route of British General Henry Proctor and the subsequent invasion and conquest of southwestern Upper Canada. The difficulties faced by the officers and men who occupied the territory were similar to those that weakened Barclay and Proctor. And, as usually happens during war, the citizens who did not flee the area suffered painfully during the occupation. Carter-Edwards details the circumstances that unravelled into 1814 and then supports a claim that, since the British barely contested control of their lost land, the effects of Perry’s victory were negligible.

An essay of a different sort is that by Harold Langley. Editors Welsh and Skaggs obviously included it in this collection as a reminder of the efforts that led to the signing of a peace treaty that has gone unchallenged for nearly two centuries. Langley describes how the larger international context evolved before and after Barclay and Perry waged their campaigns. Readers will see numerous parallels in the negotiations between men like Gambier and Adams and the high level talks carried on in all parts of the globe today. The paper was presented at Put-in-Bay, site of Perry’s victory and the International Peace Memorial National Monument.

An objective of the symposium was “to provide a look at the possibilities of new research opportunities.” Articles mentioned above should provide a wealth of ideas for fresh historical inquiries. Two other contributions also provide an overview of the historiography of the topic and identify questions that remain to be answered. Ian Pemberton looks at how Canadians have covered the issue, while Christopher McKeel, in his “Aerial View,” summarizes the work of American authorities. Both authors conclude that much work remains to be done. In the end, Pemberton suggests: “The best books on the War of 1812 on the lakes frontier are yet to be written and published — perhaps by historians of this generation.”

To help the serious researcher or the armchair historian pursue some of the inadequately answered questions, the final three segments in this text offer a sampling of materials to be found in Canadian and American archives and in libraries and collections throughout the United States. Combined with the informative endnotes of the other articles, these references form a mini finder’s guide for material relevant to this topic. This feature of the book makes it an excellent choice for use in history courses that take detailed looks at the Lake Erie campaigns.

_War on the Great Lakes_ would make a very worthwhile addition to the shelf of any student of the 1812 War. It certainly has the qualities of the type of text that Pemberton foresaw at the end of his contribution. The articles are informative and written in an accessible manner. The book appears to have been compiled to present a layered approach to the topic; the material is at first informative, then thought-provoking, and finally helpful in pointing the directions in which further inquiries may be made. The editorial efforts of Welsh and Skaggs have produced a laudable addition to the War of 1812 historiography.

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**The Rough Road to Renaissance: Urban Revitalization in America, 1940-1985**

By Jon C. Teaford


**Perhaps** the most compelling conclusion one can draw from Jon Teaford’s brilliant analysis of the revitalization efforts of 12 northeastern American cities is that urbanization is a dynamic and often volatile process. Most students of urban society are aware that Pittsburgh achieved a remarkable rebirth during the 40-year period after World War II, up through the administration of Mayor Richard Caliguiri. Many are also aware of attempts at revitalization in numerous other cities in what is frequently called the “Rust Belt.” By comparing the efforts in each of these cities, Teaford has convincingly revealed a number of striking similarities and a few interesting differences.

Many readers of _Pittsburgh History_ are familiar with the stages of Pittsburgh’s revitalization. What we have come to know as Renaissance I was dominated by the personalities and leadership of David L. Lawrence and Richard K. Mellon and collaboration between the public and private sectors. Its focus was primarily on the central business district and the civic arena recreation project. Joseph Barr, whom Teaford unflatteringly characterizes — I think incorrectly — as “a goosestepping, unimaginative devotee of the Democratic Party machine,” carried on the work of Lawrence while attempting to deal with the urban unrest of the 1960s. Renaissance I concluded with the election of Mayor Peter Flaherty in 1970. While Flaherty headed a few projects of his own, his major agenda was to reduce the municipal budget and to eliminate what he saw as the bureaucratic stanglehold that political partisanship and special interest groups had on the city. The immensely popular Flaherty’s fiscal conservatism produced what one historian has called “the interim” between the city’s first and second redevelopment stages. When Flaherty moved on to the Washington scene in 1976, he was succeeded by City Council President Richard Caliguiri. As mayor, Caliguiri quickly brought an end to the anti-party, anti-business atmosphere in city hall, announcing that the city was ripe for another renaissance. Renaissance II in Pittsburgh continued the central city rebuilding theme started two decades earlier. In addition,
transportation improvement, neighborhood redevelopment, the creation of jobs, and the stimulation of industry became major parts of a comprehensive administrative effort. The stunning success of the city in rebuilding itself has become known throughout the nation.

What Teaford demonstrates so convincingly is that Pittsburgh was certainly not alone in its efforts, that no city enjoyed a smooth path from urban decay and deterioration to vitality and shining rebirth, and that all cities, including Pittsburgh, had numerous failures to temper the enthusiasm of its urban boosters.

Urban conditions in Pittsburgh were horrible in 1945. They were also bad in Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cleveland, Boston, and half a dozen other old northern metropolitan areas. An unhealthy environment, old and deteriorating infrastructures, outmoded transportation systems, aging and unsightly buildings, expanding slums, and a growing middle-class migration to the suburbs were common conditions throughout the industrial North. The similarity of problems led to similar actions. Real estate, business, and banking interests led the way in giving a bricks and mortar physical rejuvenation precedence over social reform. Private planning agencies and implementation groups similar to the Allegheny Conference on Community Development were started in each city. Perhaps predictably, given the interests of the prime movers, each city focused on massive commercial projects rather than on housing or neighborhood redevelopment. Crisis conditions and strong private interests, of course, were not enough. A new breed of political leader was required in each city to bring the rapidly developing plans to reality. The efforts of David Lawrence in Pittsburgh were emulated, if not always matched, by Joseph Clark in Philadelphia, Robert Wagner in New York, Raymond Tucker in St. Louis, Thomas D'Alesandro in Baltimore, and Albert Cobo in Detroit. The formula, while differing from city to city, was remarkably similar. Private funding and revenues from successful bond issues were used to clear slums and rebuild central business districts. Each city produced its showcase projects and several less spectacular ones. On the surface, each city, or at least a major section of it, had succeeded in rebuilding itself. Unfortunately, as the first era of redevelopment came to an end in the early to mid-1960s, troubling signals remained.

