

BY CLARKE THOMAS

PITTSBURGH IN THE FIFTIES

Pittsburgh, the “forge of democracy,” was exhausted in the wake of World War II, looking to revive, regenerate, and throw off the perennial problems of floods and smoke. Enter the Allegheny Conference, a group of top businessmen with a plan to remake the city—and the city’s idea of itself. The photographs shown here, created under the direction of one of the century’s premier image makers, Roy Stryker, intended to capture Pittsburgh “as it really is, not only as the nation’s workshop and the heart of heavy industry, but as a dynamic city with an implemented plan for the future.” Today these images—taken from *Witness to the Fifties: The Pittsburgh Photographic Library, 1950-53*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Carnegie Museum of Art—“are at one level a reflection of the reality of what Pittsburgh had been and what it was becoming,” writes Constance Schulz in the introduction. On another level, she says, they reflect “multiple perceptions of what Pittsburgh’s past meant, and what its future ought to be.” In 1947, the conference recognized that “the extent of public information and education determines the rate of community progress.” Stryker, tapped by the conference for its education effort, had forged a legendary reputation directing the likes of Dorothea Lange and Walker Evans in creating iconic images of Depression-era farmers for the federal government—“to help educate Congress and the public about the need for radical solutions to the severe poverty,” writes Schulz. “By the end, however, building the file as a comprehensive record—first of American agriculture, then of American life—became more important to [Stryker] than immediate use of individual pictures in it.” In Pittsburgh, his staff shot the tearing down and the building up; the revival of big steel; a soon-supplanted African American community; the push to link with the Pennsylvania Turnpike, forerunner of the interstate highway system. The results were channeled to *Life*, *Look*, *Fortune*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and other major media. “Roy Stryker talked to his photographers about creating photographic stories, but in reality what they produced were extended photographic essays that transcended the limits of a discrete particular story,” Schulz says. On this 40th anniversary of the National Historic Preservation Act, *Common Ground* looks back at this remarkable document of the urban renewal era. **Right: Clyde Hare. The new works, Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation. February 1952.**



ALL PHOTOS CARNEGIE LIBRARY OF PITTSBURGH



IT WAS A DAY THAT PITTSBURGH HAD LONG AWAITED: MAY 18, 1950—the day that the first building would be demolished to make way for the development of Point State Park and Gateway Center in Pittsburgh’s Lower Triangle. “Work on Point Park Launched; First of Old Buildings Torn Down at Site” was the front page headline in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* concerning the event. The *Pittsburgh Press* headline read, “Point Wrecking Job Starts.”¹

Governor James Duff gave the signal for a one-ton wrecking ball to smash into the 101-year-old two-story red brick warehouse located in the industrial and commercial slum that then covered the point, where the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers join to form the Ohio. The demolition of the building “in the rear of 110 Penn Avenue” was witnessed by a crowd of 2,000, including hundreds of school children given a holiday. Also present were the Carnegie Institute of Technology band, which had marched down from Fifth and Grant, and the University of Pittsburgh ROTC band, which had approached the site from Eleventh and Penn. The event was the kickoff for what became known as Pittsburgh Renaissance I—more than a decade during which buildings were razed to clear space for Point State Park and for the construction of new skyscrapers in what became known as Gateway Center.

Within weeks of this day, a group of photographers headed by Roy Stryker arrived in Pittsburgh to begin a dual assignment—photographing the beginning phase of the Renaissance and recording the activities of numerous social welfare agencies under the banner of the Community Chest. The Stryker team was to spend nearly three years creating the Pittsburgh Photographic Library.

None of the newspaper stories mentioned Richard King Mellon, the financial and industrial magnate who was always credited along with Mayor Lawrence for leading the Renaissance effort. Perhaps he was only fulfilling a description often made—that he liked to operate in the background. He didn’t have to flaunt the power he possessed with an empire that included Mellon Bank, Gulf Oil Corporation, Koppers Corporation, T. Mellon and Sons, and more.

The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* dwelt directly on the significance of the Point ceremony. “For nearly a century, civic leaders here have been dreaming of creating a park on the Forks of the Ohio River, where the City of Pittsburgh was born. The dream will near reality today

when workers start clearing condemned structures from the 36 acre park area . . . When Gov. Bluff signals the start of the demolition, he will set in motion a chain of events which, within the next few years, will literally change the face of the historic Point.”

