THE OAK CLIFF TRIBUNE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP
OF RAY ZAUBER

THESIS

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BY

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This study evaluates the influence of The Oak Cliff Tribune under the leadership of Ray Zauber, from late 1946 to August, 1978.

The study shows the contributions of The Oak Cliff Tribune for the area, its influence within the community and with community leaders, and determines what gives the paper its particular character.

The study traces the history and development of the newspaper in four periods, 1903-1946, 1946-1959, 1959-1969, and 1969-1978; and concludes that The Oak Cliff Tribune has had a great effect on the development of Oak Cliff.

The sources of data for this study include community leaders, current and former employees of The Oak Cliff Tribune, Ray Zauber, and the newspaper itself.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The explosive growth of the suburbs following World War II provided fertile ground for the community press, which, by 1963 was referred to as the fastest growing part of American newspaper business (18, p.13). The period between 1950 and 1960 was the decade of greatest suburban expansion in American history, with the general trend continuing in the 1960's (16, p. 106). This growth was not limited to population but included a boom in retail trade and service as well (16, p. 107). This boom created an audience and advertisers for the community press, which in turn, provided services for readers that urban dailies did not provide. Through local coverage, the community papers helped individual and group assimilation by distributing prestige by printing stories, pictures, and announcements that would not appear in the urban press (5, p. 437).

The community press can be divided into three categories: small town, suburban, and urban (17). The urban and suburban community papers serve areas with the boundaries of a larger metropolitan area, but they serve the readers by providing local news and serving as a unifying force for the community, which the urban dailies do not do.

In the Dallas metropolitan area, the two urban dailies, The Dallas Morning News and The Dallas Times Herald, attempt
to cover suburban and urban community news, but stories of city council meetings and chamber of commerce activities in suburban and inner-urban communities have to compete with stories of state, national, and international import for the space. For this reason, a community resident could learn most about his residential area and its politics through a community newspaper.

Integral parts of the community press are the editorials and news interpretives found in some community newspapers; however, not all community papers carry opinion material. John Cameron Sim said in a 1969 study:

Fewer than half of all the weeklies in the country regularly run any kind of editorial comment; either in the form of conventional editorials or as a personal column. Furthermore . . . a sizeable number [of those that do offer opinion content] just offer syndicated, clipped or 'planted' editorials (17, p. xvi).

Many community papers are characterized by lack of controversy. But a few have such a strong sense of commitment to the area they serve that they have become important elements in the political and social change in their communities (7, p. 30). One such community paper is The Oak Cliff Tribune, a weekly newspaper published in Dallas, Texas, by Ray Zauber.

The Tribune, for many years the largest paid circulation weekly in Texas, grew under Zauber's leadership from a circulation of 4,200 in 1946 to more than 13,500 in 1957. In fact, in the first twenty-two months of Zauber's editorship, the circulation more than doubled (11). With the additional
publications, the free-thrown Advertiser and The County-Courier, the Tribune's circulation ranks third in the county and eleventh in the state in total circulation, paid and free-thrown (14, 20).

Although Dallas city officials did not always take The Oak Cliff Tribune seriously, Zauber's fervor and determination to get an equal share of city services for Oak Cliff caused officials to re-evaluate the Tribune's importance. The attacks on the city fathers for their unfairness to Oak Cliff were first seen by these leaders as a joke, then as a thorn-in-the-side, and finally as a force to be reckoned with, said County Court of Law Judge Joe B. Brown, Jr. (1).

Brown was a fledgling reporter with the Tribune in 1947 and, through his employment, learned that the main goal of the paper was to have some influence on Dallas. Zauber thought Oak Cliff was being treated as a step-child (1). Brown cited as an example the building of Central Expressway, which the paper dubbed "Bankrupt Boulevard" because its construction took all available funds, leaving little for road improvement needed in Oak Cliff. Furthermore, Central was built for the ease of those who lived outside of Dallas, in Highland Park and cities to the north (1).

Zauber's involvement with The Oak Cliff Tribune began late in 1946 when journalists Sam Acheson, Bob Lunsford, and Hale Cornelius bought the paper from printer Buck Brown (20). Almost immediately, The Oak Cliff Tribune began serving a two-fold function by representing Oak Cliff to the larger community
of which it is a part and by providing information of interest to residents of Oak Cliff. Although Oak Cliff became a part of Dallas with annexation in 1903, Dallas had a history of giving Oak Cliff far less than its fair share of community services (4, 9, 10, 20,). These inequities were the subject of many vigorous, colorful, and hard-hitting editorial campaigns in The Oak Cliff Tribune (4).

Zauber's first association with the Tribune came in 1946 when he acquired twenty-five of the original 3,000 shares of stock and became a part-time employee of the paper. In March, 1947, Zauber received a larger block of stock and became the editor and publisher, but he did not gain control of the paper until 1954 when he and John Patton purchased Acheson's shares of the Tribune (14, 19, 20). Acheson had been given the choice of resigning his job of thirty years at The Dallas Morning News or selling the Tribune, whose editorial stands had become diametrically opposed to those of the daily paper (14, 20). With this purchase of stock, Zauber and Patton owned approximately 75 per cent of the stock.

In 1963, Patton and Tribune printer Manuel DeBusk sold their shares in The Oak Cliff Tribune to The Fort Worth Star-Telegram, thus giving the Star-Telegram 51 per cent of The Oak Cliff Tribune. In 1975, this 51 per cent was sold by the Star-Telegram to Capital Cities, a New York corporation that owns Footwear Daily and Women's Wear Daily. When Capital Cities refused to finance expansion plans for The Tribune, Zauber fought for and received the option to rebuy the stock. Once
again Zauber, and, to a lesser extent Patton, owned The Tribune (14, 20).

Throughout this period from 1947 to 1978, Zauber, who took primary responsibility for all editorial matter, was an outspoken editor who had become personally involved in Oak Cliff’s fight for a proportionately equal and adequate share of city services (1, 4, 14, 20). Through editorials and personal contacts, he raised $40,000 for Dallas Baptist College, arranged to have 100 acres donated to the college and 100 acres made available to the college at less than market value (14, 20). As chairman of the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce Highway Board, Zauber lobbied in Austin and in his paper for highways in the Oak Cliff area. Now, three major highways link Oak Cliff to Dallas and other areas of the state. Zauber encouraged cultural growth by serving on the symphony board, helping attract a symphony season in Oak Cliff (20).

An Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce magazine article recognized Zauber’s leadership in Oak Cliff. The article referred to Zauber as "a solid citizen who serves his community well, both as a good honest businessman-newspaperman and a conscientious civic leader" (4, p. 1). The cover story, which noted that Zauber was well-known on both sides of the Trinity (the dividing line between Dallas and Oak Cliff), called Zauber

\[\ldots\]

A constant, zealous champion of Oak Cliff who has caused Dallas city fathers, school trustees, municipal administrators, local politicians and office holders to reel under the blows of his bludgeoning typewriter (4, p. 1, 2).
Zauber was termed by Dick Hitt, a columnist with The Dallas Times Herald, as

The well-known, outspoken, often controversial editor publisher of The Oak Cliff Tribune. For many years his paper's advertising campaign has characterized Ray Zauber as the 'fighting editor' in the sense of the crusading newsman (3).

Zauber explained his journalistic ideals in a 1956 column:

Fighting newspapers and courageous publications were closely identified with the very birth of our government. Illustrious editors, reporters and cartoonists have wielded great influence on the history of the country. In the overwhelming number of cases, the newsmen have stood for justice and truth and right (13).

He described the content of his paper, which carried society, civic, feature, spot news coverage, pet projects, pleas for worthy causes, public service promotions, biting editorials, and well-deserved praise. He continued:

The average newspaper battles crime, fights juvenile delinquency, supports churches, libraries and YMCA's, publicized sports, crafts and skill, pleads for cleanliness and beauty.

We are part of an old, proud and dignified profession which carries great responsibility with every story, every page, every issue. We shall always do our utmost to perform in the highest standards (13).

For the Oak Cliff area, a paper with a strong sense of commitment was essential. Although Oak Cliff has been a part of Dallas since 1903, the rest of Dallas, particularly North Dallas, preferred to pretend that Oak Cliff is not part or Dallas, or, if it is, it is somehow inferior to the rest of Dallas. In articles in Texas Monthly (6, 8) arguing the relative worth of Dallas and Houston, A. C. Greene and Harry Hurt agreed
on that matter. Greene said, "Houston has no Oak Cliff, and some readers familiar with the situation may sneer that Dallas acts like it doesn't either (6, p. 114). Hurt agreed but carried it further when he wrote:

Frist, it [Dallas] annexed Oak Cliff then it pretended Oak Cliff was really not a proper part of the city . . . the rich huddled together well north of the river . . . and began rumors that Oak Cliff was nothing but an extension of South Dallas slums--hovels for the poor and a harbor for the déclassé (8, p. 80).

The problem Oak Cliff encountered was one of wider dimensions than attitude and prejudices. Although Oak Cliff encompassed one-third of the land area and contained one-third of the population, Dallas had a history of giving Oak Cliff far less than its fair share of community services (9, 10, 20). Because of the inequities dealt Oak Cliff by Dallas, The Oak Cliff Tribune had a unique role to play in the Oak Cliff area.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study was to evaluate and determine the influence of The Oak Cliff Tribune under the leadership of Ray Zauber, from late 1946 to August, 1978.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is (a) to relate the history and development of The Oak Cliff Tribune as a community weekly newspaper, (b) to show how The Oak Cliff Tribune affected the Oak Cliff community and its development, and (c) to examine the leadership provided the Oak Cliff community by The Oak Cliff Tribune and its owner-publisher Ray Zauber.
Questions

The following questions are answered concerning the role of The Oak Cliff Tribune in the Oak Cliff community.

1. Has The Oak Cliff Tribune contributed to the Oak Cliff area by encouraging (a) business growth (b) cultural development and (c) community development?

2. Is The Oak Cliff Tribune responsive to the needs of Oak Cliff?

3. Is Ray Zauber the factor that gives The Oak Cliff Tribune its particular character?

4. Is The Oak Cliff Tribune influential in the Oak Cliff community?

5. Is The Oak Cliff Tribune influential among Oak Cliff leaders?

Review of the Literature

A brief history of The Oak Cliff Tribune was found in the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce magazine, Oak Cliff (19). An Oak Cliff cover story described Zauber's biography and the growth of The Oak Cliff Tribune under his leadership (4). Zauber is listed in Who's Who in the South and Southwest.

No studies of The Oak Cliff Tribune were found in a search of Oak Cliff, Dallas, and regional histories. No professional journals such as Journalism Quarterly and Columbia Journalism Review published any information about The Oak Cliff Tribune although several articles have been published about community journalism and a few community papers (5, 7, 18). No theses or dissertations on The Oak Cliff Tribune have been written.
Justification

The Oak Cliff Tribune is an urban community newspaper that served the Oak Cliff community by representing the area to the larger community of which it is a part and by providing information of interest to the residents of Oak Cliff. No detailed study has been done on this seventy-six-year-old paper. During its first fifty years, the Tribune's ownership changed six times (15) while its actual leadership was in the hands of at least thirteen different men through 1946 (12). From late 1946, the paper served as an important outlet for information about Oak Cliff and information of interest to Oak Cliff residents. With Ray Zauber as the leader, the paper took strong editorial stands and helped make the people of Oak Cliff aware of decisions they needed to make or of decisions made by others that affected them. This study will provide valuable aid to those seeking to study (a) history of how a community paper grew in an urban setting, (b) the development of a vigorous and colorful newspaper, (c) the role and contributions of a paper to community development, (d) the leadership role of a strong editor.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined for the purpose of this study.

Community newspaper -- a newspaper situated within and serving a particular geographic area: small town, suburban, or urban.
Urban community newspaper -- a newspaper situated within and serving a particular neighborhood within an urban community.

Shopper of free-thrown paper -- a newspaper published for the primary purpose of selling advertisements rather than disseminating news.

Suburban newspaper -- a newspaper situated within and serving a politically autonomous community adjacent to a larger urban area.

Urban daily -- a newspaper situated within and serving a large metropolitan area, published on a daily basis.

Limitations of the Study

The study is limited to the time between November, 1946, after the purchase of The Oak Cliff Tribune by Dallas newspapermen Sam Acheson, Hale Cornelius, and Bob Lunsford, and August, 1978, when The Oak Cliff Tribune celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary with a diamond anniversary edition. A brief history of its prior publishing history is included but is limited in that no known copies exist before 1946. The period from September, 1948, through December, 1951, is limited since no known copies exist.

Each issue from November 15, 1946, to August 31, 1978, with the exception of those noted above, was surveyed to examine editorial and make-up changes, including news and feature items, columns and syndicated features added and deleted during that time. Editorial stances, achievements claimed by the paper, awards received, and community service projects undertaken are discussed.
Evaluation of the Tribune's responsiveness to the needs of Oak Cliff and the leadership role played by the paper is determined through interviews with community leaders.

