned up papers and trash so methodically that he was promoted to delivery boy" (New York Times, October 27, 1931), for which he received a raise in pay to \$3 a week. On the fiftieth anniversary of Ochs' purchase of the Chattanooga Times, Rule recalled that his office-delivery boy performed his new duties at the Chronicle well--he was "honest, zealous, reliable and trustworthy" (Chattanooga Daily Times, March 12, 1918), traits not often found in the newspaper trade at the time.

Adolph continued, as he was to do until age seventeen, to hand over his entire paycheck to his father. Julius, who had lost a close election to the County Court, was grateful for the help from the three boys, but their pay was still "painfully little" (Ochs, 1887, p. 49). Thus when the opportunity arose to become a real newspaperman--a printer's devil--at the Chronicle, young Ochs jumped at the chance, even though the full-time job meant quitting school for good. It was

at this time that Adolph met Henry Collins, the newspaper's print shop foreman, who taught the young man "the newspaper game" (Knoxville News-Sentinel, January 27, 1929) and remained his friend for life.

Since the Chronicle was a morning paper, the printing crew did not finish its chores until well past midnight. The Ochs family had moved to a rented house on Water Street in East Knoxville (Berger, 1952). As the Chronicle office was located, before its later move to Market and Asylum, on Gay Street, Adolph had to walk home past the First Presbyterian Church graveyard, holding, like the City Cemetery for his brother George, all kinds of terrors for a boy walking home alone in the dark. Therefore, Adolph waited for Collins to finish the printing of the Chronicle so that the two could walk home together, and while he waited, Adolph took careful note of the skills that went into making a newspaper readable and well-printed. Collins, impressed with his pupil, remembered that Adolph finished up a four-year apprenticeship in half the normal time, adhering to a "business is business" philosophy (Knoxville New-Sentinel, January 27, 1929). When he purchased the Chattanooga Times a few years later, Adolph remembered what he had learned from Collins, that a badly printed paper would never be successful. The first thing he did for his new business was to improve the typography. At the Chronicle Ochs could hand set type quicker than almost anyone, making few mistakes. Late in his life, when he negotiated contracts with the unionized printers of the New York Times, Adolph would say, "I still feel I am on the wrong side of this table. I belong with the boys from the composing room" (Berger, 1952, p. 75).

Adolph Ochs and Henry Collins maintained a correspondence throughout their lives, with Adolph always addressing the older man as "My Dear Uncle Henry" (Ochs to Collins, 1928, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Knoxville). When Ochs boasted real estate holdings in mid-town Manhattan and a summer home in upstate New York, he even sent money to his former mentor. Collins had not been quite the success that his pupil had become, apparently making some unwise investments during the roaring stock market days of the 1920s. After one such gift had arrived from Ochs, Collins wrote him that "the earthly solace of having a friend who has made you comfortable for life, partakes of heaven-born origin"; he promised to stay "shy of banks and bonds" (Collins to Ochs, 1928, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Cincinnati). All Ochs asked of Collins in return was a copy of the clipping from the October 13, 1875, Chronicle that told of a going away party given by fellow printers when Ochs decided his future lay in California (Ochs to Collins, 1928, Adolph Ochs Letter File, Knoxville).

After three years as an apprentice, Adolph Ochs had decided that he had learned all he could from Collins, and finances were worse than ever at home. It was 1875, only two years before the Ochs furniture and household goods were to be sold by the Schleiers and Haupts. The various lawsuits against Julius Ochs & Co. had been settled, none of them in Julius' favor. Even the little extra money the three Ochs sons made ushering at Peter Staub's Opera House, opened by Knoxville's mayor in 1872, did not help the family fortunes. While their father served as manager of the theatre, Adolph, George, and Milton sold candy between acts of such features as The Two Orphans, Monte Cristo, and

Hazel Kirk (Rothrock, 1946). Though the plays drew large crowds, the money to be made from them was not enough; Adolph Ochs decided his future lay elsewhere than Knoxville.