Actually, the demolition ceremony was but one element of Welcome Week, an annual affair sponsored by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce. On the morning of that same day, the Jones & Laughlin Steel Company broke ground for a \$44 million addition to the South Side Works, with 16 new 250-ton open-hearth furnaces. (The *Sun-Telegraph* gave the cost at \$60 million.) Land for the expansion had been acquired by the Urban Redevelopment Authority; the



Post-Gazette reported that this would require moving 213 owners and tenants. A model of the projected plant was on display at the City-County Building, part of a set of Welcome Week displays that heralded other major projects in the region.

At the Grant Building, citizens could view a model of the new Greater Pittsburgh International Airport being constructed 14 miles west of the Golden Triangle. The Jenkins Arcade exhibited a model of the Civic Arena with its retractable roof, to be built in the Lower Hill for the Civic Light Opera. In the public’s consciousness, also, was the westward expansion of the Pennsylvania Turnpike, opened in 1940, the extension to the Ohio state line to open on December 26.

The Welcome Week festivities give us a glimpse of the Pittsburgh into which the Stryker photographic team was to enter a few weeks later. It was a Pittsburgh whose downtown was unusually vibrant. It was the center of work, shopping, and entertainment in ways that later were diminished by competition from outlying shopping centers, starting with the East Hills Shopping Center in 1955, and from shopping malls, beginning with the Northway Mall in 1960.

Above right: Student priests viewing the city from an observation point by Grandview Avenue and Maple Terrace. Elliott Erwitt. September 1950. Erwitt was probably the most renowned lensman who worked for the Pittsburgh Photographic Library, say editors Constance Schulz and Steven Plattner in *Witness to the Fifties*. “Having no car, Erwitt walked alone for mile after mile along downtown streets and through neighborhoods.” Above left: Demolition of the Pennsylvania Railroad warehouse, with downtown in the distance. Clyde Hare. September 1951. Hare had his own auto; in short order he was off shooting both the construction and the demolition. “It was almost like having a quarter of your city torn down,” he said. “Everywhere you turned there was a pile driver.” Left: Alcoa Building contrasted against the Lower Hill area. Clyde Hare. April 1952. Hare used his telephoto lens to create stunning juxtapositions, say Schulz and Plattner. Here the new Alcoa building gleams against an African American community slated for “slum clearance.” Schulz says the project’s first few months were “hectic” due to director Stryker’s idea of starting with a major photographic exhibit—enthusiastically received by the Carnegie Museum of Art.

THE POINT WAS ALWAYS THE FOCUS, IN SPITE OF (OR MAYBE BECAUSE OF)

that it was an industrial slum of railroad yards, warehouses, and housing. Mayor Lawrence was born in the Point neighborhood in 1889 but by the end of the World War II, it was a far cry from earlier days when its Exposition Society buildings were the hub of Pittsburgh's social and cultural life. A group of civic leaders, inspired by the success of Philadelphia's 1876 Centennial Exposition, formed the Pittsburgh Exposition Society in 1889 to raise \$450,000 to build three giant structures between the Allegheny River and the freight yards—Exposition Hall, Mechanical Hall, and Music Hall. Even when fire destroyed Music Hall in 1900, money was raised to build “an even more splendid monument” at a cost of \$600,000.



Later, civic officials began seeking help from outside planners, including Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., son of the designer of New York City's Central Park, but neither Olmsted's proposals nor those of others were ever accepted. In 1939, the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association raised \$50,000 to retain Robert Moses, famed commissioner of parks and parkways of New York, “to investigate the arterial problems of Pittsburgh, with particular reference to conditions in the Triangle.” Moses wanted to remove the “dead or dying” railroad properties, but he also rejected the idea of tearing down the Manchester and Point bridges in order to rehabilitate historic Fort Pitt. Moses held that “traffic rather than history must be the decisive factor in the reconstruction of the apex of the Pittsburgh Triangle and in the establishment of Point Park.”

While the Moses plan didn't fly either, it did concentrate Pittsburghers' attention on the need to confront the city's problems. If nothing else, the St. Patrick's Day floods of 1936, which inundated large areas of downtown, had been sufficient notice that action no longer could be delayed.

Most significant, in July 1941, the City Council passed a strong anti-smoke ordinance, based on a St. Louis model. The St. Louis theory was that if water could be rendered potable by removing impurities before distribution, then air could be cleansed by controlling the quality of fuel before consumption.² Five months later came Pearl Harbor, and all plans were shelved as Pittsburgh turned its attention, as in previous wars, to being the nation's “Forge of Democracy.”