Methodology

A variety of research sources were used. Foremost among these was a week-by-week reading of The Oak Cliff Tribune from November 15, 1946, to August 31, 1978. With the exception of the period from September, 1948, through December, 1951, and an occasional missing or damaged copy during other years, every issue was surveyed. These copies were studied to detect changes in format, stories given major play on the front page, and editorial stands taken by the paper.

Interviews with current and former staff members indicated goals of the newspaper in business, cultural, and community development. Among these were Ray Zauber; John Patton, former co-owner and current advertising manager; and Dorothy Fagg, women's editor. Zauber and Patton have played important roles in the Tribune's development since the late 1940's. Fagg joined the staff in 1953. Former Tribune staffer, Judge Joe B. Brown, Jr., was interviewed to provide insight into the character of the paper and its goals. As an elected official in the Oak Cliff area, Brown could discuss the influence of The Oak Cliff Tribune in the community and among the community leaders as well as its responsiveness to the area since 1946.

Other community leaders were selected using a judgmental nonprobability sample since no list of past Oak Cliff leaders
exists. Elected officials and officers and directors of the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce were obvious leaders. Those whose tenure was longest and degree of activity in the community was greatest as noted by stories in the Oak Cliff Chamber magazine and The Oak Cliff Tribune were selected.

The interview schedule is divided into two sections. Section A was answered by those who are or have been employees of The Oak Cliff Tribune. These questions helped to ascertain the basic goals the Tribune was trying to accomplish during the time each worked for the paper. Section B was answered by community leaders chosen for the study. Section B dealt with contributions made by The Oak Cliff Tribune in the areas of business growth, cultural development, and community development as seen by Oak Cliff leaders; the Tribune's responsiveness to the needs of the Oak Cliff community; the question of who gives The Oak Cliff Tribune its particular character; and the influence of the paper on Oak Cliff and its community leaders. These interviews, along with the readings, helped ascertain changes and accomplishments, goals, and shortcomings.

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter I is the introduction; Chapter II contains a history of Oak Cliff and The Oak Cliff Tribune up to 1946; Chapter III discusses the tabloid period from 1946 to late 1959; Chapter IV discusses the period from October, 1959, to early 1969, during which time the Tribune returned to a
standard newspaper size and was published on a semiweekly basis; Chapter V discusses the period from April, 1969, to August 31, 1978; and Chapter VI provides a summary and conclusions.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Oak Cliff - 1845-1946

Oak Cliff, founded in 1845, is four years younger than Dallas, the city to which the suburb was annexed in 1903. Oak Cliff constituted one-third of Dallas's population and land area (5, 8) yet was often looked upon as an inferior part of Dallas (4, 6, 9) and often received a disproportionately small percentage of city resources (11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21). Conflict between the two cities on opposite banks of the Trinity River began early when, in 1850, Oak Cliff narrowly missed becoming the county seat in a run-off election with Dallas. After its unsuccessful bid for the county seat, Hord's Ridge, as it was originally called by its founder William H. Hord, developed slowly until 1866 when T. L. Marsalis purchased 2,200 acres to develop an exclusive neighborhood away from the turmoil of Dallas (2, 3, 10, 22).

Marsalis set aside 150 acres for a park, created Lake Cliff, laid and paved streets, and built a four-mile steam railway across the river to Dallas to attract buyers to his development, which he renamed Oak Cliff (3, 22). Although Marsalis planned an elite neighborhood, problems plagued the development. Marsalis tried to move too quickly and without
adequate financial backing. When a depression occurred in early 1890, it ended his plans, leaving much land in mid-Oak Cliff in federal litigation until 1903 (3, 22). Lots were cut in half, and small homes were built among grander mansions, preventing the development of either a high income or modest income character for the neighborhood (3).

Oak Cliff incorporated in 1890, perhaps because many Oak Cliff residents feared that Dallas was interested in adding the area to its tax rolls. The fear was legitimate, and by 1900, annexation discussions with Dallas were causing bitter disputes within the Oak Cliff community and between Oak Cliff and Dallas residents (1, 3, 22). The issue was defeated several times before 1903, when it was finally approved by an eighteen-vote margin. Many Oak Cliff residents and officials refused to accept the decision until the Texas Supreme Court ruled in favor of Dallas (1, 3, 7, 10, 24). Legal arguments left Oak Cliff with two sets of city officials because Oak Cliff officials refused to step down. After the courts made the decision, officials from both cities met on the neutral ground of the Trinity riverbottoms to work out the details of the merger (22). Two concessions made to Oak Cliff residents were the guarantee that they could continue use of their artesian wells, which ran dry forty years later, and that hard liquor would never be sold in Oak Cliff (3, 7, 10, 22, 24).

Even after becoming an official part of Dallas in 1903, Oak Cliff was separated in many ways, both physically and
spiritually. The Trinity River, which served as a boundary between the two communities, served as a barrier between them. Until the Houston Street Viaduct was built in 1912, the flooding river would cut Oak Cliff from Dallas proper several times a year, once for sixteen days (9, 22). Because of the frequently flooded avenues to Dallas, Oak Cliff developed its own business district, which further separated it from Dallas (3).

A factor that promoted Oak Cliff's spiritual independence lay in the street names. First, almost every street that flowed into Oak Cliff changed its name one it crossed the river. Second, Oak Cliff's numbered street system suggested Oak Cliff was really a separate city (9).

Oak Cliff perpetuated the image of separation. In 1972, Oak Cliff Chamber urban planner Jack Luby pointed out a number of ways Oak Cliff was promoted as a separate entity: (a) the existence of its own magazine, Oak Cliff, (b) the existence of its own newspaper, The Oak Cliff Tribune, and (c) the number of businesses and organizations that used Oak Cliff as part of their names (9). The 1978 Greater Dallas telephone directory listed over two full columns of businesses and organizations using Oak Cliff as part of their names. North Dallas had less than one column; Pleasant Grove had less than one-half column; and West Dallas had less than one-fourth column.

Dallasites, too, saw Oak Cliff as being different from other parts of Dallas. The frame and brick dichotomy helped fix such images. Housing built in Oak Cliff until the 1930's was frame; housing in the rest of Dallas was brick (3).
Although housing first differentiated Oak Cliff from the rest of Dallas, the daily news media prologed the belief that Oak Cliff was different. As with suburban Dallas areas, Oak Cliff news competed with state, national, and international news for space in the papers. Because of the competition Oak Cliff news faced in the daily papers, rarely did anything other than hard news--crime, accidents, and fires--appear in the daily press. And since Oak Cliff is flanked on one side by South Dallas and the other by West Dallas, the daily papers often mistakenly place Oak Cliff addresses in South Dallas or West Dallas, or place South Dallas and West Dallas addresses in Oak Cliff. Since residents of South Dallas and West Dallas are, for the most part, minorities and poor, the confusion of the boundaries perpetuated the belief that Oak Cliff was poor and overwhelmingly Negro (5).

Because of the images of Oak Cliff held by Dallas residents, the misconceptions fostered in the news media, and the limited amount of information available about Oak Cliff in the daily papers, The Oak Cliff Tribune provided services for Oak Cliff that daily metropolitan dailies did not. Ray Zauber, publisher of The Oak Cliff Tribune, described the services and functions provided by his paper that were not provided by the daily newspaper:

[We] cover social, school, political, service clubs, business affairs that metro dailies don't have space for. We editorialize vigorously for the community . . . fund drives, sports, Chamber of Commerce activities, needy cases (8, p. 25).
The Dallas Times Herald and The Dallas Morning News joined the move toward suburban sections and zoned editions (8). These zoned editions are the metro dailies' attempt to regain advertising revenue taken by community papers (25). Even in this area, The Oak Cliff Tribune provided a better service for its readers. This claim was based on the fact that, through the Tribune and its sister papers, The Advertiser, The Lancaster Leader and The County-Courier, advertisers reached in excess of 72,000 homes in the area (26). This circulation is larger than the combined circulations of the two dailies--The Dallas Times Herald and The Dallas Morning News--for the area. The Tribune advertising rate was less expensive on a per-thousand basis (23, 26).

The Oak Cliff Tribune - 1903-1946

Founded by Dr. J. W. Gordon as a vehicle to advertise one of his patented medicines, his stomach tonic, The Oak Cliff Tribune's beginnings are in a paper Gordon called The Tribune. The paper carried neighborhood gossip and news, but it was filled primarily with advertisements praising Gordon's elixir (18, 19). The paper appeared at irregular intervals until 1909 when it was combined with a paper founded by Hubert H. Pearce in 1908 (18).

Pearce's Cement City Courier initially covered Cement City, Eagle Ford, and West Dallas rather than Oak Cliff. Pearce gathered the news and wrote the stories, and hired Harry Guggenheim to sell advertising and handle circulation.
The paper's coverage was expanded late in 1908 to include Oak Cliff and, with the expansion, was renamed The Oak Cliff Eagle. When the Eagle and The Tribune merged in 1909, the paper became The Oak Cliff Tribune. J. R. Bradford became a third partner in the Guggenheim-Pearce partnership. Bradford printed the paper (18).

In 1916, Guggenheim bought out his partners, and, with persistent circulation and advertising salesmanship on his part, the paper began to grow. Guggenheim retained control of the paper until 1923 when he sold the paper to his typesetter, Buck Brown. Brown had been a publisher in Midlothian, Texas, before he moved to Oak Cliff and set up a typesetting service which he expanded to a complete composing room before he purchased The Oak Cliff Tribune (18).

Brown, with the help of his sons Walker and Son Brown, formed the Buck Brown Publishing Company in 1923. In 1926, the Browns opened a job and newspaper printing shop that father Buck managed, leaving the publishing of the paper to a number of other men (18). DeForrest Kline and Son Brown were owners of the paper at the time it was sold in 1946. Kline had a keen interest in politics and oil, and his interests had an effect on both the content and the advertising in The Oak Cliff Tribune (26). When the new owners took over in 1946, they had to prove the paper journalistically and to prove the paper could be a valuable vehicle for advertising for the community (18, 23, 26).
CHAPTER BIBLIOGRAPHY


23. Patton, John, advertising manager, Oak Cliff Tribune, interview, August 1, 1979.
Ray Zauber, Editor and Publisher

Raymond G. Zauber, the man who provided continuity for "The Tribune" from late 1946, had not planned initially to be a journalist. Zauber attended the University of North Carolina with a major in music, and worked with a few dance bands, as a service station attendant, and in his father's plant, Blue Jay Manufacturing, before being drafted into the Army in 1941. Stationed in Alaska, Zauber was assigned duty unloading bombs from boats, a job he found hard and unpleasant. As an alternative to this duty, he began covering news of the regiment for "The Kodiak Bear", the regimental paper, and his interest in journalism was born. He was so successful at the job that he was made associate editor (3, 127).

In May, 1943, Zauber was commissioned a second lieutenant and assigned to Camp Fannin in Texas, where his duty was to visit newspaper editors and civic leaders to secure their help in preparing the community for the influx of soldiers. In essence, this was his first public relations job.

After he was discharged from the Army, Zauber went to Dallas, where he was hired as a police reporter and doubled...
as an amusements writer for *The Dallas Times Herald*. He held this job for a little over a year until in 1946, he was offered the opportunity to be one of two people in radio station WBAP's first metroplex news bureau. He worked in the Dallas bureau from an office in the police department press room. It was there he met one of two people who persuaded Felix McKnight to recruit Zauber to work the city desk at *The Dallas Morning News*. Zauber remained with the *News* until he became the full-time editor of *The Oak Cliff Tribune* in early 1947. While with the *News*, he moonlighted, working on two weekly newspapers, *The White Rocker* and *The Lakewood Light*, in East Dallas. It was from this work that Zauber's interest in community newspaper journalism grew (3, 127).

*The Oak Cliff Tribune*

November, 1946 - January, 1959

The November 15, 1946, issue of *The Oak Cliff Tribune*, the earliest known copy of *The Tribune* in existence, boasted about its new magazine size. The new management, which had taken over in September, 1946, said that persistent efforts had been made to improve the appearance and content of the community newspaper. After he replaced Bob Lunsford as editor in early 1947, Zauber continued the work to upgrade the paper.

By May, 1948, the circulation had doubled to more than 9,000 subscribers (23). A feature story by John Morgan, a Southern Methodist University journalism student, reprinted in the Forty-Fifth Anniversary edition of *The Tribune*, told of *The Tribune*'s growth and goals. Morgan wrote:
After only eighteen months under the editorship of Ray Zauber . . . the circulation has virtually doubled to more than 9,000 paid readers. Today with Zauber at the wheel as editor and publisher, the paper has the largest paid circulation of any Texas weekly.

Zauber attributes his circulation gain to several factors. In the editors column, Zauber lashes out at the city council for what he considers to be Oak Cliff's just rights.

The Tribune wants more police protection, better streets, and better basic city services for its 150,000 inhabitants.