The night before Adolph was to leave the Chronicle, itself soon to be merged with Brownlow's rejuvenated Whig (Goodspeed, 1974), the pressroom crew gave a party for their departing member. According to the account in the following day's paper, the "force hugely" enjoyed the affair. Mr. Adolph Ochs, who was leaving the paper's employ for a "protracted visit" to points west, had provided for refreshments oysters crackers and beer "in Mick's best style" (Knoxville Daily Chronicle, October 13, 1875), Mick's being a popular restaurant on Market Square (Berger, 1952). The pressmen presented Ochs, embarking on a career as a tramp printer, a volume of Thomas Hood's poems, the author of which had begun a literary career as a journeyman engraver in England. Each man inscribed his name on the flyleaf, and the dedication predicted that Adolph would eventually be counted "among the nation's honored sons" (Chattanooga Daily Times, March 12, 1918).

Young Ochs collected other recommendations from Knoxville businessmen. S. C. Ramage, editor of the rival Knoxville Daily Press and Herald, wrote that Adolph Ochs was "a young man of unusual promise to society and his fellow men" (Chattanooga Daily Times, March 12, 1918). Rule waxed more eloquent, writing in his newspaper that his former employee was "a young man worthy of confidence and esteem" (Knoxville Daily Chronicle, October 13, 1875). In the letter of recommendation he wrote for Adolph, the editor described him as "quick to comprehend and faithful to execute whatever may be entrusted to him. . ." with

"intellect capable of reaching the highest point of mental achievement" (Hamer, 1933, p. 11).

The young man, even after his later successes, never forgot those generous words or the kindness of Captain Rule. In a congratulatory message to Rule on the editor's eighty-ninth birthday, Ochs wrote:

Captain Rule was a hero to me when I was a lad of ten years of age, and in the sixty years that have elapsed since then he has not only maintained that eminence in my mind, but has steadily risen higher in my esteem and affection. He has always been a dear friend. One of my cherished possessions is a certificate of character and estimate of my ability that he gave me when, as a boy of seventeen, I left his employ at Knoxville in 1875. For sixty years I have had intimate knowledge of Captain Rule's public and private activities, and never have I heard aught but words of praise and admiration for him. A noble gentleman, with the highest sense of honor; a fearless advocate; a patriotic citizen; a brilliant intellect; a heart over-flowing with the milk of human kindness; gentle, kind, indulgent, and having the broadest sympathies and understanding--that is Captain Rule, first citizen of Knoxville, my friend. (Knoxville Journal, July 25, 1928).

That certificate of character and estimate of Ochs' ability helped Adolph land a job not in California but in Louisville, Kentucky, where his Franck relatives had moved after the failure of the Knoxville dry goods business they had helped Adolph's father to operate. In order to earn enough money to get to California, Adolph took a job as typesetter for Henry Watterson's Courier-Journal, consolidated in 1868 and growing as a progressive voice in the South. Living austere with the Franck family, he later was promoted to assistant composing room foreman on the Courier-Journal, eventually being assigned a reporting job. His first major assignment was covering the burial of Andrew Johnson in Greeneville, Tennessee in July of 1875, but even that important event could not make up for the fact that Adolph Ochs, though a premier typesetter, was not a skilled writer (Berger, 1952).

The excitement of a job on one of the South's influential papers could not atone, either, for Adolph's homesickness. Neither was he making much progress toward his goal of saving enough money to go to California. He always sent part of his pay home to Knoxville, and when he received a letter from his mother saying that she was "ashamed to send the children to school, now" because they had "no decent shoes and no stockings, and their clothes are almost past mending," he withdrew the \$56 he had accumulated in the bank and sent it home (Berger, 1952, p. 76). Within six months Adolph himself was back in Knoxville, having never gone to California.