The circumstances of the war helped shape the transforming events after the end of the conflict. The story is that when the industrialist Richard King Mellon went into the U.S. Army as a transportation officer (the reason he thereafter was addressed as General Mellon), he realized that he could no longer personally run all the corporations in his conglomerate empire. But when he began to search for executives to head his Pittsburgh-headquartered firms, he found that most of the highly capable men he sought had no interest in moving to “smoky Pittsburgh.” And if they did, their wives balked. “Go to Pittsburgh and you divorce me first” was the apocryphal line related in subsequent years. Executive prospects and their wives

Far left: Man on Webster Avenue near Fullerton Street, Hill District. James P. Blair. September 1952. The project intern, Blair honed his skills under Stryker, who was more of a teacher or father figure than a boss, exemplified by an “ability to teach photographers to see with an informed and sympathetic eye,” say Schulz and Plattner. Blair was known for “approaching people directly in the summer days before air conditioning when men, women, and children sat on the stoops hoping to catch a cool breeze.” **Near left: Girl at the door, Woods Run District. Esther Bubley. May-June 1950.** Bubley “proved to be a versatile photographer with a great warmth of understanding for humanity,” say Schulz and Plattner. “She developed a remarkable ability to put her subjects—particularly children—at ease, becoming almost invisible . . . Her pictures had an uncanny way of reflecting her subjects, rather than interpreting them.” **Right: Three galvanized wash tubs, behind the 2200 block of Forbes Avenue. Richard Saunders. April 1951.** Stryker had a knack for matching the right person to the job. Saunders, a black lensman, shot the African American Lower Hill District, to be razed for an arena. Saunders moved into the home of the city's first black fire lieutenant, who gave him community entrée and a heads up with the police, likely to question an African American man walking the streets with cameras around his neck. A group of boys caught Saunders' eye stripping brass, copper, lead pipes, and window sash weights from soon-to-be demolished buildings, to earn money for their families. A wrecking crew foreman told him, “The kids do a better job on these old houses than the crew of men I have working for me—they take out all the plumbing and fixtures overnight! By morning we don't have a thing to do, just pull the house down.” Saunders spent two weeks photographing one of the boys at home with his mother and eight other children, “ill-fed, ill-housed [with] never enough clothing to cover their frail bodies.”





Above: Storefront of a Giant Eagle Market. Elliott Erwit. October 1950. Stryker paid premium New York rates for his top lensmen (while saving money with up-and-comers), partly why he went over budget the first year—an ominous sign despite the success of his Museum of Art exhibit, which drew 42,000 over a seven-month run. **Right: Children watching television in the window of a store on East Ohio Street. Regina Fisher. August 1951.** Fisher trained as an artist, not a photographer. “I never used a light meter in my life,” she said. “I couldn’t have read one.” A “heavy shooter,” she relied on gut reaction. “Stryker said my first day, ‘Film is cheap but your time is not. So [use] as much as you want.’ I had never worked with a generous amount of materials. It is the key to gut photography, because you take chances. You see something happening. You’re not quite sure. You press the camera button, and your gut tells you something’s going on, and you know if you wait longer, it’s gone.” A shot of Fisher squinting into her camera graced the cover of the 1951 *Life* young photographers’ issue, which was dominated by Stryker staffers. “He really didn’t care much about your photographs,” she recalled. “He cared more about you and how you thought.”

were all too well aware of Pittsburgh’s reputation as a city where automobile lights often were necessary at noon because of the smoke and where businessmen took an extra white shirt to work for a change before going to lunch.

At that point, Mellon is said to have realized that either something had to be done or he would need to move his headquarters. With Mellon’s crucial backing, the result was the 1943 formation of the Citizens Sponsoring Committee on Postwar Planning, later renamed the Allegheny Conference on Community Development, soon a powerhouse emulated in other communities across the county.

From the beginning, the effectiveness of the conference was fortified not only by the dominating power of Mellon but by two other

simple rules. One was that its board was composed of the heads of corporations, never the lower ranking officers. Second, a CEO could not send a substitute. Under the procedure, board members were in a put-up-or-shut-up situation. Decisions could be made on the spot.

When the war ended, Pittsburgh was exhausted. The city was full of smoke and work-worn plants desperately needing renewal. Its workforce was tired, eager to catch up on the compensation virtually frozen during the war, and fearful of layoffs and another depression. It was a city where there had been almost nothing new in public or private amenities since before the stock market collapse of 1929. At the same time, Pittsburgh, populated with defense industries, shared in the can-do optimism that was a legacy of the war effort.