The blistering copy of the "Golden Age" of editorial writing lives on in the Cliff paper. No William Allen White or William Rockhill Nelson ever crusaded more vigorously for his community than does Zauber for Oak Cliff (23).

Morgan's story noted other changes: a more streamlined appearance, with modern typefaces, and a huge increase in advertising. The November 15, 1946, issue of The Tribune contained 83 inches of advertising. In six months, the paper increased its advertising to more than 4,000 inches in some issues (23).

In this anniversary issue, Zauber reviewed the aims of the paper and listed accomplishments for which he believed the paper could take credit. Referring to the old Tribune as decadent, Zauber wrote, "The comeback we have made and respect we have earned have made us proud" (23). Zauber listed thirteen things in which the paper had been vitally interested. The column claimed victories in numerous areas and continued support and encouragement in other areas. Achievements included
doubling the number of police officers assigned to Oak Cliff, working with authorities to secure the most city and county services Oak Cliff had ever had, campaigning for a more equitable road-building program at City Hall, and getting South Oak Cliff included in an $11,000,000 warrant bond program to increase water and sewer service. Zauber proposed ideas for new battles he would fight, including getting a police substation, a municipal, a new post office, more buses, better city and county roads, and better government (23).

The Tribune did not become an overnight financial success with the new management takeover in 1946. Dorothy Fagg, an employee of The Tribune from 1953 to 1961, said the main goals of the paper in late 1953 were "staying alive and meeting the payroll and growing" (2). The majority of the readership was older people, although the paper was gaining younger readership. She said, "Mr. Patton was pleased when we started getting a lot of brides, which meant we had sort of arrived if they wanted their pictures in there" (2).

Financial security increased with the founding of The Oak Cliff Tribune Printing Company; the beginning of a Monday shopper, The Star-Tribune; a huge circulation campaign that brought in more than $13,000 in paid circulation; a 40 percent advertising increase in 1955; and the addition of The Cedar Post, The Grand Prairie Banner, and The Irving Herald to the Tribune group; and the purchased circulation of the Duncanville-Cedar Hill paper (21, 35, 36, 37, 61,63, 65, 102).
Increasing readership and increasing financial security helped The Tribune become more independent, a much stronger voice for Oak Cliff, enabling it to tackle more controversial subjects. The content had been noncontroversial in 1946 and 1947, as was the trend of most community papers. Morris Janowitz, who studied the community press in the Chicago area in the 1940's, said that the subject matter of the community press had low emphasis on controversy in both news and editorial columns, that the papers had a booster quality with most controversy confined "to demands for or opposition to expansion of community services, activities, or programs, or involved larger political considerations" (5, pp. 75-76). Although community newspaper editors felt the journalistic pressure to carry editorials, the unique style of editorializing gave the appearance of entering into a controversy without being controversial (5, p. 77).

The editorials of The Oak Cliff Tribune of late 1946 and early 1947 were quite noncontroversial. Editorial topics varied from the beauty of autumn in Oak Cliff, November 26, 1946, to urging Oak Cliff residents to drive carefully, December 23, 1946, to one condemning a dog poisoner, February 7, 1947 (12, 14, 15). Another editorial urged Oak Cliff voters to elect men who would be equitable to Oak Cliff in the distribution of funds and improvements (16). This editorial and others that called for increased police protection, for increased development of Oak Cliff's Redbird Airport, for development and improvement of
Oak Cliff parks, and for support of a widow and her six children, exhibited the booster quality about which Janowitz wrote (13, 17, 18).

The news story showed this same booster quality through dispatches that quoted merchants on the availability of products in Oak Cliff "without the trouble or inconvenience of going to downtown Dallas" (14), and others that supported Oak Cliff YMCA and Chamber of Commerce drives (18, 19).

Although this booster quality provided the strong degree of localism needed in a community newspaper (6, p. 9). The Oak Cliff Tribune, under its new leadership, did not immediately provide a strong voice for the area. Oak Cliff Constable T.A. Vines said that businessmen, Dad's Club and Booster Club members, and Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce leaders recognized the need for a strong news media voice for Oak Cliff, a voice Oak Cliff had never had (2, 10, 121, 123, 124).

Vines said he worked on Zauber to convince him that The Oak Cliff Tribune should be that voice. Stating that Zauber "wasn't an easy nut to crack" because of his earlier affiliation with the downtown institutions, Vines convinced Zauber that the paper must take a stand for Oak Cliff. Zauber's first editorial battles were over unpaved streets in the Oak Cliff area (124).

Prior to Zauber's involvement, giving Oak Cliff a voice, Vines said:

We weren't doing too good with the city. We weren't getting services. Bond issues were
passed but projects weren't tied down. We voted for lump sum bond issues and even though the list of proposed projects included Oak Cliff, once the bond passed, all the money went North (124).

Several road improvements and extensions to streets in Oak Cliff had been included in Dallas bond programs dating to 1927. In 1945, and several times from 1927 to 1945, the same Oak Cliff projects were listed in the bonds. In an October 24, 1947, Tribune editorial, "The Rude Awakening," Zauber pointed out that two projects had been completed in Oak Cliff and fifteen projects were started or completed east of the river during the same period (20). Zauber said:

Even though Oak Cliff embodies one third of Dallas' area and population, even according to city estimates, it has received less than ONE-FIFTEENTH of the funds spent on capital street improvements.

Since the present council form of government was introduced in Dallas, Oak Cliff has always come out on the short end of major improvements. Downtown projects in various bond issues are always managed, and Oak Cliff is left holding the bag. In the last twenty-one years, there have been only five capital street projects finished West of the Trinity (20).

The article marked the beginning of The Tribune's battle with the city over streets and capital improvements, a battle that continued for many years, and the one that brought Oak Cliff, The Tribune, and Zauber their greatest successes (1, 2, 10, 120, 121, 123). Zauber frequently used both the news and editorial columns to make his point (22, 24, 25) and his own continued pressure to get Oak Cliff what he believed to be its fair share. County Judge Lew Sterrett, a power in Dallas
County government for fifty years, said that Zauber was helpful to him by fighting for Oak Cliff (123). He said:

If I wanted a big road building program, Ray was right there in the big middle of it to get Oak Cliff's fair share. The money to be made was in the North and East but Ray's being over there, it helped me protect Oak Cliff as well as other sections of Dallas (123).

Sterrett did not see Zauber as being fair to other sections of the city and county, but his unfairness kept community leaders alert. He said:

I enjoyed working with him. Sometimes he was aggravating with his unfairness to other sections of the county but he kept those men as well as the leadership of Oak Cliff on their toes.

He would call attention to what roads the north part was getting and what roads the east part was getting, but when we would finally wrap up a bond election, we would have a pretty fair package for all concerned (123).

Through his page one editorial column, Zauber frequently pointed out unfair distribution of funds and services, using facts and figures to support his statements. His frequent visits to city hall and the county courthouse brought claims from those in office that no favoritism existed in the disbursement of funds, but Zauber reported that the figures did not verify those statements. In January, 1952, Zauber wrote that although Oak Cliff contained one-third of the population and area of Dallas, it received one-ninth of the money spent for sewers, water lines, and road paving. He said that of $56,000,000 spent on basic improvements from 1947 to 1952, Oak Cliff received a little more than $6,000,000, the smallest amount given to any section of the city (27).
Zauber was equally quick to point out the fairness of city departments as shown in a May 23, 1953, editorial in which he compared the treatment of Oak Cliff by the school board, the park board, and the public works department since World War II. Zauber wrote of a newly built gym, golf course overhauls, new softball diamonds, and much more given Oak Cliff by the park board. The school board built South Oak Cliff High School and new elementary schools amounting to 45 per cent of Dallas' school housing. In comparison, Zauber wrote, the public works department spent more on Central Boulevard than it had in the whole history of Oak Cliff. Specifically, Hampton Road funds were voted three times before any work was done on the street. When the work was done on Hampton, it was not to specifications because funds ran short; however, funds did not run short on Inwood, the connecting street north of Oak Cliff. In fact, funds were found to exceed specifications on Inwood (29). Zauber said:

And isn't it an odd coincidence that every city project in the current city-county bond affecting Oak Cliff was pitifully short? Isn't it more than odd coincidences that five of these city projects for Oak Cliff still drag along (29)?

In other columns, he called attention to inequities of police distribution. In early 1948, following a continuing campaign for more police officers for Oak Cliff, Police Chief Carl Hansson announced that the number of patrol officers in Oak Cliff was being doubled. Zauber wrote that the extra patrols were welcome, but, he pointed out that Oak Cliff had
10,000 more residents than Austin; and Austin had 126 police officers and Oak Cliff had only twenty-five (26). The campaign continued. In November, 1952, Zauber called Oak Cliff the "poorest patrolled area in the nation" (26). Once again, he compared Oak Cliff with Austin. No more than twenty-five officers were assigned to Oak Cliff on a regular basis, even the extra officers assigned to Oak Cliff traffic had disappeared, and Austin had 250 officers (28). He ended the column, saying:

We citizens of Oak Cliff do not have to tolerate this lack of basic protection. Neither should we have to call Chief Hansson's hand on withdrawing officers instead of augmenting the paper-thin Oak Cliff force (28).

Zauber's attack on the police chief was not limited to the argument over the number of police officers assigned to Oak Cliff. In fact, his fight with Hansson became a long-standing one that exceeded the bounds of loyalty to Oak Cliff. On July 2, 1953, Zauber called for Hansson's retirement in order to bring harmony to the department (31). He continued to call for Hansson to retire and accused him of using gestapo tactics, causing poor morale in the department, and causing a car insurance increase (32, 45, 109). Zauber was not blind to Hansson's obvious good qualities; Zauber admitted that, despite his differences with the chief, Hansson was a traffic expert (64). Zauber used the editorial columns of the paper to push for a better pension plan for police officers and fire fighters, admitting that the plan, as it stood, was detrimental to department morale and encouraged early retirement

In 1955, Zauber and The Tribune developed a five-year master plan for the Oak Cliff area. The lead story in the January 27, 1955, issue carried a subheadline, "Publishers Reveal Paper's Civic and Community Goals" (46). Although many of the ideas coincided with the policies and aims voiced by the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce, Zauber wrote that the plan was drawn "to show readers an outline of the two papers' The Oak Cliff Tribune and The Star-Tribune civic and community goals" (46). Eleven categories were listed: streets and highways, industrial development, airport expansion, sewers and drainage, water storage and extension, recreational requirements, housing, business, government services, river development, and civic needs. He briefly listed improvements or goals for each area and then elaborated upon these areas in issues through April, 1955 (47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55). Many of the areas mentioned were a continued call for city and county services or compliments on jobs well done. Other areas called for active community and business involvement.

Cultural and recreational development were encouraged through the columns of The Tribune although greater successes were seen in recreational growth. Although many fine arts clubs were supported on the front page of The Tribune (34, 35, 36, 41, 59, 85, 88, 89), Zauber found Oak Cliff to be a cultural enigma (75). His master plan called for an auditorium to be used as a theatre and for town hall presentations (46),
but cultural activities in Oak Cliff were not well attended. A Dallas Symphony Orchestra presentation at South Oak Cliff High School had fewer than 300 in the audience, and a town hall series withered on the vine due to poor attendance (49, 97). Conversely, recreational growth was excellent. The YMCA and other youth organizations, parks, golf courses, and country clubs were not only well-supported in the paper, but also were promoted through Zauber's active participation. Zauber served on the board of directors of the Circle Council of the Boy Scouts of America and was a president of the Cedar Crest Golf Association, and a director or member of the Oak Cliff, Singing Hills, and Riverlake country clubs (126, 127).

Although the paper called for continued residential growth, Zauber wanted Oak Cliff to lose its bedroom community image (124). He called for new tenants for the industrial areas and for continued retail business expansion and growth in both old and new shopping areas. Zauber did more than just write about these categories of improvement. He also wrote that more industry should be brought to Oak Cliff, and he worked with the Chamber and visited prospective tenants to encourage them to consider the Santa Fe, Greater Southwest and Redbird Industrial areas (2, 7, 46, 99, 124). Fagg said the paper did much to encourage business growth. She recalled that in late 1953, Westmoreland Heights Shopping Center was booming. "I was sent there and did write-ups on the stores," she said. "Any store that took reasonable size ads got a write-up
periodically" (2). And she cited her husband's business as an example of the effectiveness of advertising in *The Tribune*. Fagg said, "One year, we kept count on where the calls came from. We had three phones, one for each paper. *The Tribune* came in second" (2).

Other respondents agreed with Fagg about the importance of *The Tribune* in encouraging business growth. Elgin Robertson, former Dallas city councilman and past-president of the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce, said that Zauber had done his best to stimulate business, particularly on Jefferson Avenue. "He encouraged merchants to expand, to keep up to date, to provide parking," Robertson said. "His was probably the most outstanding effort made toward Oak Cliff merchants" (121).