This time, however, Adolph did not go back to Captain Rule's Chronicle. The paper, through some complicated political maneuvering, had come under control of the Brownlows (Masterson, 1933). Moreover, Adolph Ochs had no desire to return to the place where he had spent his childhood and where his brothers were still newsboys. At almost eighteen years of age he wanted to be "more than an office boy grown up" (New York Times, April 9, 1935). He therefore joined the staff of the fledgling Knoxville Tribune, founded in March of 1876 by John Fleming and Samuel McKinney (Masterson, 1933), as assistant to the composing room foreman. Adolph had improved his typesetting skills while at the Courier-Journal, but that did not prevent him from composing Democratic editor-in-chief Fleming's description of a Republican caucus as "damn dry fizzle" rather than the "damp, dry drivel" it was supposed to be (Berger, 1952, p. 77). Ochs recovered from the error sufficiently, however. It was only a short time later that his talents and "grim application to business" (Berger, 1952, p. 77) attracted the attention

of the paper's business manager, Franc M. Paul. Ochs was promoted to Paul's assistant, and it was that connection that eventually caused the ambitious young newspaperman to leave Knoxville permanently (Govan and Livingood, 1945).

Despite his family's "low-ebb finances," it was the young man's continuing dream to become a publisher himself (Berger, 1952, p. 77). He had no envy for "the young man or young woman born with a golden spoon in the mouth," however (A. S. Ochs, 1925, p. 20). His idol, throughout the early stages of his newspaper career, had been Horace Greeley, the poor typesetter and farmer who had become owner of the powerful New York Tribune (Berger, 1952) and whom his father had helped to nominate for President at the Liberal Republican convention in 1872 (Schuyler, 1933). Ochs, who had seen his father's fortunes turn on some bad political judgment, had no political ambitions himself. He did, however, aspire to emulate Greeley's publishing success. He often discussed his dream with Paul, the former editor of the Chattanooga Rebel, and J. E. MacGowan, an editorial writer on leave from the Chattanooga Times to help in the founding of the Tribune (Govan and Livingood, 1945).

Paul had been well known in the eastern portion of Tennessee for his talents as a business manager for new or ailing papers. Fleming wrote of him in the Tribune that Paul had given to the paper "his thorough knowledge of the printing art and his close and intelligent attention to the interest of the office, to the establishment of the new journal upon a substantial business basis" (Masterson, 1933, p. 117). With that recommendation, Paul was able to lure Ochs and MacGowan into the management of the Chattanooga Daily Dispatch, a sheet that had been

barely surviving in the rough, frontier atmosphere of the post-war southeastern Tennessee city. Paul was owner, with his investment of a few hundred dollars, MacGowan was editor-in-chief, and Ochs was "business solicitor" (Berger, 1952, p. 78). The young man, who had once been so reluctant to leave his family home in Knoxville, embarked on a rather uncertain venture a hundred miles to the south.

He did not, however, cut his family connection completely in April of 1877 when he accompanied Paul and MacGowan back to Chattanooga. As when he went to Louisville, young Ochs lived with an uncle, another one of the former partners in the luckless Julius Ochs & Co. Sammuel Bissinger had temporarily moved his family to Chattanooga after the failure of his Knoxville business ventures, although he apparently did not live there permanently. He was listed as a charter member of Knoxville's Hebrew Congregation Beth El when it was formally incorporated on January 6, 1893 (Knoxville Hebrew Congregation Beth El, undated pamphlet), but he was in Chattanooga when his nephew needed a place to live in 1877. Adolph lived with Bissinger's family for more than a year (Berger, 1952).

It was fortunate that the young publisher was assured of a place to live, for the Dispatch folded after only a few months; apparently Paul was unable to work his business management magic on the ailing sheet. Paul returned to Knoxville to buy a part-interest in the Tribune (Masterson, 1933), but Ochs and MacGowan were unemployed. It was a desperate situation for such a young man. He had been appointed receiver for the bankrupt paper and managed to keep the business' job-printing operation going by printing a mercantile directory for the city. The

money derived from that venture was not enough to support one person, much less an entire family living a hundred miles away that had recently had its furniture and household goods taken away. There is a tradition in the Ochs family that, had Adolph had enough money for a ticket home, he would have been on the train for Knoxville soon after the Dispatch failed (Johnson, 1970). But Adolph Ochs had been barely surviving himself in Chattanooga and had still managed to send \$2 a week to the family in Knoxville (Berger, 1952). It was at this low ebb that he set about building the reputation for honesty and hard work that would restore the family fortunes (Berger, 1952).