In that setting, 1946 became what civic leader Robert Pease calls “the seminal year.” After the numerous attempts to solve problems via the “voluntary” sector, “the post-World War II business elite understood that private economic objectives necessitated a dramatic expansion of public powers and expenditures.”³ The Allegheny Conference set an agenda focused on three major goals. One was flood control; this effort required action in Washington, DC, to secure congressional funding for upstream dams and reservoirs. Second was revival of the smoke-control movement, which meant working with city government. And third was the revival of downtown, centering first on some kind of park at the Point. Again, this would require working with government through its powers of eminent domain, whether with local government, with Washington on the possibility of a national park, or with the commonwealth for a state park.

Edgar Kaufmann, the department store magnate, commissioned Frank Lloyd Wright to draft a park plan (in the 1930s, Kaufmann had hired Wright to design his vacation home, Fallingwater). Wright came up with a huge structure that would have covered most of the

site. “It showed a huge, slope-sided, tiered, circular main building at the Point, one-fifth of a mile in diameter and 175 feet high [with] 13 levels.”⁴ It perhaps is best described as a ziggurat, a gigantic cone-shaped structure that was the temple tower edifice of the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians. Kaufmann immediately recognized that the Wright plan would never do and stuffed it in a drawer without showing it to any of his fellow business leaders. The commonwealth selected the Point to be a state park, a quiet recreation area.

Meanwhile, the conference team was fashioning an approach that was to become a model for the development of American cities. The first step was the establishment of the Urban Redevelopment Authority. As for the legality of the extensive amount of property condemnation necessary, the path seemed clear because the land was being taken for a public purpose. But Pittsburgh’s leadership had embarked upon a revolutionary, risky endeavor: transforming the area beyond the park. They planned to clear land for Gateway Center—a set of skyscraper business buildings—to signal in a physical way a changed Pittsburgh, fulfilling what came to be called the first Pittsburgh Renaissance.



Above: Near the Tenth Street Bridge, South Side. Elliott Erwitt. October 1950. Although only on the job four months before being drafted, Erwitt did some of his best work during this formative period.

From time immemorial, there had been no question concerning the right of kings and governments to condemn private property for public purpose. But what the city planners now proposed was something quite new—condemning private property belonging to one set of owners to turn it over, in the name of the public good, to another set of private owners.

On July 29, 1947, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court upheld the state's 1945 Redevelopment Act, and the way was paved for the Urban Redevelopment Authority to sell to "civic minded" citizens a \$150,000 bond issue, the first long-term urban redevelopment authority debt ever issued in the United States.



Not everyone was happy about it, particularly those in the four-block area scheduled to become Gateway Center. Historian Roy Lubove had a more sardonic description: “In essence, the Pittsburgh Renaissance represented a response to a crisis situation, one that precipitated a dramatic expansion of public enterprise and investment to serve corporate needs. It established a reverse welfare state.” This bothered many. They agreed that while the area condemned for the park clearly was blighted, the 23 acre site proposed for Gateway Center clearly was not.

Not surprisingly, property owners and businesses had particular qualms. According to Rachel Ballier Colker, “Over 80 buildings, some estimated to be a century old and others only 25 years old, stood on land selected for Gateway Center’s three office buildings and a plaza. The congested urban area had some dilapidated and abandoned structures, but many buildings housed thriving businesses and professional office space. Many protested that although Gateway Center was intended to improve conditions within the urban district, the plan overlooked more valuable aspects of the community. The president of the Congress of Women’s Clubs, located in a building designated for demolition, testified: ‘We’ve heard lots about greenery, but not a word about women. We’ve been at 408 Penn Avenue for 26 years, yet your plans make no place for a more essential factor, women and their welfare work.’”

The same block was the location of the elegant Mayfair Hotel. Built in 1895, it had the only rooftop restaurant in the city, as well as a popular basement lounge, the Bradford Grille. But, in common with almost every later assessment, the writer of this magazine article concludes: “In retrospect, few would argue that the overall plan was not a success.”⁵

While the eminent domain question worked its way through the courts, plans went ahead both for the park and for what would become Gateway Center. But the Renaissance also went beyond the Golden Triangle. The assistance that the URA gave to the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corporation, though less publicized, was nonetheless critical in the city’s economic growth.

