TWO images of Pittsburgh—one as a smoky city and the other as a great workshop—emerge from nineteenth-century literature. As early as 1816 inhabitants and visitors alike commented on the cloud of smoke which obscured the natural beauty of the city's landscape and tainted all buildings with a gray-black color. Pittsburgh's first newspaper publisher, Zadok Cramer, wrote dejectedly in his Navigator: "Smoke overhangs this town and descends in the form of fine dust, which blackens every object."1 A traveler complained in the same year: "Dark dense smoke . . . rendered it [Pittsburgh] singularly gloomy."2

As the number of manufacturing enterprises increased, local city boosters began to answer these criticisms. They proclaimed the benefits of smoke as treatment for "lung and cutaneous diseases."3 Unlike these boosters, visitors decried the smoky conditions they experienced upon entering the city. In the 1880s Willard Glazier visited a number of American cities and recorded their peculiarities. About Pittsburgh, he concluded in 1883, "the smoke sinks, and mingling with the moisture in the air, becomes . . . a consistency which may almost be felt as well as seen. . . . In truth, Pittsburg is a smoky, dismal city, at her best."4 This negative image of the city clashed with a dominant eighteenth- and nineteenth-century image

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2 David Thomas, Travels Through the Western Country in the Summer of 1816 (Auburn, N.Y., 1819), 50, 59. See also, John Duffy, "Hogs, Dogs, and Dirt," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXVII (July, 1963), 294-295.
of America as Arcadia—an unspoiled land of small towns and farms, artisans and yeomen.5

Pittsburgh's rapid industrialization and urbanization accentuated its image as a great workshop and minimized the significance of the city's smoky conditions. Visitors who described the bleak atmosphere in Pittsburgh also marveled at "this gigantic workshop. . ."6 During the fifty years from 1851 to 1900 the number of iron and steel mills in Pittsburgh increased from twenty-five to ninety-four. Employment in these mills rose from 5,500 in 1851 to 45,097 in 1900.7 By the latter year the city contained a total of 928 manufacturing enterprises. The population grew rapidly from 49,000 in 1860 to 534,000 by 1910.8 In 1910 almost 45 percent of the city's inhabitants were employed in industry. A positive industrial image of Pittsburgh reflected this growth. The image expanded from a large workshop in 1810 to a "gigantic workshop. . ."9 in 1883. Pittsburgh's positive image complemented the emerging nineteenth-century image of America as an industrial power.

This paper examines the efforts of the business elite to promote Pittsburgh's industrial prowess during the twentieth century. Writing in professional journals and business magazines at the beginning of the twentieth century, the elite disseminated an image of their city as the workshop of the world. Between the world wars this elite attempted to neutralize the negative image unintentionally created by two critical investigations of the city: The Pittsburgh Survey (1907-1914) and the Olmstead Report (1911). They stressed Pittsburgh's industrial strength and its civic consciousness. Then the city's dominant industrial image was shattered by the Great Depression and its aftermath. Economic collapse revived Pittsburgh's negative image as the smoky city. The business elite created a new image of Pittsburgh as the Renaissance City during the years after World War II.

6 Glazier, Peculiarities, 333.
7 George H. Thurston, Pittsburgh As It Is; or, Facts and Figures (Pittsburgh, 1857), 111; Stefan Lorant, Pittsburgh: The Story of An American City (New York, 1966), 460-472.
In 1901 a series of articles about industrial Pittsburgh began to appear in national journals and magazines. These articles combined the elements of coal and smoke as symbols of the city's bountiful natural resources, with the human qualities of inventiveness and hard work as symbols of Pittsburgh's industrial superiority. Together these symbols equalled economic progress and financial success.