The Chattanooga Times--S. A. Cunningham, owner and editor--was ailing in 1878. Badly printed, it was hardly legible; unreadable, it did not attract enough advertising to keep it alive. Cunningham was ready to sell to a group of interested investors--Ochs and MacGown and four journeyman printers left out of work by the Dispatch's failure. The six men had barely \$3 among them, and Cunningham was asking \$800 for the Times. It was at this point that Ochs exercised his peculiar ability to convince other people--usually men much older and more worldly than he--that he could successfully achieve the impossible. It was an ability noted by all his biographers and New York Times historians--Berger, Davis, Johnson, Talese, and Salisbury. It was a talent that, eighteen years later, would aid Ochs in achieving his ultimate dream of owning a powerful metropolitan daily paper.

However, in 1878, his main goal was purchase of the Chattanooga Times, circulation 250, and he finally convinced Cunningham to sell a half-interest in the paper for \$250, with an option to buy the other

half in two years at a price to be fixed according to the paper's current worth at that time, a price that turned out to be over \$5,000 (Johnson, 1970). But in 1878, Ochs and his partners did not even have the reduced price to which Cunningham had agreed. Adolph borrowed \$300 from Chattanooga's First National Bank with a note co-signed by local businessman Eb James. After paying his staff a short week's wages, Adolph Ochs was left with working capital of \$37.50 (Berger, 1952), and \$25 of that went to maintain the Times' wire service (Salisbury, 1980). It was a shoestring operation, but it was to be the basis of a publishing empire that Gay Talese called a "towering totem to nepotism" (1969, p. 81).

The rest of the Ochs family became involved in the business almost immediately. Julius came from Knoxville to Chattanooga for the signing of the transfer of ownership papers, not for any ceremonial reason but because his oldest son, at not quite twenty years of age, was not legally responsible. Julius, who had urged his son not to attempt such a risky venture, had to sign the papers for him (Ochs, 1887). Julius, however, was quick to admit that he had been wrong about his son's business intuition. "Adolph has been the salvation in retrieving our condition in life," he wrote after the Times had finally begun to show a profit (1887, p. 51). Before Julius died in 1888, Adolph was able to send him on a return trip to his homeland of Bavaria, about which Julius wrote a series of articles for his son's newspaper. He also took a Caribbean cruise when the chronic bronchitis that eventually killed him began to worsen (Ochs, 1887). The entire family lived together in a big, red brick house in a fine neighborhood in Chattanooga (Talese, 1969), and Adolph's publishing enterprises provided a job for any

family member who wanted one. Julius served for ten years as treasurer and business manager for the Times (Schuyler, 1933).

However, Adolph's purchase of the paper was a salvation for the rest of the family even before they left Knoxville to join him in Chattanooga. George was able to continue his violin and B-flat cornet lessons with his father's fellow Turnverein members, Professors Hacker and Knabe, and he could also enter East Tennessee College as a cadet (Schuyler, 1933). Though he still continued to carry newspapers throughout his college career, George was never under the financial pressures to quit school that had plagued his older brother. Able to devote most of his time to his studies, George won highest class honors in math and Greek at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He was active in the Chi Delta debating society, an influential campus group during the university's early years. Along with its competing society, the Philomathesian, Chi Delta staged weekly public debates, held oratorical contests, and maintained a library and reading room as well as publishing a regular newspaper. Milton, also much more of a scholar than his oldest brother Adolph, was editor of the first Chi Delta Crescent and won the group's first public speaking contest in 1882 (Folmsbee, 1961).