Even those who were frequent targets of Zauber's column agreed that Zauber was good for Oak Cliff business. State Senator Oscar Mauzy quipped, "Zauber was the spokesman of business who sided with the administration [Chamber]" (8). Sterrett said, "Where there was a business or a corporation the Chamber was trying to prevail over to get them to come in to Oak Cliff, Ray was always there" (122).

There was one much debated campaign that, no matter who called on him, Zauber refused to take a position. Oak Cliff was split by a local option vote on the sale of beer. Zauber knew that choosing a side would be suicide for his influence within the community and, because of this, he made every effort to give balance coverage (67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76,
The story dominated the news for almost a year; but not until December 14, 1956, three months into the argument, did Zauber make a statement on the beer issue. He wrote that the paper had made every effort to be fair and to publish both sides of the issue. The Loyalty League (the anti liquor sales group) had not placed advertising and had, in fact, bought their printing elsewhere. He still refused to take sides and encouraged all to use their prerogative to vote, telling them to be less divided during the Christmas season (79). In the same issue, he printed two 600-word editorials, each submitted by one member from each side (79). After the sale of liquor was repealed, Zauber called for peace and tolerance, and reminded everyone of the good that had been done by those who supported liquor sales (80).

The Legal Sales (pro liquor sales) group, however, appealed the election (81). The grocers filed a petition to allow on-premise sales (82). Tolerance was not to be found. In a February 15, 1957, column, Zauber chastised those who drove former Dallas mayor and long-time Oak Cliff resident Jimmy Temple and his family out of Oak Cliff, saying that they had "threatened, insulted and vilified Temple from the pulpit" and then began harassing Mrs. Temple. He said:

Isn't it disgraceful that in Twentieth-century Dallas that [sic] there are people so intolerant they would forget a man's remarkable contributions to this city because he exercises the American privilege of expressing a different opinion (83).
The election and appeals dragged on for six months, with Zauber covering both sides and continuing to call for tolerance (84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100).

With all these campaigns, the paper and Zauber were becoming more influential, both in Oak Cliff and in greater Dallas. Former Dallas Independent School District superintendent W. T. White, said, "It [The Tribune] was just a little community paper. It became an aggressive paper that was considered by all parts of town soon after Ray took over" (125).

White knew of the growing aggressiveness of The Tribune since, under Vines's tutelage, Zauber had attacked the superintendent and the school board in order to get a third Oak Cliff high school. Both Vines and White remembered the stories and editorials, although somewhat differently. As Vines remembered it, White made this statement to the Dad's Club, "We DISD don't plan to build a new Oak Cliff high school in the foreseeable future" (123). White recalled, however, that after a scathing editorial in The Tribune, he telephoned Zauber. Of their conversation, he said:

Ray was and is a great advocate of Oak Cliff. There were times he pursued it as a way of life rather than as a factual situation. He took in after me, by name, and the school board. I talked with Ray and found him receptive to facts. Oak Cliff was getting, percentagewise, more per thousand than any other part of Dallas--because it had so many more children (125).

Sterrett attested to Zauber's and The Tribune's influence. Sterrett said that nobody paid any attention to The Oak Cliff
but when Zauber got there, it attracted a lot of attention. About his influence both with Oak Cliff and with Dallas leadership, Sterrett said:

"He's meant a lot to that community, his paper has. And he works with the leadership of Oak Cliff very well. Other sections of town could have done without him frankly, but he kept them on their toes and they respected him and wished he wasn't around (122)."

Although community leaders and politicians may have wished Zauber and *The Oak Cliff Tribune* had not been around, most did not pretend he and his paper did not exist. In addition to Dallas and Oak Cliff leaders, United States Representatives Joe Pool and Bruce Alger, state senators, and Texas governors were among those who telephoned or visited, cultivating connections with Zauber (2, 127). Presidents and United States senators paid tribute to Zauber and *The Tribune* through letters to the editor (30).

Janowitz said the behavior of political leaders is a guide to the influence of the community press. He wrote:

"Perhaps the most realistic and shrewd evaluation of the influence . . . is to be found in the attitudes and behavior of the professional political leaders. These men pay full respect to the community press . . . supplying a stream of press releases. If they have any doubts about the positive effectiveness . . . they are generally convinced that each publisher has the potential of hurting their cause."

"Political leaders make it a practice to call on community publishers and editors as part of the protocol of an election campaign (4, pp. xiv-xv)."

The growing success of the paper could be measured by the awards won by the paper and its staff. In 1953, *The Tribune*
received a first-place plaque for general excellence in the North and East Texas Press Association's national contest and a certificate of merit for second place in community service. Association President Russell Bryant listed reasons for the community service award to The Tribune as the paper's solid support of its civic clubs, Red Feather agencies, eleemosynary institutions, schools, garden, and improvement groups, and a vigorous hard-hitting editorial policy (119).

These awards were the first of many to be given The Oak Cliff Tribune. In 1957, his newspaper successes had been recognized by nine Texas Press Association awards: plaques, citations and ribbons for general excellence and community service (3, 66) Individuals on the staff won awards. Fagg won second place in the annual Pen Woman's Feature Story contest (62). A Zauber editorial, "The Question of Beer," won first place in the North and East Texas Press Association contest (93). Other awards in that contest were four certificates of award, five ribbons and one honorable mention. Fagg's "Party Line" won second place; editorials, news pictures, and general appearance won third, and the paper won fourth in the sweepstakes category.

In addition to waging battle for Oak Cliff, The Tribune provided services for the community. Through page one stories, the paper urged community support for a sight-saving lab, a home for the aged, children's homes, a fund for the retarded, Toys for Tots, and support for individuals or families in need (37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 53, 54, 56, 57, 58, 74, 81,
101, 103, 104, 105, 107). Fagg said of the successes of the campaigns, "We really got response. Almost any time we put on a campaign for something, people would become interested in it" (2). She remembered the support given to the family of a man in a coma. After the story was printed, the family was given a clothes dryer, a need mentioned in the story, and other assistance (2, 104, 106).

The paper provided new columns and features, beginning with a new sports column by former Dallas Morning News sports editor George White (33). Other columns added were Bill Barker's amusement column, a bridge column, a golf column called "Tee Time," Grantland Rice's column, a music column called "Wax Fax," and "Fun with Photography" (41, 60, 63, 66, 78, 115).

Another annual feature added by Zauber promoted community leadership by giving a "Man of the Year" award (2, 125). Picking the winner had been done in conjunction with the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce (110), but beginning in 1959, the winner was selected by the editorial staff (117), a policy not totally acceptable to Chamber leaders. Although not taking issue with particular recipients, Murphy Martin, director of the Oak Cliff Chamber, said:

He names the man of the year. Zauber does it. I don't know anybody who has received the award that hasn't deserved it but it comes across as having been done by a lot of people and a nominating committee when that actually hasn't been done (7).

By 1959, The Oak Cliff Tribune had become an accepted institution in Oak Cliff and Dallas. Zauber had become a

The successful suburban publisher recognizes the importance of belonging to his community. He is there for something beyond just the sale of newspapers or advertising in them. That something extra is community service or involvement.

Recognition of the need to speak of the community as well as it... pro-community enthusiasm is mandated (6, p. 20).

Brown, Fagg, Robertson, Sterrett, and White agreed that *The Tribune* had community enthusiasm (1, 2, 121, 123, 125). This enthusiasm continued through the 1960's and 1970's, although occasionally tinged with bitterness about the changes within the community and what Zauber saw as the continued disdain shown Oak Cliff by city officials (4, 7, 8, 9, 122, 123, 124).
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CHAPTER IV

THE SEMIWEEKLY PERIOD

1960 - 1969

As a new decade approached, Zauber and his staff planned changes for The Tribune. The paper entered the 1960's as a weekly, tabloid newspaper; but before the end of 1960, The Tribune had adopted a standard-sized, eight-column format, had become semiweekly, and had changed from mail delivery to carriers (14, 19). In addition, The Tribune changed from letterpress to offset printing; and its owners cemented plans to form Newspaper Enterprises, their own offset printing plant (7, 110, 268, 274). In the February 1, 1960, edition, Zauber boasted of some of the changes planned. He wrote:

The Oak Cliff Tribune will adopt a standard-sized, eight column format starting with the Feb. 4, issue.

The Tribune, one of the nation's largest suburban semi-weekly newspapers, will be printed offset hereafter.

Offset printing is the most modern printing process used today. Offset printing affords superb production of pictures and type varieties.

Vast new additions and innovations are being planned to improve the readership and attractiveness of The Tribune, the newspaper that places the interests of Oak Cliff first (13).

Demonstrating the qualities provided by offset printing, page one of the first full-size edition carried nine photographs.
and an assortment of type varieties and styles, including serif and sans serif, script and novelty types (14).

Zauber's column announced plans to initiate a carrier delivery system to go with the new size, new printing process, and format (14). Five months passed before the delivery method was changed, preceded by another Tribune milestone, the sale of the paper on the street and at news stands (18, 19). With the initiation of the carrier routes, The Tribune combined with The New Tribune to become a semiweekly, with delivery on Monday and Thursday (21). The New Tribune was the successor to The Star-Tribune, a weekly shopper started by The Tribune's owners in 1953 (19).

Not satisfied with the status quo, the staff initiated new efforts to increase The Tribune's circulation. Incentives for carriers, free sample copies, and bonuses for subscribers were part of the effort (19, 21, 24, 29, 31, 33, 34, 57, 71, 78, 112, 137, 145, 150, 163, 201). Zauber wrote, "Already the 64th (sic) largest weekly in the nation and the largest in the South and Southwest, The Tribune expects to double its coverage in the next year" (19).

New features were added, broadening the scope of the paper with hopes of enticing a new group of readers to subscribe. "High Times," a weekly school page that appeared from September through June from 1961 through 1976, was one of the most popular features added to The Tribune (32, 265). As the school page neared the first anniversary of its appearance in the
paper, Zauber called it one of the most popular features in the paper and said that it created more interest in the community among the youngsters (63). He wrote:

Some of the principals of the schools involved get quite disturbed when their particular correspondents fail to submit copy or pictures for High Times. Several principals have been regular visitors in our offices and bring their material. None of the . . . schools feel the least bit bashful about calling us for publicity on some important activity which they are sponsoring (63).

He explained why he thought the page was important:

We read so much about the other two extremes . . . the juvenile delinquent or the football hero. Less than five percent of our youngsters are . . . in either of these two categories.

And since the average Oak Cliff youngster is a good solid middle-class citizen who will never be in trouble and who will do his part in the extra-curricular affairs of school and community, he is entitled to recognition (63).

Book reviews, news of Oak Cliff servicemen, a column for hunters, club news, football and baseball pages, and answers to income tax questions were other features added (41, 57, 107, 112, 212, 241). The most long-lived feature, "Busi-briefs," was a gossipy, who-has-been-seen-where, personals column (2, 26). The column debuted on page one, October 10, 1060, and although it was moved to an inside page, "Busi-briefs" was a regular feature through the paper's Seventy-fifth Anniversary edition (26, 266).

Columns reflective of Zauber's conservative views were added. "Straight Talk," a column by Tom Anderson, editor and
publisher of *Farm and Ranch* magazine, was introduced August 22, 1963. The editor's note above the column called Anderson "one of the most outspoken conservatives in America" (111). "Capitol Comments," by United States Congressman Joe Pool, ran in the paper from August, 1967, until his death in 1968 (214, 249). Conservative millionaire H. L. Hunt's column, "Hunt for Truth," appeared in *The Tribune* for ten years (154, 263). When introducing *The Tribune*'s new editorial page in 1971, a news story credited Zauber with "instigating" Hunt's column. The article stated:

Ray Zauber helped Mr. Hunt draft the format for the style of his articles and helped him select the title: "Hunt for Truth."

*The Tribune* became the first of many newspapers to carry the weekly comments of H. L. Hunt (262).

Two four-color magazines were added to the paper. *Suburbia Today* was inserted into the paper monthly from 1960 to 1964 (16, 146). The second, *Dimensions in Living*, was replaced in less than a year by a new section of *The Tribune*, "Trends in Living" (189, 202). "Trends in Living" carried articles and features on cooking, decorating, sewing, do-it-yourself projects, family recreation and entertainment, gardening, and other family-related subjects (202). "Trends in Living" became Section II of the Thursday edition of *The Tribune* and was a free-thrown advertiser on Monday (202). In addition to new features, *The Tribune* widened its coverage of neighboring areas. West Dallas, Duncanville, DeSoto, Wilmer, and Hutchins received more coverage,
special tabloid sections, and columns (20, 134, 164, 167, 179). All these changes and additions rounded out The Tribune's coverage and made its content more typical of the content of most community newspapers (2).

Although many changes were evident in The Tribune, the intent of the paper to speak for Oak Cliff concerns remained strong. The paper continued campaigns for a fair share of bonds programs for Oak Cliff, for more and better streets and highways for Southwest Dallas and Oak Cliff, and for industrial and business growth. The paper continued support of the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce, cultural growth, revitalization of the Jefferson business district, and renewed the fight for a college for Oak Cliff.

Bond programs continued to be scrutinized carefully in the pages of The Tribune. Zauber's attacks on the governing bodies occurred with less frequency although the attacks remained as vitriolic and unrelenting when he thought the cause just. Zauber wrote of his mellowing:

There was an era when the publishers of this newspaper would have raised billy hell about the disproportionate amount of funds being poured into Downtown Dallas in the street phases of a bond program.

Now our attitude is considerably changed. We don't begrudge any area a reasonable program. All that we demand is that Oak Cliff needs be met equitably and forthrightly (59).

In January, 1962, Zauber urged the passing of a bond issue even though it was not everything Oak Cliff leaders had desired (61). Two years later, Zauber triumphantly wrote that Oak
Cliff's influence at City Hall had hit a peak and claimed a share of that influence for The Tribune (127). The satisfaction with Oak Cliff's treatment by the city was to be short-lived however, for the city council, with the Oak Cliff Chamber's approval, voted to enlarge the council, reducing Oak Cliff's representation from 33 percent to 27 percent (247, 250, 252, 253, 254).

Both the city and the county were the targets of Zauber's wrath when they refused to complete projects included in bond programs. He wrote:

One of the prime reasons for voter resistance in bond programs is the laggard and lackadaisical performance in completing some of the projects.

The 1956 [county bond] program was an endless concession [sic] of delays, snafus and excuses.

And the county is not the only branch . . . that has been derelict. We become pretty disgusted with the city's tardiness and apparent indifference to some bond items.

Too many tail-end projects seem to bear an Oak Cliff or South Dallas seal for this editor's satisfaction (260).

The Tribune continued to attack County Judge W. L. Sterrett's leadership of the commissioners court. Through his column, "Scratchpad," Zauber accused Sterrett of attempting to embarrass County Commissioner Jim Tyson in an effort to cause Tyson's political downfall (243). Zauber said that Sterrett did not confer with commissioners and that they learned what the judge planned by reading "prejudiced" newspapers (243). After Sterrett ignored an eighteen-month study made by the Elgin Robertson
Master Plan Commision and then tried to push through a program of his own that had not been approved by neighborhood organizations, Zauber called him "the most disruptive force on Lower Main Street" (255).

Streets and highways remained at the top of The Tribune's priority list and remained an area in which the paper and Zauber found success (3, 6, 7, 9, 270, 273). Keeping the public aware of growth, needs, and current projects, and fighting for special projects the publisher thought were needed were the services the paper performed for the community. A series of articles in 1961 showed past neglects and shortcomings of current programs, and offered solutions (44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53). The final article of the series told of worthy additions that had been made in the post-war list of Oak Cliff projects (54). Zauber, however, was not satisfied to rest with the area's accomplishments. Through his paper and his affiliation with the Chamber and politicians, he sought more and better freeway service for the area, free exits for Oak Cliff from the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike, and the completion of Loop 12 west of the Trinity (55, 60, 67, 159, 177, 205, 210, 213, 215, 219, 223, 234, 235, 237, 238, 240, 256). Zauber's role in winning Love Freeway for Oak Cliff and the completion of numerous other state and county projects was affirmed by various community leaders (5, 6, 7, 8, 267, 270, 272, 273). State Senator Oscar Mauzy said:

Ray has been active in helping us get the highway projects completed out in that part of
the county. For many years, the Southwest part of Dallas county always lagged behind, as many as ten to twenty years, in the development of an integrated highway system (6).

Another state representative, Chris Semos, thought Zauber and The Tribune had helped with the highways and the county roads. He said, "Sometimes the squeaky wheel theory works in the governmental process. That's something that harping does carry a little more weight in" (270).

The Tribune's relationship with the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce remained good; and, generally speaking, The Tribune backed Chamber projects, publicized them, and cheered their successes (6, 7, 8, 9, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273). Most of the goals of the Chamber were goals of The Tribune, a fact that Mauzy said was "the tail wagging the dog" (6). Two of these projects during the 1960's were Operation Catch-up and Operation Forward. Billed as an expansion-promotion campaign, Operation Catch-up hoped to strengthen the image of Oak Cliff, to catch up with the rest of Dallas in getting its share of industry, new families, and retail establishments, and to make Oak Cliff a vital part of Dallas (72). Founder of the two projects, Elgin Robertson, said the program was a turning point in Chamber activity. "The Chamber was dying down and Operation Catch-up and Operation Forward revived it and brought people back" (269).

Bringing in new community leaders to promote Oak Cliff's image and to work closely in metropolitan Dallas affairs was a primary goal of Operation Forward, and one in which Zauber
was actively involved (6, 7, 8, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273). Zauber, with five community leaders, selected the 110 young community leaders who were to make up Executive 100 (109). Morris Janowitz, author of *The Community Press in a Urban Setting*, wrote: "The community newspaper not only serves existing leadership but also serves emergent leadership (4, p. 182). Zauber took this serving of leadership one step further by his active participation; he helped select the new leaders (8, 109, 269, 270). Melton said:

> Ray wanted to see new young leadership, fund-raising, highways, beautification. One of the things he definitely was involved in was Executive 100. He played a role in the idea.

> He also gave over the right-hand bottom front page to put an item about each of the people [in Executive 100] (8).

The other goal of Executive 100 and Operation Forward, to improve the image of Oak Cliff, was one on which Zauber and *The Tribune* received conflicting reviews about their performances. Zauber frequently complained of the way the rest of Dallas imagined Oak Cliff. Some area citizens thought *The Tribune* hurt, or at least did not transmit, the image Oak Cliff wanted others to have of it (6, 101, 109, 270). Chamber president Bill Pierce wrote Zauber on the subject, saying:

> Quite frankly--there is some feeling among Cliff citizens you have been remiss in this category in the past. You have actually helped create some of the misleading image of our community by the manner in which you compare it to other areas of the city (101).

Pierce's letter, printed in Zauber's column, called him to task for giving others the impression that Oak Cliff had few
social and cultural leaders. Pierce reminded Zauber that Oak Cliff was a part of Dallas, and as such, held equal title to everything within the City of Dallas that was paid for with tax dollars. Pierce wrote:

But remember we are not a city unto ourselves. We are a very important, sizeable and respected part of a great city--Dallas.

Certainly it is not reasonable to presume these things must be in the imaginary boundary [sic] of Oak Cliff for us to be proud of them (101).

Mauzy saw Zauber's tendency to lash out through his editorials as negative. He said, "While he's helped the community, Ray spends as much time being negative as he does being positive. And that's not good" (6). C. C. Hayley, a seventy-five-year-old reader, argued with this premise. In response to Pierce's letter, he wrote:

I can remember . . . when Oak Cliff got promises and North Dallas . . . got pavement and other improvements. If it hadn't been for Ray Zauber raring back on his haunches and yelling "foul" week after week, we might still be dodging chugholes on Jefferson, Hampton and Illinois (102).

Zauber and community leaders disagreed with Pierce's premise that Oak Cliff shared equally in those things outside of Oak Cliff. They believed that Oak Cliff needed added prestige of federal buildings and cultural, educational and recreational facilities within the community (272, 273, 274). Zauber, an avid golfer, was proud of the prestige and national coverage Oak Cliff received when it was host to a Professional Golfer's Association tournament, the Dallas Open, at the Oak Cliff
Country Club (12, 23, 56, 84, 180, 187, 268, 274). The Tribune fought courageously, albeit unsuccessfully, to keep the Open at the Oak Cliff Country Club by seeking new sponsors and trying to build a larger purse with which to attract more big names (129, 171, 172, 177, 178, 187, 188).

The paper continued its fight to attract and keep culture in Oak Cliff (93, 148, 211). Support of El Sibil, artist Frank Reaugh's home and studio, resulted in its revival and eventual development into the Chamber-backed Cultural Arts Center of Dallas (65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 82, 90, 92, 97, 111, 114, 115, 131, 152, 162). Doris Eastman Harris' campaign for El Sibil was accredited with renewing much interest in saving the artist's home (3, 6, 7, 8, 269, 270). Melton said of The Tribune's efforts:

Doris was a key leader in the restoration of the Frank Reaugh home, El Sibil, but she wouldn't have been there if it hadn't been for Ray. A lot of times Ray is the guy behind the scene (8).

Melton praised Zauber for his support of the Dallas symphony. When the Chamber held the first symphonic festival at the Pit Club in the Bronco Bowl, The Tribune gave free space and lauded its success with a full page of pictures and headlines that called it a "smash success" (6, 8, 156, 157, 270). When ticket sales for the second festival the next year were down, Zauber wrote and editorial urging Oak Cliff's full support. He said:

If Oak Cliff is ever to achieve status and recognition as a cultural community, we must support the arts and education. Oak Cliff has an obligation
to the symphony, civic opera, literature, painting and other fine arts matter.

If we can't fill 3,000 seats once a year for a Dallas Symphony concert, something is wrong with our people or our leaders (175).

Semos, owner of The Torch restaurant and chairman of the Operation Forward Speaker's Bureau, praised Zauber's support of cultural events but said that Zauber sometimes unintentionally made Oak Cliff appear inferior. Semos said that Zauber harped on the lack of decent restaurants in Oak Cliff. He said:

It was his way of knocking people across town for not opening here. Those of us who have been here for thirty years, with all kinds of awards, he takes us for granted. In doing so, he makes Oak Cliff look inferior, which is not his intention (270).

Semos commended Zauber and The Tribune for supporting Operation Forward. By his giving free page one publicity to back the project, people were able to take stock of themselves and take pride in themselves (270).

Although Chamber goals and Tribune goals were similar, Zauber criticized the Chamber when they did not apply as much pressure as he thought they should (8). In November, 1962, a Tribune editorial questioned the goals of the Chamber. Saying that the Chamber was not providing enough push to winning Dallas Baptist College (DBC) for Oak Cliff, Zauber wrote:

But we must gamble on making some of our good Chamber of Commerce friends unhappy with The Tribune and with the editor by suggesting pointedly that there is too much effort being wasted in the wrong directions.

The two basic needs of our community are flat flops with the Chamber adding precious little to
push them. We refer to a university and the attraction of new industry with the accompanying payrolls (87).

The winning of a college for Oak Cliff was one of The Tribune's high priority goals. Zauber and The Tribune played a big role in getting Dallas Baptist College to locate in Oak Cliff (3, 6, 7, 8, 267, 268, 269, 270, 272, 273, 274). Zauber and a few community leaders persuaded four landowners to donate twenty-five acres apiece adjacent to Mountain Creek Lake (10, 11, 22, 272, 274). This land, first offered as a home to the University of Dallas, remained as an incentive to capture another college. The search for a college for Oak Cliff began anew when the University of Dallas opted for an Irving site. Zauber touted every step forward and battled every obstacle (3, 6, 7, 8, 267, 268, 269, 270, 272, 273, 274). The main obstacle, as Zauber and a few community leaders saw it, was a group of North Dallas men who thought Oak Cliff could not support a college and that if one were located in Oak Cliff, money could not be raised for it (22, 272, 274). Zauber wrote in a page one editorial:

There are devious Dallas leaders who refuse to recognize Oak Cliff exists. They are viciously propagandizing that funds cannot be raised if the college is located West of the Trinity . . . .

We feel if there is any deviousness or unfair shakes, we shall be compelled to give our readers the facts despite the fact that this is a Southern Baptist matter. But there are other non-Baptist interests trying to influence this decision on which we base our right to fight for our community and the Baptist leaders who have been working on this institution for Oak Cliff for six years (22).
Once the Oak Cliff site was approved, Zauber and The Tribune promoted the college and all the opportunities, culture, and prestige it would bring. He urged Oak Cliff residents to show the area's detractors that they could and would support the college monetarily (37). He wrote:

> We would clearly love to see Oak Cliff contributors make a real strong showing in this drive. For this is an opportunity to make an investment which can pay startling dividends.

Money is tough to raise in this community and we seldom shoulder our proportional share of the load. If we fail to carry the wood and water on this drive, everything our antagonists might have said about us and the college will be amplified (37).

When the $3,000,000 fund drive faltered, Zauber urged residents to carry their share of the load. He said:

> We could lose the most promising community asset of the decade. And it will be hard to sell Oak Cliff for any large scale civic project . . . .

> Oak Cliff's reputation is on the line and the stakes are high.

> Many of the things that have been said about us in certain Dallas circles will suddenly be proven in the minds of those people. It is a frightening prospect which we might not overcome (44).

Zauber continued to goad the community, the ministers, the business leaders to support DBC (79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88 91, 93, 94, 96, 98, 99, 100). Assailing the churches for failing to unify their efforts, a Zauber editorial said:

> Why can't all the churches get together and in an unselfish manner, get out the Bible, preach hard from the pulpit and pass out the bushel baskets, and get mad about failure as they do when an attempt is made to vote a community wet (81).
Zauber's support of DBC went further than editorial prodding. In addition to his own money pledge to DBC, Zauber launched a Tribune fund drive for the college (77, 116). For nine months, The Tribune sported a thermometer scale on page one to indicate the status of the drive to raise $40,000 and ran stories when individuals or companies made substantial contributions (117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 138, 144, 274).

The employment generated by a college in Oak Cliff was a step in alleviating the plight of being considered a bedroom community, a problem that continued to be a concern of The Tribune and the leadership of Oak Cliff. Zauber's columns and page one stories frequently spoke of the benefits of having industry within the community, chastised those who overpriced their land, and pushed the city for zoning changes (15, 25, 27, 28, 30, 36, 103, 104). When the city council approved a huge industrial zone near Redbird Airport, The Tribune promoted the area with numerous page one stories (113, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 149, 153, 158, 160, 165, 166, 174, 179, 181, 182, 183, 185, 186, 202, 209, 218, 226, 227, 228, 229, 232, 239, 242, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 251, 256, 257, 258, 260). Many Oak Cliff leaders, including those financially involved with the projects, remarked about the paper's support and influence on Redbird Industrial Park (7, 8, 267, 270, 271). Melton said that, without The Tribune and subsequent community support, the area would not be off the ground (8). Redbird Park financier, Avery Mays said:
Ray was very active in the support of Redbird Industrial Park. The Chamber was very anxious to get a business tax base and change the image of a bedroom community.

We contributed capital to acquire more land and Ray publicized this (7).

County Commissioner Roy Orr attributed some of the success of the park to Zauber's personal interest in the park, the place Zauber eventually made home of The Tribune. Orr said there was more interest in moving into Redbird Industrial Park than any other industrial park in the metroplex. "Ray gets prospects for them," he said. "He's met with them and made trips to encourage the leadership of a particular industry to come to Oak Cliff" (267). Zauber's influence played a large role in the Army-Air Force Exchange's being moved to Oak Cliff (1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273).

While civic leaders were working toward building an industrial tax base, Oak Cliff's central business district continued to falter. Zauber and the Chamber remained keenly interested in the health of Oak Cliff's central business district, Jefferson. As one who worked near the Jefferson area, T. A. Vines said:

He [Zauber] can sit back, be one of the top newspapers in print to point out shortcomings. I think his principle strength is to get people thinking. He's been right on enough things so people listen some (272).

Zauber's continued interest and aggressiveness caused Jefferson Boulevard businessmen to think and act (3, 6, 269, 270, 271, 272). Zauber pushed merchants to action when he devoted an entire page one to Jefferson's problems and possible solutions.
He wrote that parking continued to be a problem. "Many short-sighted landowners, landlords and tenants have refused to face this challenge. Metered parking with time limits competes with free suburban parking" (38). He chastised the Jefferson Area Association for not living up to potential. He wrote:

It takes a joint effort, planning, land reclaiming, mutual action between landlords and tenants, vigorous community leadership, potent promotions and resourcefulness.

Now is the time to start the herculean task which awaits the folks along Jefferson Boulevard.

And The Tribune looks to the day it can write a happy ending to this story (38).

The next two issues of the paper carried the responses of the merchants and an announcement that a group of merchants planned to pay the parking meters in order to compete with suburban areas.

In November, 1961, Zauber reviewed the problem, explained The Tribune's interest in the problem, and again urged action. He wrote:

Again. Empty stores do not generate traffic. They do not use advertising. They need no telephones.

They have no employees or payrolls. They buy no supplies.

The Tribune is against empty stores. They are inexcusable in a wonderful place like Oak Cliff (58).

Encouragement for the area came with talk of enclosing the area to make it into a mall. The Tribune covered and applauded each step that brought the venture closer to fruition (192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 203, 204, 206, 207, 203, 216, 217, 220, 222, 223, 224, 225, 229, 231, 232, 236). After a year's worth of progress, Zauber reported:
Frankly, Scratchpad was among a group of community boosters who were fearful of the Jefferson area future. And the prospects were frightening.

But the "new" Jefferson image and the improved Jefferson spirit give rise to much optimism.

This kind of group effort must succeed. And all the while many independents--small and large alike--have joined the progressive chains in carrying many firms which refuse to lift their share of the wood and water (236).

Although the enclosing of Jefferson never came to be and the health of the central business district continued to be questioned, Zauber's support of business, education, civic, cultural and other community projects was frequently applauded (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 273). His efforts were acknowledged in 1967 when he was awarded one of seven Altrusa awards for community service. Zauber was the only non-public official to receive the Key of Service for Leadership. He was awarded a plaque commending him for promotion of the Oak Cliff community (200). Calling Zauber "Mr. Oak Cliff," the presenter of the award referred to him as

a man with a foresight that is combined with ingenuity of planning, drive for achieving and an ability to inspire cooperation in order to realize goals which benefit the community as a whole.

The columns . . . he has most scholarly penned have been quoted not only in Dallas but in far distant places. His recognition near and far is the result of his brilliant analyzing of problems which face this modern age. But what is more, he has the courage to fearlessly express his convictions and work toward solutions to these situations (200).

The Tribune continued to be recognized by regional, state, and national press organizations for providing excellence in
writing and community service. From 1961 to 1969, The Tribune was awarded over seventy awards by the North and East Texas Press Association, Texas Press Association, National Editorial Association, and the Dallas Press Club (35, 43, 64, 76, 108, 138, 147, 151, 161, 176, 259). This desire to serve the community and provide the best possible paper continued despite changes in the community and in the paper's management (1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274). In 1967, Patton sold his share of Tribune stock to Carter Publications, Inc., which was acquiring stock in a number of suburban newspapers. Zauber assured readers that "no change in policy, personnel or politics would occur, but rather that the pact would give The Tribune financial strength" (193, 229). The merger was finalized in 1969 (256). There were changes in the community, however, that affected the paper. White flight and the ensuing community instability affected every facet of life in Oak Cliff. Zauber and The Tribune continued to fight vigorously for the community, but with many of The Tribune's readers leaving the community, the strength of the paper was diluted, interests of the paper widened and finances became tighter, forcing the paper to return to weekly.
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CHAPTER V

THE RETURN TO WEEKLY

1969 - 1978

Within three months of The Tribune's stock sale to Carter Publications, the paper resumed weekly publication (18, 19). Plans for other changes were announced. The ordering of computerized typesetting equipment, plans to augment circulation by widening the circulation area of The Advertizer, and the addition of an editorial page were those most highly touted by the paper's management (20, 22, 34).

In 1971, The Tribune added an editorial page (34). Editorials had been run regularly in the paper prior to this time; but with the exception of Zauber's column and "Busi-briefs," they did not appear in the same position. Zauber announced plans for the page two months before its inauguration, explaining what would be found on the page (32). The paper had added columns by Negro conservative Clay Smothers and by long-time Zauber friend, Gordon McClendon (30, 31). These columns, along with "Hunt for Truth" and Zauber's editorials, made up the editorial page (34). A month later, Dan Weiser's "Weiser Words" was added to proved balance, a liberal view, to the page (35). That Weiser's views were very much alien to those of Zauber and the other editorial writers on the page was confirmed when Zauber discovered that some liberals endorsed by Weiser had sent
letters to voters stating they had been endorsed by *The Tribune* (39). From that point on, Weiser's column carried the disclaimer, "The views of this contributor do not reflect the editorial policy of *The Oak Cliff Tribune*" (39). None of the other columns carried the disclaimer, a fact that indicated that the other columns reflected Zauber's view (3, 4).

*The Tribune* continued to win awards, ranking among the top weeklies in the state and in the nation. *The Tribune*, as a member of the National Editorial Foundation, was named a National Blue Ribbon Newspaper, in 1971 and continuing through its anniversary edition in 1978 (33, 40, 42, 45, 46, 51, 52, 56). Individuals on the staff received regional, state, and national recognition from the North and East Texas Press Association, the Texas Press Association, the Texas Press Women, and National Federation of Press Women, including a first place plaque for Smothers, which made him the first Negro writer to win a Texas Press Association award.

The paper was praised for its service to the community (37, 38, 42, 47). One such project earning *The Tribune* a fourth place award in community service was for the help *The Tribune* gave to the parents of runaway teen-agers (47). In addition to running the stories, *The Tribune* placed free advertising in the classified section, with photographs of the missing teens (36, 47). *The Tribune* received praise and recognition for providing a two-hour basic journalism course, taught by *Tribune* staffers at *The Tribune* offices for Northwood Institute. A
Tribune story told about the course and interest shown in it by Editor and Publisher magazine and Publisher's Auxilliary (23). Zauber's editorials and columns won four first place, four second place, and one third and fourth place award in state contests, and recognition from the Dallas Press Club.

Despite growing acclaim in journalistic circles and its continued community service, circulation became a problem for The Tribune, indicative of the changing community and of things to come. By 1974, The Tribune's circulation declined to less than 7,500, although the publisher could claim a circulation in excess of 57,000 when combined with the circulation of the free-thrown Advertizer (44). His plans to expand coverage to neighboring areas by enlarging the paper or by founding several smaller papers were thwarted temporarily by Carter Publication's sale of Tribune stock to Capital Cities of New York. Capital Cities turned down Zauber's request to expand, saying Zauber was not ready. Zauber did not wish to wait, and, with the help of contacts in Fort Worth, he received an option to repurchase The Tribune stock and begin expansion (55, 65). By 1978, combined circulation of The Tribune, The Advertizer, the newly founded County Courier and Lancaster Leader was in excess of 70,000 and served Oak Cliff, Duncanville, DeSoto, Cedar Hill, and Lancaster (53). The Tribune's paid circulation held steady at about 7,000: 4,200 from subscriptions and 2,500 from vendor sales (54). The low circulation of The Tribune was considered to be one of the paper's biggest problems (2, 3, 5, 57, 60, 63, 64).
Circulation problems for The Tribune primarily were caused by community instability, caused by an influx of Negro residents and the school desegregation order. Community instability began in the 1960's. In 1960, Zauber ran a series called "A Study of Negro Problems" (9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). Zauber wrote that Negroes must be offered an alternative to moving into affluent white neighborhoods (12, 13). In 1965, Zauber wrote:

Some highly unethical real estate brokers in downtown Dallas . . . are deliberately distorting the Oak Cliff image when integration problems are city wide.

Our advice to the persons or groups with which we have spoken has been to avoid a panic. Who can blame Negro housing prospects for picking up $5,000 worth of equity for $500.

Running is no longer a solution for there is no restrictive covenant which will legally protect any resident of any neighborhood (15).

Zauber continued to urge stability. He accused some real estate agents of being unethical and of telling people not to buy a home in Oak Cliff "because it was going colored," and said Oak Cliff was not different from the rest of Dallas (21). He wrote:

The ratio and relationship between black and white neighborhoods is little different in Oak Cliff than in any section of Dallas. Cold statistics show the picture is uniform throughout the metropolis with only raw economics dictating proportions. But if some of our so called community leaders must stoop to a sickening subterfuge to feather their nests . . . then Oak Cliff does have a problem (21).

When the school desegregation order placed the brunt of the busing order on Oak Cliff, Zauber urged residents not to panic. In an open letter to Judge William Taylor, he wrote:

With the stroke of your pen you can turn Oak Cliff into a black community almost over night.
In your awesome responsibility, you can wipe away the equity in some magnificent homes and thriving businesses. You can force Oak Cliff whites into an unprecedented flight. You can ruin a magnificent industrial park and scuttle the Southwest's largest shopping center . . . . Still we're trying not to panic (41).

Although efforts to stabilize the community were not totally successful, few faulted Zauber and The Tribune for their efforts (3, 4, 6, 57, 59, 62, 63, 64). Melton said:

He kept the positive before the people. People in 1970 and '71 were looking for things to cling to. A lot of things he helped bring forth were stabilizing.

Where busing is concerned, there is a wide variance. He was non-supportive of busing, but he was interested in stabilizing the community (6).

Mauzy saw it differently. He said:

After Judge Taylor's order came down in 1971, that's when he [Zauber] was lining up with antibusers. He tried to panic and succeeded in causing white flight from Oak Cliff. I'd definitely give him credit for part of that white flight (5).

Community stability began to return in 1976 after a new court order stopped busing in areas that were naturally integrated, including all of the schools west of the freeway (47).

Busing was but one school district problem in which Zauber took an interest. When noted liberal Nolan Estes became a candidate for the Dallas Independent School District superintendency, Zauber was against his selection (16). After Estes was chosen, Zauber wrote that city leaders should be frightened by the choice of this spendthrift (17). From that point on, Zauber carefully scrutinized every action taken by the board and superintendent. Zauber lobbied against increasing the school
tax, against the increasing number of administrators and high
paid educational experts, against sagging test scores, and
against the district's tendency to try every new program to which
the federal government was willing to give money. Zauber
wrote of Estes:

[Estes has] many outstanding personal qual-
ities: good looks, neat grooming, demeanor, eru-
dition, affability, poise, self-assurance, nimble
brain and sales ability.

He has one tremendous shortcoming: thrift.
Dr. Estes has no conscience about spending the
taxpayers' money (50).

Zauber pointed out that the tax rate edged very near the legal
limit and that Scholastic Aptitude Test scores sagged. He
continued, "Great transfusions of cash, a top-heavy administration
and an incredible proliferation of high-salaried educational
experts have not been able to reverse the toboggan (50).

Liberalism outside of the school arena angered Zauber.
Although he continued to editorialize against growing govern-
mental bureaucracy, welfare programs, higher taxes, and other
vestiges of liberalism through his newspaper, Zauber took his
fight one step further by waging a battle for State Senator
Oscar Mauzy's seat. A Tribune article said:

"My conscience compels me to challenge the
trend of state government," declared Zauber, Re-
publican candidate in the 23rd District. "I am
appealing to the God-fearing, tax-paying, law-
abiding silent majority to retire our ultra-
liberal State Senator."

The 51-year-old editor will face Oscar Mauzy,
heir-apparent to Ralph Yarborough. With help of
the minority-bloc vote, Mauzy handily defeated
"Senator Mauzy is a captive candidate of the liberal-labor-loyalist factions, a group repudiated in Saturday's Democratic primary," the editor contended (24).

Later articles labeled Mauzy as a liberal and socialist, accused him of being too busy promoting the welfare program to be able to find time to appear before the State Highway Commission "in behalf of badly needed area improvements," of coddling radicals, and of being ashamed of his record (25, 26, 27). The paper carried political advertisements from both candidates. Zauber's advertising urged voters to forget party lines and "to vote like an American" (28). A tabloid insert in The Tribune called Zauber "the fighting editor" and "the voice of Oak Cliff and conscience of a community" (28). Mauzy's advertising stated, "Oscar Mauzy's seat can't be bought by the paid lobby, by insurance companies, by mudslingers or poison-pen editors" (28). Zauber placed an advertisement in the Chamber magazine, Oak Cliff, in which he called for voters to elect "the fighting editor," who has literally become "the conscience and the spokesman of the community on vital issues of our time" ... (8). Although Zauber had the support of a number of community leaders, he was not elected. Following his loss, Zauber wrote that he would not run if he had to do it all over again, and that he realized that no conservative, especially a Republican, could beat Mauzy in the 23rd District as it was then constituted (29).

Zauber's race for office was indicative of his expanded interests. He began writing more and more about national and international matters, with special interest in the space program, national defense, civil rights, welfare and communism.
Although Zauber justified the expanded coverage and editorializing on national and international events, widened nonlocal coverage in a community newspaper was questioned. Zauber's readers questioned his increased editorializing on outside matters. Zauber wrote:

_We of The Tribune staff are frequently asked why we sometimes editorialize about such remote places . . . .

_We must respond vigorously that what happens in Jerusalem or Peking has everything to do with the future of our community._

_This is a shrunken world today so what happens in Brisbane or Buenos Aires, Helsinki or the Hague . . . may directly affect every Oak Cliff resident._

_That is why we feel we must try to alert our readers about global troubles in an explosive era (48)._  

Whether Zauber's national and international editorials were appreciated by his readers was of some doubt. Melton said, "There's more interest in Ray when he deals with local matters. That's where his sphere of influence comes into play" (6).

Other people thought that Zauber's readers agreed with his views less often when he branched out into matters outside of Oak Cliff (3, 5, 7, 60, 63). Zauber was not guilty, however, of ignoring Oak Cliff matters. His first love remained the Southwest quadrant of Dallas.

For his first love, Zauber continued to fight for what he thought was deserved and fair in Oak Cliff. As the community changed, it became more difficult for _The Tribune_ to represent the community. As Oak Cliff east of R. L. Thornton
Freeway became increasingly minority-populated, The Tribune found itself less representative of the area (3, 5, 6, 60). Zauber did make some effort to cover the Negro community.

Orr said:

He supports and represents blacks. Clay Smothers writes in his paper. Eddie Bernice Johnson has had articles in his paper. You'll find where he's endorsed black candidates.

And he's cautioned the Chamber about having minority representation on the board. He's tried to be a good citizen and he's fair. Meeting the needs of all groups is very difficult, but he does as good a job as anyone (57).

Dallas City Councilman Don Hicks thought more emphasis was given the area west of the freeway, but that was because there were more activities on the west side. Hicks said:

Newspapers report news, they don't make it. I haven't seen it [The Tribune] as a white man's newspaper. His greater emphasis may be on the section of Oak Cliff west of the freeway, but any worthy project in the black community would receive his support (3).

Still other leaders saw the noncoverage of Negro Oak Cliff as a conscious decision based on economics. West Oak Cliff was the area from which the paper's advertising dollars came; therefore, it was natural that it would be the area which received the greater coverage (4, 5, 6).

It was natural, too, that The Tribune's advertisers received more coverage in the paper than those who did not advertise (1). Although some community leaders thought that The Tribune's editorial copy could be influenced by advertising dollars, others thought that advertisers' opinions had made
little difference, that Zauber had defied advertisers' demands. One who thought Zauber was affected by advertisers said:

He slants almost everything. He is tainted by his advertisers. Look at the people who advertise week after week in The Tribune and you will see their names show up in "Busi-briefs" about something.

I notice he's taken a great deal of interest in this new cable TV operation, Storer, and that's because they advertise with him and he's trying to hook them for some more.

I'm not quarreling. It's a business judgement but it out to be recognized.

A few others echoed this thought but declined to be quoted. One person said that Zauber's support of Safeway's move from Jefferson Boulevard to Twelfth Street was influenced by advertising dollars. The Oak Cliff Chamber Master Plan, in an effort to support Jefferson as a business district, opposed the move of any store from the area. The respondent said:

He took the Chamber board to task for not supporting the building of the Safeway store there on Twelfth. Zauber's support was probably tied to advertising, but he may have felt it was the best thing for the community.

I don't know that Zauber would sacrifice his convictions, but I do think he would be influenced by advertising.

Former women's editor Dorothy Fagg said she did not think advertisers could affect editorial policy. She said:

I don't think he's influenced. If they were going to influence him, they'd have to be subtle. They couldn't demand it.

I can remember one particular man who called and told him he wanted him to speak out on a certain subject. They almost came to blows. He didn't want him to tell him how to run his paper.
Zauber continued to fight, both within his paper and as chairman of the Oak Cliff Chamber highway division, for roads and highways. He fought vigorously for bridge connections from Oak Cliff to the rest of Dallas and Dallas county, claiming success for the paper when the Loop 12 bridge over the Trinity was finally built. Many people thought his dual role as editor and highway division chairman aided Oak Cliff's fight for Love Freeway and free exits off of the Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike (7, 57, 60, 62). Zauber was given top credit for his work in this area. City councilman Bill Nicol said:

He headed the highway commission for several years. He's been very influential in getting a network of streets in Southwest Oak Cliff. I'd give him number one credit in working with the state highway commission and the county commissioners. That's where he's been most effective (7).

Several others who declined to be quoted said his sharpness and harshness in dealing with the state highway commission kept Southwest Dallas county from having proper exits from Interstate 20 to Redbird Mall. One respondent, who asked to remain anonymous, said, "He told them what they were going to do. He let them know he had all the answers and they let him know that they weren't going to do it his way."

Economics dictated more and more that Zauber look to the south, toward the suburbs, for increasing financial support for his paper (2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 57, 63). His interest in the suburbs had been long-standing. Zauber, for many years, had seen the need for growth to the south, had pushed for better roads to connect the two areas, had encouraged builders and business interests to choose the area (2, 3, 57). Melton said:
He has a lot of interest south. The newspaper's interests have expanded, but before that, I remember where he talked about roads. He sees a need for growth in Southwest Dallas county. He has brought homebuilders and diverse groups to that area which wouldn't be there otherwise.

He's more responsive to the suburbs but he has other newspapers to give those areas special attention. Front page and news content is designed for each area (6).

Zauber was criticized for the methods he used to get things accomplished for the area. Martin said:

I think Ray Zauber and consequently The Oak Cliff Tribune are very aware of anything pertaining to the Southwest quadrant . . . . He is involved in a very typical Ray Zauber manner, in that he is very vocal.

I think he means well with everything that he does, but Ray personally . . . his paper, and in some instances, the community has paid the price because of his lack of diplomacy (4).

Semos echoed the thought, saying, "Ray's fiery ways are a strength, for or against" (60). Many people saw that Zauber's biting editorials could be a problem. Orr said:

One of the weaknesses is being misunderstood. The fact that he's very outspoken and people don't always like to be told the truth. He's not a person to say something just because it's what he knows you want to hear.

The city and county officials do listen [to him]. I realize that he's branded as a hard-headed individual in certain areas. He's tough, but they don't want his poison pen after them (57).

Zauber's "poison pen" may have hurt Oak Cliff. Mauzy, who did not see Zauber's beliefs as truths, said, "Ray is a very clever writer and he's got a good grasp of the King's English. He's vocal and can really harpoon you or praise you to the skies as he chooses" (5). Orr agreed, saying:
I'd rather have The Dallas Morning News on my back than Ray Zauber. Ray Zauber would turn on me if I sold out Oak Cliff or my principles. He's just that kind. He wants what's right and he'll attack anybody who he feels isn't doing right (57).

The manner in which he made his opinions known may have caused some things to backfire. Hicks said of the city council:

As far as the city is concerned, I don't know the city has given anything to Oak Cliff simply because Zauber wanted it for Oak Cliff.

Sometimes his articles are so caustic that some might vote against Oak Cliff because they were upset (3).

Martin said of comments made to him at the Chamber:

I would hope the elected official and decision-makers at the Chamber would be bigger than that, where they wouldn't allow personalities to color their decisions, however.

I'm not sure that Zauber's tenacity... has not offended some of the decision-makers, and human nature being what it is makes it difficult to forget (4).

Although his methods may have occasionally cost Southwest Dallas, more often they kept the area's needs to the forefront. In fact, one of the strengths most often cited was his dedication to the community, his refusal to compromise or give up until he had achieved his goal (3, 4, 6, 57, 64). Martin said:

I think that because of his tenacity, he refuses to give up. He keeps on an issue, keeps it on the front burner if he believes in it. If he hadn't done this in some issues, it would have been easy for a council not to have included either a project The Tribune was calling for or not included enough dollars to have it done properly (4).

Zauber was becoming more "thin-skinned" with the passing of years. His ability to deal with some matters objectively,
without allowing his own personal sensitivity to enter in, decreased. Zauber's acceptance of and later refusal to run a column called "Chamber Chatter" was cited as an example. Martin, a man with name value in Dallas because of his long-time employment as an anchorman on one of the Dallas television stations, had offered to write a column on Chamber activities, which Zauber quickly accepted, but when Zauber discovered that Martin had given the column to a free-thrown competitor, The Dallas Weekly, he refused to run it again. Martin said, "His emotions got involved. He set aside value to the community in order to deal with it personally, through his own sensitivities (4).

Zauber's ability to enjoy his successes decreased with the years. Martin said:

In all fairness to Ray Zauber and his methods, he has a deep and abiding love for the Southwest quadrant. From time to time, his cup has runneth over with hurt on decision that have been made and their effect on the Southwest quadrant. I don't think that's lessened his tenacity.

This hurt he feels, along with others, tends to stay with his thinking and it makes it more difficult to enjoy the fruits of his labors as he was once able to do--because of his bitterness towards the council, etcetera (4).

This variance in opinion about Zauber reinforces a statement made by John Cameron Sim in The Grass Roots Press concerning community newspapers. He wrote, "Individuality is the strength and the weakness, the hope and the despair, of the community weekly field" (61, p. 20). That The Oak Cliff Tribune was a product of Ray Zauber's individuality was not argued. What
specific accomplishments for which the paper was responsible was contended. Although the paper's base of support had decreased and its representativeness of the area had lessened, The Tribune and its owner-publisher Ray Zauber were credited with being a driving force, both good and bad, within the community. Orr said:

I think Oak Cliff would be much worse off if Oak Cliff didn't have a fighting editor. There are three factors, in my judgment, that if Oak Cliff were to lose, we'd be in much worse shape—the Chamber, The Oak Cliff Tribune, and the Oak Cliff Country Club (57).

Martin concluded:

Oak Cliff would not be Oak Cliff without Ray Zauber and The Oak Cliff Tribune. I think when you trace the history since his involvement here, he has been such a power, that his publication has affected so many developments, entered so many people that his publication has to be considered part of the historical data about Oak Cliff (4).
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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

That The Oak Cliff Tribune and its owner-publisher Ray Zauber have had an enormous effect on the development of Oak Cliff is a major conclusion reached by studying data from this research. The study shows that Zauber assumed a leadership role with The Tribune at a time when many community leaders thought the area needed a strong news media voice. Over the years, the paper developed into a sound business venture and a strong voice for the community.

This study was designed to trace the development of The Oak Cliff Tribune from late 1946 to August, 1978, to evaluate and determine the influence of The Oak Cliff Tribune on community development, and to ascertain the influence of the newspaper and its owner-publisher on the community and the community leaders.

Summary

From Oak Cliff's annexation by Dallas in 1903 through the late 1940's, Oak Cliff lagged Dallas in its development. Although Oak Cliff projects were included in Dallas bond programs, money often ran out, leaving most of the projects untouched or completed to lesser specifications than planned. Zauber joined the staff of The Tribune in 1946 and became a part of the new management in early 1947. With Zauber as editor,
the paper began to develop into a small, but persistent voice for Oak Cliff, a voice that demanded that Oak Cliff be given its fair share of city and county services. By 1957, the paper's circulation had grown from 4,000 to 13,000. With growing community support for the paper, The Tribune undertook a number of campaigns for community improvement. The paper's and Zauber's most successful campaign was for improved street conditions in the area, but he saw successes in the fights for more schools, increased police protection and residential, industrial, and business growth. No longer could politicians and community leaders afford to ignore Zauber and his paper. Noting his increasing influence with the community, many politicians cultivated connections with him. Tremendous gains were made for the community in terms of getting public works programs and attention from Dallas leadership.

In 1959, The Tribune became a standard-sized, semiweekly newspaper. The paper changed from letterpress to offset press and from mail delivery to carriers. Many new features and widened coverage of neighboring areas marked the paper's new approach to community journalism.

The Tribune continued to campaign vigorously for a fair share of bond programs and for more and better streets and highways. Success with the two Dallas governing bodies came easier although Zauber was disappointed by Oak Cliff's reduced representation on the city council and by Judge Sterrett's continued domination of the commissioners court. In conjunction
with the Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce, The Tribune promoted industrial development at Redbird Industrial Park, business growth and revitalization, a college for the area, and Oak Cliff's image both in and out of the area. Zauber provided publicity for Chamber projects: Operation Catch-up and Operation Forward. He was a committee member of the group that selected young people to continue the leadership of the area. The paper promoted culture through support of the symphony and the Cultural Arts Center of Dallas.

In 1969, John Patton sold his portion of The Tribune stock to Carter Publications; and within several months of the sale, the paper returned to weekly publication. Carter Publications sold the stock to Capital Cities, which, in 1974, refused to back Zauber's expansion plans. Zauber sought and received the option to rebuy the stock and expanded service into the suburbs to the south of Oak Cliff by founding The County Courier and purchasing The Lancaster Leader. The emphasis of The Oak Cliff Tribune's coverage remained Oak Cliff but the financial strength was augmented by the shared advertising. The sharing of advertising gave advertisers better coverage. Although the paid circulation of The Tribune declined to 7,000, total circulation for these papers and The Advertizer exceeded 70,000. Community instability and white flight were the primary problems for the community and The Tribune.

The school desegregation order, which placed the bulk of the district's forced busing on Oak Cliff, combined with an
influx of Negro residents into white neighborhoods caused a number of white residents, including community leaders, to flee in spite of Tribune editorials urging people not to panic. Not until 1976 did the community begin to regain its balance and to regroup.

Growing liberalism in the public school system and the government were frequent targets of Zauber's caustic editorials. Nolan Estes's selection as Dallas Independent School District superintendent kept Zauber attentive to school district matters. He frequently attacked school tax increases, growing bureaucracy, and sagging student test scores. Zauber assaulted liberalism in government by waging a campaign, which he lost, for State Senator Oscar Mauzy's seat and by expanding the coverage of national and international affairs in his paper.

Zauber's main love and main sphere of influence remained the Southwest area of Dallas. Although The Tribune attempted to represent predominantly Negro East Oak Cliff, few people thought the paper was representative of the area east of R. L. Thornton Freeway. The paper's economic base shifted to West Oak Cliff and the suburbs south of Oak Cliff; and, as the economic base, they received the larger part of the coverage and editorial support.

The Oak Cliff Tribune won local, regional, state, and national acclaim over the years. The Dallas Press Club, the Texas Press Association, the National Editorial Foundation, and other journalism associations recognized the paper's service
to the community, and its news and editorial excellence. Zauber frequently received plaques for his column "Scratchpad" and his editorials. Zauber's service to the community was recognized in 1967 when he was awarded one of seven Altrusa awards for community service.

Conclusion

That The Oak Cliff Tribune has had a direct influence on the history of Oak Cliff is one conclusion to be made from the data collected. That Ray Zauber has been the driving force behind The Tribune and has been the one factor that gives The Tribune its character is another.

Without Zauber and The Oak Cliff Tribune, Oak Cliff would have continued to be ignored by city and county leadership and would have fallen farther behind Dallas in street and highway development and other public works improvements. Zauber's watchful eye and continual investigation made him aware of Oak Cliff's needs and of the governing bodies' refusal to meet these needs. Although Zauber had been accused of seeing insult or slight where none was intended, his powerful editorials have achieved their purpose in forcing city and county officials to treat Oak Cliff as an equal partner in the Dallas community.

Had it not been for Zauber, Oak Cliff would not have Dallas Baptist College. Zauber was responsible for acquiring the donation of land for the college, for raising $40,000 for the floundering fund drive, and for causing North Dallas forces, who fought the choice of the Oak Cliff site, to back
down from their position. Storm sewers, city and county street, park improvements, new public schools, and other needed projects were attended to by city and county bodies as they never had been before. Although Oak Cliff would have seen some improvements over the years without Zauber's editorials, had he not taken an interest and fought diligently, Oak Cliff would be many years behind its present development. By using his newspaper and his influence as Oak Cliff Chamber Highway Chairman in Austin, Zauber won a number of highway improvements for Oak Cliff. Marvin D. Love Freeway and the tollroad over Mountain Creek Lake were two roads Zauber's influence helped bring to Oak Cliff. Zauber's editorials encouraged Oak Cliff businessmen to take action to encourage people to shop in Oak Cliff, encouraged Oak Cliff landowners to price their land reasonably, and chastised those who did not do these things.

Although Zauber's goals for the community were good, his methods to achieve them, particularly in the final period of this study, 1969 through 1978, have handicapped Oak Cliff. Firstly, the community's image has been hurt by his portrayal of Oak Cliff as a community lacking in many of the amenities, that its people do not support cultural activities, that its restaurants are not as good as those north of the Trinity River, that it lacks in adequate public service facilities. Although Zauber's goal in this portrayal was to encourage improvement of these conditions, many people believed Oak
Cliff to be as inadequate as these complaints made it seem. Secondly, his familiarity with the Southwest Dallas area and its needs made him appear the self-appointed messiah for the area. His uncompromising demands cost Redbird Mall direct exits from I-20. Lastly, Zauber's egoism handicapped his ability to see community needs over his own personal attitudes. Zauber worked far harder for a project in which he was invited to be involved and for which his efforts were applauded. He would allow an emotional response to eclipse community good, e.g., his refusal to continue publishing "Chamber Chatter" when he discovered it was not an Oak Cliff Tribune exclusive.

That which The Oak Cliff Tribune and Zauber have accomplished for the Southwest area of Dallas far outweigh any inadequacies or shortcomings. Zauber is a effective newspaperman, businessman, and community leader. His love for Oak Cliff is not to be doubted. The services he has provided for the community through his newspaper and his personal involvement have produced positive growth and improvement in every facet of life for residents of the area.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study was limited in that it surveyed editorial and make-up changes and noted editorial stances taken by The Oak Cliff Tribune. No attempt was made to determine if, or to what extent, editorial comment appeared in the news articles. A content analysis of the news articles in the newspaper should be done to determine the completeness and accuracy of the
newspaper's reporting, and the relative frequency of editorial comment within the news articles.

This study was limited to a study of one community newspaper. A second study could be done on the group of newspapers with which The Oak Cliff Tribune became partners. Four community newspapers sold a portion of their stock to Carter Publication, the company that owned The Fort Worth Star-Telegram. A study of the relationship of the four papers with one another and with Carter Publications could be done to determine the advantages and disadvantages of the association for each paper, and what action, if any, each paper took following Carter Publications's sale of the stock to Capital Cities. Interviews with editors and employees of the papers, and management of Carter Publications and Capital Cities would be the primary sources. A survey of each paper beginning several years before the stock sale would help determine if editorial policy had changed.
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section A

1. When did you work for The Oak Cliff Tribune?
2. What was your position(s)? Duties?
3. Were you aware of goals the Tribune hoped to accomplish in Oak Cliff and Dallas?
4. During the period you worked for the Tribune, how did the Tribune encourage business growth? Industrial growth?
5. How did the paper encourage cultural growth?
6. How did the paper encourage community growth?
7. What achievements could you attribute, directly or indirectly to the influence of the Tribune? To Ray Zauber? How was it/he influential?
8. Other than through his editorship of the paper, what affect did Ray Zauber have on business growth, cultural growth, or community growth in Oak Cliff? If so, how?
9. Did Ray Zauber have influence with community leaders in Oak Cliff and/or Dallas?
Section B

1. In what (other) capacities have you had contact with Ray Zauber?

2. Are you aware of his involvement with business, cultural or community development projects? What? How would you evaluate his influence?

3. How has The Oak Cliff Tribune/Ray Zauber encouraged business growth in Oak Cliff?

4. How has the Tribune/Zauber encouraged cultural growth in Oak Cliff?

5. How has the Tribune/Zauber encouraged community development?

6. How has the Tribune/Zauber been active in bringing new residents, new business to Oak Cliff?

7. What cultural improvements can you attribute either directly or indirectly to the Tribune or Ray Zauber?

8. Has the Tribune/Zauber had influence or affected park and playground improvement or additions?

9. Has the Tribune/Zauber been influential in road improvement or getting new streets and highways built?


11. Has the Tribune/Zauber aided in getting services and funding in Oak Cliff from city and county officials?

12. Has the Tribune/Zauber been influential in improving education in Oak Cliff?

13. Has the Tribune/Zauber been influential in bringing higher education to Oak Cliff?

14. How has the Tribune changed to meet the changing complexion of Oak Cliff?

15. What changes has the Tribune made to represent the black community in Oak Cliff?
16. What changes has the Tribune made to represent the Mexican-American community in Oak Cliff?

17. Is the Tribune politically representative or responsive to the Oak Cliff community?

18. Does the Tribune work for the betterment of all Oak Cliff?

19. Is the Tribune unbiased in its coverage of elected officials?

20. Of what socio-economic group is the Tribune representative?

21. Do Oak Cliff businessmen find the Tribune responsive to their needs?

22. With the growth of the suburbs south of Oak Cliff, has the Tribune become more responsive to those who live outside of the Oak Cliff area? If so, does this change make the Tribune less effective as a spokesman for Oak Cliff?

23. How would you describe the Tribune politically? To whom/what would you attribute this?

24. How would you describe the Tribune's editorial stances on political issues, bond issues, elections?

25. How would you describe the Tribune's editorial stances on national issues, economic issues, nuclear power?

26. How would you describe the Tribune's editorial stances on community issues, development, growth?

27. With the exclusion of Zauber's editorial column, how would you describe the other columns, letters to the editor etc, on the page?

28. Are the news stories balanced and unbiased in their coverage? If not, explain.

29. Is opinion material always labeled as such?

30. To what or to whom would you attribute the particular character of the Tribune? Explain.

31. Is the Tribune/Zauber influential in the Oak Cliff community?

32. Is the Tribune/Zauber influential with community leaders?
33. Is the Tribune's/Zauber's influence within the community greater, less or the same in 1978 as it was a) in the late 1940's b) the 1950's c) the 1960's d) the 1970's?

34. How has the Tribune been influential with business leaders?

35. How has the Tribune/Zauber been influential with cultural leaders?

36. How has the Tribune/Zauber been influential in getting Oak Cliff its fair share of city and county services?

37. To what achievements can you attribute the influence of the Tribune/Zauber, directly or indirectly?

38. How would you describe the effectiveness of the Tribune as a community newspaper?

39. What are the principle strengths of the Tribune?

40. What are the principle weaknesses of the Tribune?
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Fagg, Dorothy, former women's editor, Oak Cliff Tribune, interview, August 17, 1979.

Hicks, Don, Dallas City councilman, interview, August 6, 1979.

Martin, Murphy, Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce, interview, August 7, 1979.

Mauzy, Oscar, Texas state senator, interview, August 8, 1979.

Mays, Avery, former Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce director and civic leader, interview, August 6, 1979.

Melton, Bill, Dallas County treasurer, interview, August 10, 1979.

Nicol, Bill, Dallas City councilman, interview, August 16, 1979.

Orr, Roy, Dallas County commissioner, interview, August 3, 1979.
Patton, John, advertising manager, Oak Cliff Tribune, interview, August 1, 1979.

Robertson, Elgin, former Oak Cliff Chamber of Commerce president and Dallas City councilman, interview, August 2, 1979.

Semos, Chris, Texas state representative, interview, August 3, 1979.

Sterrett, W. L., Dallas County judge, interview, August 11, 1979.


White, W. T., former Dallas Independent School District superintendent, interview, August 9, 1979.