Pittsburgh's iron magnate, William L. Scaife, began the national promotion campaign. The city's wealth in natural resources, especially coal, provided the source for his image. Having tapped the Pittsburgh seam, the city supplied one-fifth of the nation's total output of coal. This natural resource and its waste product, smoke, led Scaife to assert:

One . . . cannot fail to recognize the prime mover in this intense industrial drama . . . The housetops and hillsides wear its colors, and numberless columns, like gigantic organ pipes, breathe forth graceful plumes of black and white. The city and its environs bear testimony to the sovereignty of Coal. 10

Pittsburgh's boosters accepted the city as a physically dirty place. Few of them, however, believed that dirt and soot were dangerous to one's health or discomforting to the eyes and nostrils. Like their nineteenth-century counterparts, they argued that dirt, grime, and smoke were important as symbols of industrial production and growth. Visitors to the city complained about the smoky conditions, but business people typically retorted, "yes, it is smoky, but that's what makes the money." 11

By 1900 Pittsburgh had become the symbol of this nation's challenge to other countries for industrial supremacy. Gunton's magazine, secretly financed by Standard Oil, noted that in Pittsburgh "industrial establishments represent the most advanced practice in machinery, operation, and all the details of such work, every facility being presented for the adaptation of the modern products of inventive genius." 12 Pittsburgh's claim to industrial superiority made it, according to W. L. Scaife, "a new thing under the

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12 William G. Irwin, "Pittsburg, the Metropolis of Iron and Steel," Gunton's, XXVI (March, 1904), 223.
sun...entrusted with a human purpose, ...the utilization of natural forces to replace the enslavement of men."

Pittsburgh claimed the title "Workshop of the World." A logical implication in its claim to supremacy was that Pittsburgh had a twofold mission—first "the conquest of nature by intelligent energy, ..." and secondly, the production of "materials which add to the activity, comfort and happiness of millions of people ..." As a center of iron and steel, the city became a powerful, prosperous source for uplifting underdeveloped areas of the world. Pittsburgh symbolized a city with the mission of promoting progress around the world.

A number of symbols were interwoven to promote Pittsburgh's image as the workshop of the world. The workshop stimulated Pittsburgh's prosperity as measured by the production of iron and steel. This product promoted the economic progress of the world. The workshop symbolized Pittsburgh's manufacturing supremacy, its industrial independence, and its achievement. It was the symbol of success. It suggested movement, growth, and development. To muckraker Lincoln Steffens, Pittsburgh in 1903 was "hell with the lid off." But to a society, generally more concerned with industrial success than with appearances, "grimesville" was just an inevitable outcome of becoming the world's workshop.

With almost one-half of the city's inhabitants employed in industry by 1900, the symbol of hardworking Pittsburghers laboring in the workshop complemented the pervasive ethic of work in agricultural and industrial America. In addition, this symbol dramatized the human quality of a city so often identified with inanimate elements and cloaked in abstractions such as progress and success. The promotional literature asserted: "There are no idlers...in the Pittsburgh district." Even the critic, Lincoln Steffens, called Pittsburgh a "city of healthy steady men." The use of this symbol extended into the second decade of the twentieth century. While

14 J. E. McKirdy, "Pittsburg As An Industrial and Commercial Center," Review of Reviews, XXXI (January, 1905), 58. See also, Waldon Fawcett, "The Center of the World of Steel," Century, LXII (June, 1901), 189.
16 McKirdy, "Pittsburg As An Industrial and Commercial Center," 49.
18 McKirdy, "Pittsburg As An Industrial...", 58. See also, Lillian W. Betts, "Pittsburg: A City of Brain and Brawn," Outlook, LXIX (September 7, 1901), 19.
Pittsburghers were engaged in union activity which would lead to the national steel strike of 1919, they were portrayed as intense, rugged, courageous, and hard-working. The poem "Pittsburghers" read:

At present it makes coke and steel  
But one thing it has always made—men  
Men of endurance, of courage  
Who see the thing to do and do it  
Without wasting the days of life drifting.  
City of Steel, this Pittsburgh?  
Call it rather, maker of men.²⁰  

The symbols of hard work and success in the industrial sector contrasted sharply with deterioration in the social and physical sectors. Understandably, the phenomenal growth in industry prior to World War I created an aura of economic success which may have caused many members of Pittsburgh's industrial elite to ignore the physical and social decay of their city. They projected an image emphasizing the competent Pittsburgher subduing his environment and exploiting human resources for the production of iron and steel. While stressing an image of the city as the workshop, the social well-being of its citizens and the protection of the physical environment were virtually ignored.

Alarmed by the visible signs of human degradation and social decay which accompanied rapid industrialization and urbanization, a few members of Pittsburgh's business elite invited a group of social researchers to investigate conditions in the city. These investigators, stimulated by a desire among Progressive reformers to improve the quality of life for the nation's citizens, attempted to promote civic cooperation and to eliminate wasteful individualism. Their goals included adequate housing, pure food, better public health, and improved sanitation. Given this enthusiasm for reform, the Russell Sage Foundation, created in 1907 with an endowment of $10 million, attempted to improve living conditions in the United States. It conducted an investigation of Pittsburgh from 1907 to 1914. Known as The Pittsburgh Survey, its findings became a model for investigation in other cities. The foundation's social investigators were not concerned with Pittsburgh as a center of industrial activity. They concerned themselves with the impact of an industrial environment upon the people. As social investigators, their observations

²⁰ New Republic, XXI (December 3, 1919), 28.
were governed by the values of economic efficiency and social uplift.

According to these researchers, Pittsburgh’s wealth in natural resources “had only served to make this ‘workshop of the world’ a greater workshop, not . . . either beautiful or livable.” While accepting the claim made by the city’s boosters that Pittsburgh was pre-eminent in industry, the writers gave a different perspective to the meaning of life in the city. They sustained the assertion that life in the city was aggressive, individualistic, and untamed. But it was also careless, wasteful, and lacking in the civic pride necessary to prevent environmental destruction and human degradation. “Pittsburgh forgot that beside every furnace and every engine stood a man and that man was hers . . . . She has not yet learned how to work without wastefulness and destruction . . . .” The city also forgot that all houses must be supplied with water for drinking and drainage. Rubbish collection and play space for children were either inadequate or ignored.

While the investigation was underway in 1909, Mayor William A. Guthrie appointed the Civic Commission, with insurance executive H. D. W. English, local supporter of the Pittsburgh Survey, as chairman. Soon thereafter, the commission authorized Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., one of the nation’s first professional city planners and son of the famous landscape architect, to make a number of recommendations for improving the flow of traffic in the city and reconstructing the downtown district. Olmstead’s recommendations, adopted by the commission of 1910, called for the widening of streets, the elimination of the “Hump” in the downtown district, the construction of a civic center, and the renovation of waterfront properties. He reported: “Pittsburgh pavements are prevailingly bad, . . . streets are too narrow, bridges are too weak, some will be obstructions to river traffic, others are not wide enough for the free flow of traffic.”

The Pittsburgh Survey and the Olmstead report created a negative image of the city. Appearing in national journals, such as Charities and Survey, these studies unintentionally countered the elite’s efforts to promote Pittsburgh to the nation’s emerging middle and professional classes. In an attempt to revitalize the city’s sagging

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22 Kellogg, Pittsburgh Survey, I, 923.
23 Frederick Law Olmstead, Pittsburgh: Main Thoroughfares and the Downtown District (Pittsburgh, 1911), 31.
image, the business elite responded by forming a citizens' committee for the express purpose of promoting the Pittsburgh plan. Presented in four short volumes, the plan adopted Olmstead's recommendations by calling for the development of new playgrounds and major streets, parks, waterways, and railroads. The major instrument for promotion was a publication called Progress. Created in 1921, and issued irregularly from 1921 to 1941, its stated purpose was "the preparation and adoption of a thorough, businesslike program of rebuilding for Pittsburgh . . . ."24

A determined core of businessmen remained active as officers of the citizens' committee for long periods. Charles D. Armstrong served as president from 1921 to 1931. R. B. Mellon was vice president for the same period. The tenure of architect and city planner Frederick Bigger dates from 1918 through 1941. The names of Wallace Richards and Richard King Mellon appear in 1937 and 1938, respectively. Richards became an executive officer, and Mellon was a director and later a president. Frederick Bigger, as city planner, helped to create the Allegheny Conference on Community Development in 1943.

The citizens committee recognized the need identified by the Survey investigators to develop civic pride. This civic awakening would act as a stimulant for implementing the Pittsburgh plan. Complementing their efforts, the reform-minded Pittsburgh chamber of commerce launched a program in January, 1926, called Pittsburgh Forward. Headlined as "the biggest community awakening in Pittsburgh's entire history," its stated purpose was "to sell Pittsburgh to Pittsburghers."25

The Pittsburgh Forward movement called for citizen support of the city plan developed by the citizens' committee. In an effort to awaken the citizens of Pittsburgh, the movement's activities included a "know your city" campaign. All products made in the city were placed on public display in the windows and on the ground floors of department stores, city buildings, and banks. Pittsburgh Forward lasted for seven weeks. During that period spokesmen delivered 188 public addresses to 36,685 people. The newspapers cooperated by giving 2,599 inches of space during the movement's last month.26

Following this intensive campaign, the chamber of commerce

24 Progress, I (January, 1921), 4.
25 Pittsburgh First, VII (January 23, 1926), 1; Ibid., VII (January 30, 1926), 1.
26 Ibid., VII (March 27, 1926), 5.
concluded that civic awareness had been stimulated because 3,558 new members had been added to its ranks.\textsuperscript{27} The endeavor was repeated in 1927, but only about 800 new members were added.\textsuperscript{28} These activities ended the short-lived effort on the part of the chamber to promote a civic spirit in Pittsburgh.

Equating civic spirit with membership in the chamber of commerce hampered that group’s ability to disseminate this new image of a city inhabited by cooperative, productive, and civic-spirited citizens. This limitation led it to retreat to the traditional image of the Pittsburgher as individualistic and aggressive. Once again, the spirit was defined in terms of the Pittsburgher’s prowess in the most basic industrial ventures—mining, metals, and machines.

During 1927 and 1928 a series of speeches given before the chamber of commerce and entitled “Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Spirit” identified the limited nature of the spirit. John G. Bowman’s speech, “Pittsburgh’s Contribution to Civilization,” identified the city’s spirit as “a clear sharply defined individuality which is dynamic and creative.” The spirit was manifested in “the application of creative ability to industry.”\textsuperscript{29} Thereafter, topics for speeches focused upon Carnegie, Frick, Jones, Heinz, and Westinghouse whose talents had helped to make the workshop a reality and to develop the natural resources which had made the workshop possible. The Pittsburgh spirit utilized the symbols which defined the city as the workshop of the world earlier in the century. Printed in Greater Pittsburgh, the journal of chamber of commerce members, the idea was not available for mass consumption. It became the private domain of the city’s business elite, contrary to the goals of the forward movement expressed only two years earlier.

The citizens’ committee on the city plan labored for a much longer time. Its members recognized that the development of a civic consciousness must precede any massive support for the Pittsburgh plan. By 1926 the plan had not been adopted either totally or even partially by the city government. The desire expressed in the plan for the development of new playgrounds, major streets, parks, waterways, and railroads remained unfulfilled. In 1929, Progress reported “it is easy to see why ten years of effort in Pittsburgh finds us still in the early stages of the job.”\textsuperscript{30} With the issuance of more

\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., VIII (March 13, 1927), 6.

\textsuperscript{29} John G. Bowman, “Pittsburgh’s Contribution to Civilization,” Pittsburgh and the Pittsburgh Spirit (Pittsburgh, 1928), 4, 9.

\textsuperscript{30} Progress, VI (October, 1929), 2.
discouraging Progress reports between 1929 and 1937, the publication was discontinued. No unified plan for renewing the physical environment of the city had been adopted. Without such a plan and without social and economic reforms, the image of the city was not likely to change.

The image of Pittsburgh which emerged in the 1930s and continued into the 1940s was that it was a smoky city. While people worked, Pittsburgers tolerated smoky conditions. But the impact of the Great Depression affected the entire life of the city. Now smoke symbolized only dirt and grime instead of industrial activity. Pittsburgh industry, dominated by mining, metal, and manufacturing, felt the major shock of national economic collapse. Pittsburgers questioned their sense of security and confidence in the economic system which left them jobless. The psychological wound could not have cut deeper than in the city which regarded itself as the nation’s industrial capital.

Not even World War II, during which Pittsburgh was called upon to renew its role as the workshop of the world by becoming the arsenal of democracy, could completely allay the doubts caused by the depression. The war created a transparent spirit of prosperity. Fortune magazine reported in 1941 that “On the surface this might look like golden times. But there’s a strange feeling of artificiality in the air. . . . Pittsburghers know that the times are out of joint. Somehow they’re expecting the prosperity to blow up in their faces.”31 At the end of the war Pittsburgers accepted the harsh truth. The city was older and dirtier, and no major building had been constructed in the central business district in twenty-five years. The war had caused existing industrial facilities to expand, but it had not lured new industries to the city.

The reputation of the city was further damaged by the impact of the graphic revolution in the 1930s. The image of the city perceived visually was unmistakable. Life magazine appeared in 1936 as the nation’s first photo news magazine. Within two years its circulation had climbed to 2 million.32 Pittsburgh perceived through the eyes of its cameras was not active, vigorous, and hearty.33 Rather, it was grimy, gray, dirty, and, of course, smoky. Pittsburgh-observed

31 “Pittsburgh At Capacity,” Fortune, XXIV (December, 1941), 60.
33 Lorant, Pittsburgh, 364-365, 374-375. Aerial photographs of Pittsburgh taken in 1936 and 1944 by Margaret Bourke-White for Life magazine depicted the smoky conditions of the city.
visually reinforced the sober description of the city revealed by the *Pittsburgh Survey* (1907-1914) and by the one-line jokes of comedians about "smoke gets in your eyes" and this "three-shirts-a-day town." By 1947 the Econometric Institute of New York, specialists in industrial surveys, reported that Pittsburgh's reputation among Americans had reached an all-time low. Americans generally agreed that:

- It is a smoky, dirty, industrial city.
- Its housing facilities are inadequate and obsolete.
- It is a center of constant labor unrest.
- It is a poor place to live.
- Its weather is generally bad.
- It ranks low in cultural assets.\(^3\)\(^4\)

In addition to visual information, Pittsburgh's image as the workshop of the world had been challenged by external competition, threatened by internal strife, and shaken by the Great Depression. As a result, industries were contemplating a move to other locations.\(^3\)\(^5\) The reasons for moving were many and complex, and they had been building to a crescendo for a number of years. Since the famous flood on Saint Patrick's Day, 1936, which inundated the Golden Triangle, property values had dropped at the rate of $10 million a year. This financial loss was coupled with another deficit caused by the post-war industrial development of the South and the West. *Business Week* concluded in 1949 that Pittsburgh must "reach out farther and farther for its market. . . ." Coincidental with the growth of steel-consuming industries in the South and West was the rise of steel producers closer to these markets. So Pittsburgh had to "assume a greater and greater competitive disadvantage in transportation charges."\(^3\)\(^6\) The pattern of industrial decentralization had damaged Pittsburgh's industrial image.

The city's image as the home of hard-working laborers was negated temporarily by the growing number of strikes which plagued the city in 1946. For outsiders, Pittsburgh became known as a "strike-happy labor town."\(^3\)\(^7\) Labor difficulties were not new in

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\(^3\) The Econometric Institute, *The Long Range Outlook for the Pittsburgh Industrial Area: A Comprehensive Survey of the Magnitude and Control of Economic and Operational Factors Affecting This Area* (New York, 1947), quoted in *Greater Pittsburgh*, XXVIII (December, 1947), 20.


\(^5\) "Pittsburgh Remodels Itself," *Business Week* (March 12, 1949), 68.

Pittsburgh. Yet, the continuous pattern of strikes in Pittsburgh during 1946 had demoralized its inhabitants. Four times in that year strikes paralyzed heavy industry. A steel strike lasted twenty-six days. The coal miners struck for fifty-nine days. The electric lights went out in the city for twenty-seven days. Westinghouse closed its doors for one hundred and fifteen days because of a union walkout. An assortment of eighty-one other work stoppages plagued the city during that same year.

Problems created by years of accumulated internal neglect, buttressed and reinforced by the more recent challenges of big labor and capital, demanded action. The city’s survival was at stake. Some predicted that the city would become a ghost town unless action was taken to relieve air and water pollution, a housing shortage spanning the half-century, and traffic snarls. Pittsburgh had “all the accumulating ills of aging urban areas everywhere, but with a special, harsh, industrial edge in Pittsburgh’s rugged topography.”

In response to these problems, the city’s business elite once again joined together in 1943 to form the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD). Led by Richard King Mellon and receiving support from corporation chairmen acting as functioning members of the executive committee, the conference “engaged in a tremendous effort to remake the face, and in some part the physical structure, of their city . . . and generally to change Pittsburgh’s longstanding reputation as one of the least inviting urban sites in the nation.” With a powerful assist from the city’s Mayor David L. Lawrence, in 1946 Pittsburgh entered “one of the most dramatic periods of municipal renaissance . . .”

Historically, the promotion of a positive image of Pittsburgh had been determined by the actions of the business elite. Their decision to change the city’s dismal reputation in the 1940s by adopting a

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40 *Fortune*, XXXV (February, 1947), 69.
41 *Saturday Evening Post*, CCXIX (August 3, 1946), 46.
new image for Pittsburgh, namely the Renaissance city, reflected their perception of the magnitude of the business crisis gripping the city. By changing the city's image and by enlisting the assistance of the city government, they hoped to hold industries which threatened to leave Pittsburgh and to attract new ones. In the 1920s city government had failed to respond to the appeals made by the citizens' committee to make the city more efficient by rehabilitating its waterways, railroads, and streets and more beautiful by developing a system of parks and play areas. In turn, the chamber of commerce had sought to revitalize the city's traditional industrial image.

Changes in economic conditions, however, may not fully explain the decision to adopt the term renaissance to symbolize the city's rebirth. Possibly, the use of the term represented an appeal to established business and professional classes. Post-war professionals were generally too affluent to make decisions based solely upon job opportunities. Now they made choices about settlement based upon amenities such as a city's physical attractiveness, its cultural assets, and the availability of adequate housing.

To promote Pittsburgh as America's Renaissance City, the range of symbols selected for the new image changed. The redeveloped downtown business district, known as The Golden Triangle, was elevated to a position of prominence in the city's imagery. Symbolized by new office buildings constructed with aluminum and steel, and old ones reconditioned by sandblasting, the area evoked an antiseptic quality. Combined with the city's cleaner air achieved by the passage of a new smoke abatement ordinance in 1946 which effectively controlled the burning of soft coal, the Golden Triangle epitomized Pittsburgh's new cleanliness. Its natural site, where the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers converge to form the Ohio River, complemented the rhythmic movement of people in the downtown area. Kept relatively clean by a new sewage processing plant, the rivers symbolized the active life of the area rather than physical decay. The historic point of the Golden Triangle, with its reconditioned frontier blockhouse and abundance of grass, shrubs, and trees, served to link the metropolis with its early history as a frontier town. In addition, a new artery of ground transportation linked the newly constructed Greater Pittsburgh Airport to the business life of the city. Visitors encountered Pittsburgh initially by entering this reconstructed primary center of corporate activity. The enactment of an effective smoke control ordinance and the redevelopment of the
central business district had replaced grim hopelessness about Pittsburgh's future with rekindled confidence. In 1953 a taxi driver captured the new mood by exclaiming, "Listen buddy, when you can end the smog in a city like Pittsburgh, you can do anything!"42 By 1967, 22,000 persons were employed in the Gateway Center of the central business district "compared to fewer than 4000 before 1948."43

Like previous images of Pittsburgh, the Renaissance city was part real and part ideal, part fact and part aspiration.44 Districts, edges, landmarks, and nodes were rejuvenated and elevated to positions of prominence in the urban environment.45 As symbols carefully selected by the city's business elite, they represented the rebirth of Pittsburgh. In addition, these symbols functioned to counteract the city's negative image as a smoky city and as an unsuitable place for financial investment.

In promoting Pittsburgh's new image, the business elite ignored the symbolic Pittsburgher, once a meaningful symbol of the workshop. Historically residents had been described as hard-working laborers and as aggressive, individualistic businessmen. In the 1920s the business elite made a conscious effort to create an image of the Pittsburgher as a person who possessed civic pride. Yet, the promotional campaign planned and carried out by the business elite minimized citizen involvement and participation. In addition, this new image of a citizenry possessing civic consciousness clashed with the dominant nineteenth- and early twentieth-century industrial image of Pittsburghers. Civic spirit implied leisure time for reflection and participation in civic activities. Hard-working laborers had little time to develop a civic consciousness. Finally, the image-making efforts of the business elite during the 1920s were not accompanied by the economic and environmental reforms which distinguished the work of the ACCD in the 1940s and 1950s.

By calling attention to a new set of consciously created symbols, however, Pittsburgh's new image restricted the viewer's perception of the urban landscape. The city's long-standing housing problem reflected the selective character of its new image. Business and political leaders did not ignore the problem, but they never gave it the high priority it required. As Fortune magazine had noted in

40 Lubove, Twentieth Century Pittsburgh, 128.
1947, the effort of the Allegheny conference "is likely to stand or fall on two projects alone—housing and industrial development."46 In 1963 the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association published its *Economic Study of the Pittsburgh Region*. This study revealed the limited growth of the city as an industrial center over the previous half century.47 In addition, the problem of inadequate housing in Pittsburgh, first described in the *Pittsburgh Survey* (1907-1914) and reiterated by social investigator Philip Klein in 1938, continued to plague the city's inhabitants.48 Despite a decade of activity spearheaded by ACTION-Housing of Pittsburgh, the city contained 40,500 substandard dwellings in 1967.49

Initial reforms in the environmental and economic sectors during the 1940s and 1950s buttressed the consciously created image of Pittsburgh as a Renaissance City. By reducing visible forms of environmental pollution, the city's traditional image as a smoky city was minimized. Renewal of the central business district "helped stabilize the city's supply of jobs, particularly in managerial, administrative, professional and skilled industrial occupations."50

The symbols used to promote the rebirth of Pittsburgh reflected the economic priorities of the city's business elite. Their priorities could not reverse the migration of people from the city to its surrounding residential suburbs in search of environmental, social, and educational amenities, including open space, better housing, and modern school facilities. As the population of Pittsburgh decreased almost 14 percent from 1960 to 1970, the population of its standard metropolitan statistical area decreased by only 7 percent.51 The differences in the percentage decline of the population of Pittsburgh and its metropolitan area is explained in part by the rapid population growth in some suburban communities. The rate of increase in these more prestigious locales, ranged from 25 to more than 100 percent during the same ten-year period.52 These figures suggest a dichotomy of city and suburb. As they identify changes in residence, they ignore the commuting patterns of people who live in the metropolitan area. Of the persons employed in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, more than 45 percent and 20 percent respectively

46 *Fortune*, XXXV (February, 1947), 184.
50 Ibid., 128.
52 Ibid., 902-906.
work in the city's central business district. Almost 90 percent of the 150,000 daily commuters who enter the area work, conduct personal business, and shop there. Despite the outward migration of people, daily trips into the revitalized central business district of Pittsburgh reveal its significance as a center of business and commercial activity for the greater Pittsburgh region.