Milton, as a result of Adolph's limited largesse, was able to continue his education at Hampden-Sydney Academy in Knoxville and later at Cincinnati's Chickering Institute, where he won high marks--in the 96-97 percent range--and displayed the rich sense of humor that was to endear him to Chattanooga throughout his long life. In 1881, while a second year student at Chickering, Milton and a fellow student ran an advertisement in the Cincinnati Enquirer asking reputable young

ladies to write to two lonely young men. The response was overwhelming-- they got enough appropriately flowery letters to fill an entire scrapbook, which Milton kept until his death in 1955 (Ochs Scrapbook, 1882).

If Milton ever actually met any of his correspondents, he did not record that fact in the memory book, but his ad must have been a persuasive one. He later turned that power of persuasion into a debating talent with the Chi Delta group. Besides winning the group's public speaking contests and editing its newsletter, he wrote numerous articles, usually facetiously signed "Ox," for the Crescent. The publication contained "literary articles, local news and enough humor to make it spicy" (Folmsbee, 1961, p. 195). Apparently Ochs and his fellow Chi Deltans carried their humor a bit too far to suit the faculty on "College Hill." Ochs, as editor-in-chief, wrote in an 1882 edition, "A member of the august faculty is shocked oh so shocked at a joke that appeared in the Crescent last month--that he has--keep it shady--has said that he wont allow the paper to enter his house. . . ." Milton continued, tongue-in-cheek, that the Crescent management, in order to protect the professor's delicacy, would strike his "name off the book so his innocent eyes will never meet such rude jokes" (Folmsbee, 1961, pp. 195-96). The Crescent, despite disapproval by some faculty, was published until 1885, well after Milton Ochs had left the university without graduating to join his brother's newspaper in Chattanooga (Folmsbee, 1961).

George, when the Ochs family moved to Chattanooga, remained in Knoxville at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville until 1879, leaving before formal graduation to become a reporter for the Times at \$9 a

week, a considerable increase over his \$1.50 earned as a newsboy. His high marks won him a diploma despite his absence from campus, and he returned to Knoxville in 1930 for the golden anniversary of the first graduating class of Tennessee's state university (Schuyler, 1933).

When George returned to the campus, it was with a new name, changed in 1917 during World War I. Characteristically rebellious, he protested the German actions in the war by hyphenating his German name with the Americanized Oakes, becoming for the rest of his life George Washington Ochs-Oakes. His sons were known legally as Oakes (Schuyler, 1933). The family regretted the change, but he was eventually forgiven (Talese, 1969).

Milton, too, put his one year of college to use at the Times as a reporter and later managing editor. The Ochs sisters, though they received more education than did their eldest brother, were involved in the newspaper business only through the men in their lives. Nannie, who attended Virginia Intermont College in Bristol, cut short her education to care for her mother, who was an invalid for the last twenty years of her life. Nannie never married, but she was mother to George's two sons. George's wife died shortly after their second son, John, was born (Schuyler, 1933). John went on to become chief editorial writer for the New York Times and was influential in the paper's management and policy throughout the twentieth century (Talese, 1969). The two youngest Ochs girls, Mattie and Ada, both graduated from the Seminary of the Sisters of Notre Dame. As they were both quite young when the family lived in Knoxville, they suffered little of the consequences of the hard times the family knew there. Ada married Harry C. Adler,

general manager of the Chattanooga Times; their son, Julius Ochs Adler, was a chief executive of the New York Times. Mattie, or Mathilda, was married to Bernard Talimer, who was secretary-treasurer of the Philadelphia Public Ledger while it was under the operation of George Ochs-Oakes (Schuyler, 1933).

It was Adolph, however, who was the adhesive element of the family. "Adolph, even when we were little children, was the pride of the household," wrote George, "a pattern of filial and fraternal devotion, and in his early years gave promise of the high destiny which lay before him." After beginning his newspaper career at age eleven, George continued, Adolph "never wavered as the guiding spirit of our household. His energy, his ability, his industry, his unselfish helpfulness to each member of the family, were an inspiration. . . . his example was a stimulating factor in the lives of each one of his brothers and sisters . . ." (Schuyler, 1933, p. 47). The "little father figure" had brought his family from the brink of despair in Knoxville, Tennessee, to the peak of prosperity in Chattanooga. Knoxville, symbol of misfortune to the Ochs family, had lost an "honored son" who would return for brief visits to the city but who would never again think of Knoxville as home.