Below: Patients and their parents in group therapy, Childrens Hospital. Esther Bubley. November 1951. Bubley—frustrated over having to shoot parks, diners, and the like while the men clambered up scaffolds to take dramatic construction shots—was assigned to build a photographic file showcasing the contributions of the city’s Community Chest agencies. She roomed at the hospital for three weeks, winning the trust of patients and doctors while witnessing diabetic children learn to inject insulin and a small boy succumb to cancer. The Museum of Modern Art purchased prints of her entire series—850 photographs.

The magnitude of the project and speed with which it was accomplished were remarkable. Gateway Center included three 20- to 24-story cruciform stainless steel office buildings that opened in 1952 and 1953. These were followed by a state office building, a Hilton Hotel, and two more skyscrapers, the stainless-steel U.S. Steel-Mellon Bank Building and the aluminum-sheathed Alcoa Building. These two structures overlook Mellon Square, a small but attractive addition to the downtown landscape.⁶

After Demolition Day launched the building-wrecking, structural plans for the razed buildings were carefully made in case they had to be rebuilt if the court effort failed. Many in hindsight felt such a restoration project would have been almost impossible, but the fact that such contingency measures were followed is a sign both of the uncertainty involved as well as of the unusual faith of Pittsburgh leadership that ultimately all would be well.

Indeed, eight months before the U.S. Supreme Court finally spoke, there was a day that some historians rank in importance above Demolition Day: February 14, 1950, when all the legal documents for Point State Park and Gateway Center were signed by state, city, and business officials. Reporter Mel Seidenberg’s front page story in the *Post-Gazette* read: “On a 23 acre site adjacent to the Point Park development will rise, by 1952, the Pittsburgh dream—a landscaped ‘Gateway Center,’ complete with three 20 story office skyscrapers.” The newspaper carried a picture of 22 persons signing the legal documents. The caption read: “It was a happy and momentous occasion for all concerned with Pittsburgh’s progress.”⁷



Gateway Center Demolition Area. Elliott Erwitt. October 1950.
"Many of [Erwitt's] best Pittsburgh photographs present the viewer with powerful contradictions," say Schulz and Plattner.



JUST TO THE EAST OF DOWNTOWN WAS THE LOWER HILL DISTRICT, AN AREA that contained an unusual combination of appalling slum conditions and a vibrant black commercial and entertainment corridor, with shops and bar-restaurants famous across the nation for their jazz. The area, once the neighborhood for Jews, Slavs, and other Eastern European residents, was segregated but open to whites for shopping and bar hopping. Many of the photos in the Stryker group were

taken there, a decade before the area was razed and its culture largely obliterated to make way for the Civic Arena.

Many of the 8,000 residents “lived in slum conditions perpetuated by absentee slumlord owners, with outhouses not uncommon among dwellings built in the 19th century for low-paid workers. [There was] lots of gambling, prostitution, rooming houses, small hotels, and various institutions serving needy families and single men, such as the Pittsburgh Association for the Improvement of the Poor, the YMCA, churches, and other organizations.”⁸ These conditions provided the legal rationale for razing the Lower Hill in the name of urban redevelopment.

When the Stryker photography team arrived in Pittsburgh, there were only three public pools in the city where black people could swim—two in the Lower Hill District and what was then called “The Inkwel” on Washington Boulevard near East Liberty. Swimming pools had been a continuous flash point in race relations.

According to Walter Worthington, the Washington Boulevard pool was a source of friction from the time it first opened in 1927. He recalls being beaten in the summer of 1932 by policemen when he and a friend tried to swim there. Sporadic efforts at desegregation after that continually failed.⁹ Later, after World War II, the matter would become entangled with anti-Communist politics. During the 1948 presidential campaign, a group called “Young Progressives for [Henry] Wallace” set out to establish “the rights of negroes to swim at Highland Pool.” A biracial group would appear on Sunday afternoons, only to be quick-

ly confronted by an angry white crowd. On August 22, 16 of the Progressives were arrested.¹⁰

The media had a field day linking race, Reds, and riots, as typified by a *Pittsburgh Press* headline: “Highland Pool Red Riot Cost City \$8000 . . . Commies Call Tune at Taxpayer Expense.” The story commenced, “Pittsburgh taxpayers found out today how much it costs to finance a successful Communist ‘incident.’ The bill for rioting at Highland Park swimming pool . . . came to a cool \$8,000 for extra police protection alone.” The bill in question was the cost for more than 150 city policemen, some in swimsuits, assigned to the pool to maintain order and “to escort Negroes from trolley stops a quarter mile away from the pool.”¹¹



Watching a fire on Diamond Street. Clyde Hare. July 1952. For Hare, shooting Pittsburgh was a lifelong passion; the 1990s saw the publishing of his book, *Clyde Hare's Pittsburgh*.