The middle section of Teaford's work evaluates this first redevelopment period and examines the period Pittsburghers have come to think of as the interim between the first and second renaissances. With great attention to detail, he demonstrates that the urban similarities persisted.

‘By comparing the efforts in each of these cities, Teaford has convincingly revealed a number of striking similarities and a few interesting differences.’

The initial stages of redevelopment failed to deal with the problems of deteriorating housing and neighborhoods. The infrastructure, excepting highways, remained ignored. Even in the central city, signs of decay remained. The suburban migration of middle-class residents continued, picking up steam with the completion of limited access highways and beltways. Industries, seeking cheap land and access to the interurban highway system, joined in the outward migration. Downtown hotels, retail commercial establishments, and nighttime entertainment experienced significant declines in revenue. New office buildings couldn't achieve full occupancy. Racial problems and poverty seemed to be taking control of the city. Enthusiasm for redevelopment was replaced by criticism, bankruptcies of showcase projects, and a rejection by voters of bond issues critical for financing additional projects. Even the super-highway craze fell under criticism by those who viewed it as an intentional or unintentional method of separating classes and races from each other and from commercial redevelopment projects.

Populist mayors able to take advantage of the new mood appeared in city after city. John Lindsay, Jerome Cavanaugh, Carl Stokes, and Peter Flaherty rejected the bureaucracy of parties and unions. Relying upon their glamour and affinity with the middle and lower classes, they attacked the old order, while at the same time launching a series of community and social action programs. Their well-intentioned efforts resulted in hostility from the municipal workers needed to run the cities and the alienation of the business community crucial for continued development. Eventually, as Teaford so aptly puts it, glamour lost out. In a curious coalition, organized labor, the dominant political party, and the business community joined together to bring about the defeat of one new leader after another. Deteriorating urban conditions, of course, were also major factors. A plague of municipal strikes, continued population declines, growing slums, abandoned buildings, developing porno and black exploitation film districts, a growing fear of crime, and fiscal crises in New York, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and several other cities, all contributed to the loss of confidence in the social reform-conscious mayors. A number of cities, Teaford points out, literally hit bottom.

A new era began in the early 1980s with the ascendancy of what Teaford calls the “messiah mayors.” Armed with an agenda aimed at restoring financial stability, lowering the confrontational atmosphere, and patching up the old private-public partnerships, they set about building a second central city renaissance. Like their counterparts from the '50s, they were interested in massive, glitzy office projects, municipal sport coliseums, and convention centers. However, there were significant differences. The
"messiah mayors" worked with numerous special interest groups and demonstrated a genuine concern for neighborhood redevelopment. They all attempted to balance neighborhood and downtown revitalization. Pittsburghers will be interested to know that Teaford gives the highest marks for success in this area to the Caliguiri administration (282 ff).

While clearly buoyed by the successes of this latest breed of urban leaders, Teaford concludes by sounding an ominous warning. Conditions have clearly improved, but as he notes, a world of slums exists beyond the hype and glitter. One needs only visit New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, or Detroit to see the trash, the homelessness, and the despair in the shadow of the central city redevelopment. Smaller cities, such as Pittsburgh and Baltimore, have also been unable to solve the problem of the growing underclass. In addition, manufacturing, retail business, the middle class, and tax revenues continue to leave the central city. The process continues.

Jon Teaford's work is crucial reading for anyone attempting to understand the urban process during the last half of this century. One would hope that mayors and other municipal leaders would be required to read The Rough Road to Renaissance prior to taking the oath of office. Urbanists will, of course, recognize themes and patterns which existed in the nineteenth century as well. The comparative analysis, while highlighting interesting differences from city to city, clearly demonstrates the pervasiveness of a common pattern of urbanization. That widespread social, economic, and political conditions have contributed to the development of similar solutions comes as no surprise. The strength of these similarities is made most vivid, however, by the repetition in a dozen northern cities.

Readers interested in the details of post-war urbanization and political change in a particular city may be a bit dissatisfied by Teaford's work. Its strength lies in his ability to synthesize and summarize a huge amount of data. The process and the patterns are most vividly revealed by the comparative analysis which necessarily precludes intimate detail. Those interested in the motivation of the urban leaders or the decision-making process should consult works focusing on particular cities. A useful companion piece may be Richard Bernard's Snowbelt Cities (Indiana University Press), which devotes individual chapters to nearly all the cities discussed by Teaford. The Rough Road to Renaissance, however, can clearly stand alone. It is a major contribution to the understanding of the process of urban society. It will be required reading in my classes. ■

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(Michael Weber is author of Don't Call Me Boss: David L. Lawrence, Pittsburgh's Renaissance Mayor [Pittsburgh, 1988].)

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kafenia and community: coffee houses and Greek life in Aliquippa and Ambridge, Pa., 1938-1941
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A Neighborhood, a Hollow, and the Bloomfield Bridge: The Relationship Between Community and Infrastructure
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Jack, the Plymouth, and Me
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