Ochs always maintained, however, his ties with the South. Even after making his home for many years in New York, he remained deeply fond of Tennessee, saying in 1928 that "distance has not diminished our love for Tennessee. On the contrary, it has grown more fervent as

CHAPTER V: delightful environment. There

is no more favored spot on earth than . . . the State of Tennessee"

CONCLUSIONS

(A. S. Ochs, 1928, p. 11). Adolph, as well as George, was active in New

York. When Adolph Ochs and his family left Knoxville, Tennessee, it was with a great deal of regret. Were he financially able, Julius would have made Knoxville his permanent home. The family always believed that, had he the price of a train ticket, Adolph would have come back to Knoxville right after the failure of the Chattanooga Daily Dispatch. Once the move was an accomplished fact, however, the family never regretted not remaining in Knoxville. None of the Ochs family ever made any attempt to move back to the city, though they often made short visits to Knoxville and maintained lifelong friendships there. But Knoxville, where the Ochs family had come perilously close to disintegrating, held some painful memories--the bankrupt Julius Ochs & Co., a struggling Jewish congregation that could not afford a full-time rabbi or a temple, political chicanery that cost Julius a County Court seat, and finally, friends who auctioned off the Ochs family's most intimate personal possessions to settle debts. In addition, Knoxville was not a city that was open to newcomers in the publishing business. Adolph Ochs thus turned his attentions away from Knoxville and toward his new home in Chattanooga. But it was in Chattanooga that he chose to publish a

Ochs always maintained, however, his ties with the South. Even after making his home for many years in New York, he remained deeply fond of Tennessee, saying in 1928 that "distance has not diminished our love for Tennessee. On the contrary, it has grown more fervent as

the "best class of people" in the city (1915, p. 178)--both the family

memory recalls happy days spent in its delightful environment. There is no more favored spot on earth than . . . the State of Tennessee" (A. S. Ochs, 1928, p. 1). Adolph, as well as George, was active in New York's Tennessee Society, with George serving as president of the group of Tennessee natives moved North shortly before his death in 1931 (Schuyler, 1933). Even as the New York Times grew in power and prestige, "He (Ochs) never cut his roots (in the Reconstruction South), nor had his descendants," wrote Harrison Salisbury (1980, p. 352). As evidence of those strong southern ties, the Ochs family maintained ownership of the Chattanooga Times despite the fact that the paper has lost money steadily in the last half of the twentieth century. Ochs assured through provisions in his will that the paper would be run on the same high principles and sound financial basis he had previously set forth for the New York Times (Adolph Ochs Will, 1935). The high editorial principles have proved easier to preserve than the sound financial footing.

However, when Adolph or any of the other Ochs family spoke of their southern heritage or their roots in Tennessee, they were referring to their "second home" in Chattanooga (Salisbury, 1980), not to Knoxville. Adolph Ochs had learned "every detail of newspapers from news gathering to getting ads, setting type, make up and make ready, press and delivery" in Knoxville, but it was in Chattanooga that he chose to publish a "clean, dignified, trustworthy, and impartial" paper (Armstrong, 1940, p. 139). Though Ochs and his Times were later regarded by some Chattanooga socialites as upstarts and interlopers--Chattanooga socialite Susie Webster wrote that the competing Chattanooga News was circulated among the "best class of people" in the city (1915, p. 118)--both the family

and the newspaper became guiding influences in the community.

As they had wherever they had lived, the Ochs family went at the business of being model Chattanooga citizens with enthusiasm. Julius Ochs organized the city's first humane society and the Chattanooga Hospital Association (Armstrong, 1940) and immediately became active in the city's Jewish community. Adolph and the Times were instrumental in preventing panic when yellow fever broke out in the city in 1878, and Adolph later erected a memorial monument to those citizens who aided victims of the disease during the crisis. He was one of the city's most ardent boosters, convinced as he was that Chattanooga's location as a Tennessee River port and its mineral deposits would make it one of the South's great cities (Talese, 1969).

Even when that did not happen, Adolph Ochs remained vitally concerned with the welfare of the city. He was a contributor to many civic projects in the city, particularly the development of Lookout Mountain Chattanooga Park, and in 1925 the University of Chattanooga awarded him an honorary Doctor of Letters. "If they (neighbors and fellow townsmen) had higher honors in their power to bestow they would award them," Dr. A. A. Brown said in conferring the degree (LXXV, 1933, p. 32). Ochs, in turn, bequeathed 250 shares of stock in the New York Times to the school, stock worth at the time of Ochs' death about \$25,000. He left the same amount to Lincoln Memorial University in Harrogate, Tennessee, which had also given him an honorary degree. The bequests were the same as those given to Dartmouth, Columbia, Yale, and other prestigious eastern colleges (Adolph Ochs Will, 1935).

On the fiftieth anniversary of Ochs' ownership of the Chattanooga Times, the city held a three-day celebration in Ochs' honor (LXXV, 1933). In Knoxville, however, there were no civic remembrances for the city's former newsboy-printer's devil until the University of Tennessee Newspaper Hall of Fame was established in 1969. Ochs, indeed, had opposed the designation of East Tennessee College as the state's land-grant university in 1879; he was sincerely convinced that such a move would deplete the enrollment of the University of Chattanooga and that the college at Knoxville should remain a technical school (Folmsbee, 1961). His two brothers went on to attend the university at Knoxville, but the University of Tennessee, Knoxville was not remembered in the Ochs will.

The time the family spent in Knoxville was not always happy or comfortable. Uncooperative with Julius Ochs' business dealings and his political career, Knoxville was not conducive to the founding of a new journalism enterprise. Knoxville, unlike Chattanooga, was already an old established town with rigid lines drawn between social classes, between political parties, between former Union and Confederate sympathizers. A newspaper in Knoxville had to have the strong backing of some of these groups for it to succeed. Adolph Ochs, who was not willing to be under the control of any person or group, was unsuited to newspaper ownership in that atmosphere. In Knoxville, the "field was too small, the vision too restricted and the possibilities too narrow for the ambition, the active mind and sympathetic heart of the aspiring young printer" (Chattanooga Times, March 12, 1918). Instead he went to Chattanooga, then a rough, raw frontier town with mud streets and wooden sidewalks, where there was no real society and where barroom

brawls and gunfights were a way of life. In that climate Adolph Ochs found the ingredients for a successful publishing career.

That is not to say that Adolph Ochs or his family cut all ties with Knoxville. They did not. Adolph traveled frequently to the city on the free railroad pass accorded him in his position as newspaper editor, and he maintained a lifelong friendship with H. C. Collins and Captain Rule. The first telephone hookup in the eastern end of the state linked none other than Captain William Rule of the Knoxville Chronicle and his old office boy Adolph Ochs, new owner of the Chattanooga Times (Schuyler, 1933). Ochs visited Collins and Rule frequently, returning to Knoxville for Rule's eightieth birthday celebration and for various other ceremonies after he had achieved further fame and fortune at the New York Times. But he never showed any indication of the same affection for Knoxville that he felt for Chattanooga. Though the city had given birth to his ambitions, it had not nurtured his success.

When Adolph Ochs died in 1935--in Chattanooga, on a visit from New York--the Tennessee state legislature paused for a moment of silence on hearing of his death. Governor Hill McAlister telegraphed regrets to the family at the passing of this man who was, at heart, a Tennessean (New York Times, April 9, 1935). But he was a Chattanooga, not a Knoxville. It was Chattanooga and not Knoxville that gave Adolph Ochs his southern heritage. Knoxville, and the life the Ochs family lived there, may have been a driving force in the Ochs family's ultimate success, but it was not a city to which any of them owed allegiance. Life in Knoxville had been harsh, and fate would have it that one of the world's great publishing empires had its foundation not there but in Chattanooga.

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