Above: Remains of a warehouse being razed for Point State Park, with Gateway Center rising in the background and the roof of the colonial Fort Pitt blockhouse barely visible at right. Clyde Hare. February 1952. The Pittsburgh Photographic Library, despite grand intentions, ended all too soon as funds ran out and the reality set in that it could not support itself. "Roy Stryker was a genius at training and directing photographers," say Schulz and Plattner. "But he had no experience as a fundraiser, nor any desire to become one." Explanations are many for the project's demise: the backers were only interested in publicity; Stryker's New Deal past and reform interest were doubly suspect; and—given Pittsburgh's conservative work ethic—he didn't seem to be doing anything in his office sanctuary, removed from the streets of the city.



IN THE SUMMER OF 1950, PITTSBURGH WAS CHANGING BUT WITH MANY more changes yet to come, both for the better and for worse. John P. Rubin, executive director of the Urban Redevelopment Authority at the time, regrets that the clearance and rebuilding didn't extend Gateway Center farther into the tangled warren of streets and buildings eastward. But that view is disputed by Arthur Ziegler, executive

director of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation, who contends that such a move would have destroyed what he considers the most viable, interesting area of downtown in the 1990s, the Forbes Avenue corridor between Stanwix and Grant.¹²

Instead of a Gateway Center expansion, the authority's efforts leapfrogged to the Lower Hill and, eventually, elsewhere. In the 1960s, those moves were to spawn a countermovement—epitomized by the formation of the landmarks foundation—of citizen interests that questioned the wholesale redevelopment of neighborhoods.

The civil rights movement opened up accommodations and broadened job opportunities for the minority population. The good fortune was to last until the steel mills and related manufacturing plants began closing in the early 1980s. The dream of a cultural acropolis in what had been the Lower Hill was abandoned for financial reasons. That, in turn, prompted H.J. Heinz II in the 1960s to turn his attention to renovating the former Penn-Loew's Theater into a hall for the Pittsburgh Symphony and other performing groups, which spurred in the 1980s the development of the cultural district that now lies to the east.

By whatever measure, the early 1950s were critical times in the history of 20th century Pittsburgh and, indeed, in the history of cities around the world—crucial years captured in the rich assortment of photographs that became the Pittsburgh Photographic Library.

Adapted from *Witness to the Fifties: The Pittsburgh Photographic Library, 1950-53*, © 1999 University of Pittsburgh Press, excerpted by permission. Clarke Thomas, author of a series of books on the city, was a senior editor at the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. For a look at Pittsburgh in the prewar era, see the companion volume *Luke Swank: Modernist Photographer* by Howard Bossen, also from the Press.

Notes

1. News stories cited in the account of Demolition Day that follows are from the May 17, 18, and 19 (1950) issues of the *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, the *Pittsburgh Press*, and the *Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph*.
2. Joel Tarr, *The Search for the Ultimate Sink: Urban Pollution in Historical Perspective* (Akron: Akron University Press, 1996), 3.
3. Roy Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), 105.
4. Robert C. Alberts, *The Shaping of the Point* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), 92, 96.
5. Rachel Ballier Colker, "Gaining Gateway Center: Eminent Domain, Redevelopment, and Resistance," *Pittsburgh History*, 78:3 (Fall 1995), 134-44.
6. Lubove, *Twentieth-Century Pittsburgh*, 124-26.
7. *Pittsburgh Post Gazette*, February 14, 1950.
8. Aldo Colautti, interview with Clarke Thomas, Pittsburgh, October 23, 1997. Colautti, then a *Post Gazette* reporter, later was to be executive secretary to Mayor Joseph Barr.
9. Walter Worthington, Hill District businessman and amateur historian, interview with Clarke Thomas, Pittsburgh, November 9, 1997.
10. *Pittsburgh Press*, August 23, 1948.
11. *Pittsburgh Press*, February 18, 1950.
12. Clarke Thomas interview with Arthur Ziegler, Pittsburgh, September 15, 1997. Ziegler is a founder and president of the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation.