

2 — First Images

As manufacturing flourished in Pittsburgh, company identity and advertisements became very important. The task of creating a pictorial vocabulary for industrial activity fell to the commercial printers of ads and billheads.

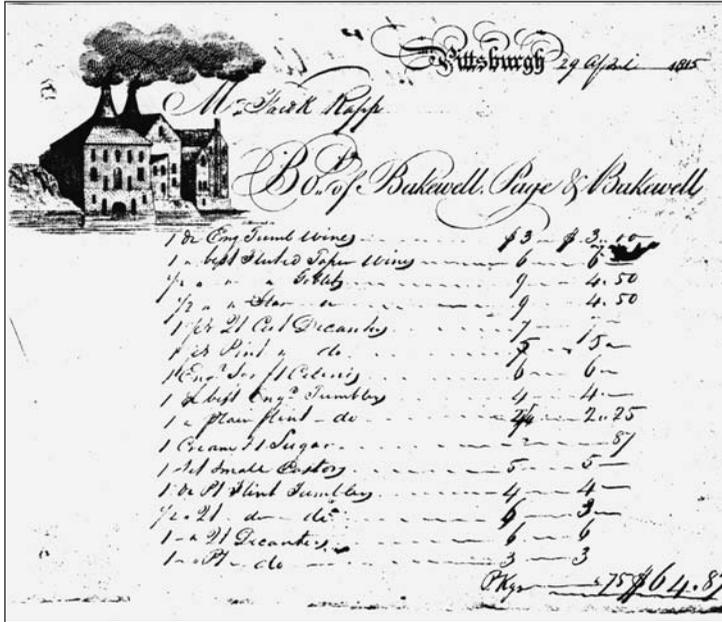
The first industrial image of this study is a billhead of the Bakewell, Page, and Bakewell Glass Company (figure 1). Since Pittsburgh had no resident engravers, Benjamin Bakewell turned to Peter Maverick, who had a shop in New Jersey that produced trade cards, billheads, banknotes, and other commercial engravings.¹ The signature, “p maverick sc” (Peter Maverick, *sculpt-sit*) appears below the image. Sometime before 1831, Bakewell added “Flint Glass” to the billhead.

The Bakewell factory on this billhead projects the impressive size of the firm’s operations. Cursive script—the pride of the Maverick workshop—and Gothic type do not soften the image of the utilitarian, undecorated, three-story complex of buildings whose two conical chimneys spew dense smoke.

When Benjamin Bakewell moved to Pittsburgh a year after the embargo of 1808 had ruined his exporting business in New York, he bought into a glass factory. Bakewell’s firm was the second glassworks in Pittsburgh and the city’s first manufacturer of flint glass.² He sought a national market and profited from the restriction of imports during the War of 1812. By 1815, Bakewell, Page, and Bakewell was known nationally for the quality of its flint glass—clear, resonant lead glass. In 1816, Benjamin Bakewell headed a local committee advocating protective tariffs, especially for the local industries most vulnerable to foreign competition: iron, glass, wool, and cotton goods.³

A decade later, an illustrated advertisement in Samuel Jones’s *Pittsburgh in the Year Eighteen Hundred and Twenty-Six* combined pride in American manufacturing with a style from the past. The advertisement for Sutton’s

FIG. 1.
Billhead of
Bakewell, Page
and Bakewell,
ca. 1815.
Engraving,
2¼" x 2¾".
Archives of the
Historical
Society of
Western
Pennsylvania.



Distillery, a wood engraving with cursive script and graceful flourishes, is in the tradition of trade cards that originated at the end of the seventeenth century in England to advertise luxury goods (figure 2). Many of the trade cards displayed the products outdoors, as here.⁴ Hovering overhead, the bald eagle of the Great Seal of the United States radiates light, holding arrows and an olive branch in its claws. The ribbon in its beak reads “American Manufactures” instead of “e pluribus unum.”

At about the same time, Russell Smith, a young Pittsburgh artist, was acknowledging industry in several youthful paintings. His life’s work developed as a designer of stage scenery, drop curtains, panoramas, and landscapes in the manner of the Hudson River school. Russell Smith’s industrial images were done during his employment in the Pittsburgh Museum of Natural History and Gallery of Fine Art, which the artist James Reid Lambdin opened on September 28, 1828. Lambdin had spent a year in Philadelphia learning to paint portraits from Thomas Sully. On his return to Pittsburgh, he opened a small Pittsburgh museum modeled on Charles Willson Peale’s Philadelphia Museum, which combined an art gallery and natural history display.⁵ In February 1829, Russell Smith’s mother apprenticed her seventeen-year-old son to Lambdin to learn the art of painting. Russell showed talent, and perhaps she thought that being an artist was the least taxing occupation for her frail son. Russell Smith was ten when his family left Glasgow, Scotland. After a year on a farm in central Pennsylvania, the family settled in Pittsburgh in



FIG. 2.
Sutton's Distillery,
 1826.
 Wood engraving,
 5½" x 7½".
 Samuel Jones,
Pittsburgh in the
Year Eighteen
Hundred and
Twenty-Six.

1822. A sickly child, he stayed indoors reading literature and the sciences and copying the portrait engravings in Joseph Delaplaine's *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans*.⁶

Very soon, Lambdin put Russell Smith to work maintaining the museum while he traveled up and down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers seeking commissions for portraits. In April 1829, Smith helped move the museum to larger quarters where there was a meeting room for lectures and entertainments. Now the museum also functioned as an atheneum where the Philosophical Society and the Pittsburgh Reading Club met. It was during his years at the museum that Smith set about painting various sites in town, such as the oldest house still standing and the Block House of Fort Pitt. Two of these paintings show industry. Perhaps the paintings were displayed in the museum.

In 1832, Smith painted *The Aqueduct*. This covered bridge across the Allegheny River was the last lap of the four-hundred-mile Pennsylvania Main Line Canal that opened on November 10, 1829. The canal brought cargo boats from Philadelphia to their final destination in Pittsburgh. Smith's painting includes the factories that lined the Allegheny River as well as the aqueduct that connected Pittsburgh to the Main Line Canal and the East. The painting portrayed the commercial success of Pittsburgh.

There are three extant versions of the composition: a watercolor sketch (1832, Chatham College) and 1832 oil (Carnegie Museum of Art, figure 3), and



FIG. 3.
Russell Smith,
The Aqueduct,
1832.
Oil on panel,
9¾" x 13".
The Carnegie
Museum of Art,
Pittsburgh; gift
of Mary Shiras.

a painting done in 1884 (Chatham College) titled *River Scene* (plate 2). Like his other preliminary sketches, this watercolor sketch has no people. Smith added a worker to the Carnegie oil painting, done in 1832. A man on the platform of the carriage factory holds a wooden plank and a hammer. A carriage panel is on the deck; carriage wheels are below the deck. The long, enclosed aqueduct dominates the scene; the Allegheny is almost hidden by the structures in the foreground.

Fifty years later, Smith made a few significant changes in the composition he gave to the Historical Society of Pittsburgh. The worker is no longer absorbed in his task. Instead, he leans on the railing, looking down on the river. Smith raised the point of view so that the river—seen in its full sweep—becomes the real subject of the painting. In 1832, the factories and the aqueduct had been the subjects.

In all three versions, the aqueduct visually connects Pittsburgh to the Hope cotton factory in Allegheny City. The aqueduct's significance for Pittsburghers, however, was its connection to the East. The aqueduct was the final link of the Pennsylvania Main Line Canal. Pittsburgh had lobbied and

fought in the state legislature to be the canal's terminus. It would have been both efficient and economical to have the terminal basin in Allegheny City, as the canal came down the north bank of the river. Although Allegheny City built a small terminal on its side, the main terminal in Pittsburgh insured the city's growth in the following decade.⁷ After the aqueduct was finished in 1829, the newspapers published weekly reports from the basin master of the goods the canal brought to and sent from the city.

Smith could not have known in 1832 that the two factories joined in his painting faced the same future: carriages would give way to the railroad coach; the cotton factories, here represented by the Hope factory of Wrenshaw, McIlroy, & Co., would close when the Civil War cut off the supply of cotton from the South. The aqueduct itself would be replaced by the railroad. In 1857, the Pennsylvania Railroad bought the Pennsylvania Canal and used it as a track bed; the aqueduct became a railroad bridge. This may account for the subtle note of nostalgia in the 1884 version.

Smith's work in Lambdin's museum deepened his interest in natural science. In one of the drafts for a memoir he never completed, Smith remembered, "I had a natural inclination towards Science, and liked my duties and opportunities [at the museum] very much."⁸ His duties included taxidermy on animals and birds, labeling mineral specimens, arranging Indian artifacts, as well as assisting in lectures on chemistry and natural philosophy.⁹ He met geologists who came to explore the extensive Pittsburgh coal seam and assisted those who lectured at the atheneum. When Russell Smith moved to Philadelphia to work as a scenery designer for the theater impresario Francis Courtney Wemyss, another source of income for him was illustrating scientific geological lectures. His composition of the saltworks must have originated in this activity.

After the saltworks opened in 1825, the city no longer needed to import salt, a necessary and expensive commodity. One of the first Pittsburgh enterprises in the eighteenth century was the transport of salt from the east by General O'Hara. In the decade preceding 1825, the salt came from the nearby Conemaugh Valley, where the discovery of salt wells had brought prosperity. When George Anshutz Jr. (the son of George Anshutz, who opened the first smelting furnace in Pittsburgh) established his saltworks one mile away from the city at Saw Mill Run, the city benefited. Samuel Jones gave this profile in 1826: "Mr. George Anshutz, at the mouth of Saw-mill run, on the Ohio, one mile below the Point, succeeded in obtaining water of an excellent quality, at between 1 and 2 hundred feet. This water is raised by a small steam engine, and emptied into two large pans which are kept constantly boiling, together with several refining kettles. 50 bushels of salt are made per day, amounting yearly, to about 4000 barrels:—valued at 5000 dollars."¹⁰

The earliest existing version of Smith's saltworks composition is a vigorous oil sketch without figures, *Pittsburgh from the Salt Works on Saw Mill Run* (Davis Museum of Wellesley College). It is signed and dated in the lower left "R.S. 1838," and inscribed on the reverse "Painted for prof Frazer Pittsburgh, PA. Russell Smith 1840." *Pittsburgh from Saw Mill Run*, a painting in the collection of the Pittsburgh History Center, is signed and dated "Russell Smith '43." A painting in the Carnegie Museum of Art is titled *Pittsburgh Fifty Years Ago from the Salt Works on Sawmill Run* (figure 4). It is signed and dated in the lower right, "R.S./1834-84," and on the reverse, "Pittsburgh Fifty Years Ago Russell Smith 1834-84." Neither of the larger paintings has the surface exuberance of the oil sketch.

By 1838 (the date of the first sketch), Smith had been working in Philadelphia more or less steadily for four years, so the sketch was made during one of his frequent returns to Pittsburgh. He must have written the notation on the back of the sketch after the professor had returned it. "Prof. Frazer" is certainly John Fries Frazer, a geologist who participated in the Geological Survey of Pennsylvania in 1836, became professor of chemistry and natural philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 1844, and was a founder of the National Academy of Science in 1863. Dr. Frazer probably used Smith's composition for his lectures.

Geology was the most advanced science of the early nineteenth century, and it was through work in this discipline that American science established itself between 1820 and 1860.¹¹ It was the first discipline to coalesce into a professional organization. The beginning of the process was marked by Benjamin Silliman's *American Journal of Science*, which published articles largely in geology from its founding in 1818. By 1840, "a small group of working geologists . . . founded the first truly professional" scientific association in America, which by 1847 had expanded to become the American Association for the Advancement of Science.¹²

Russell Smith also supplied the illustrations for a *Geography of Pennsylvania*, published in 1843 by Charles B. Trego. One of the wood engravings in the book is after the oil sketch *Pittsburgh from the Salt Works on Saw Mill Run*.¹³ Thus the same sketch served Professor Frazer and Charles Trego. Both men were part of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey, which began in 1836 under Dr. Henry Darwin Rogers.

Smith's oil sketch includes the terrain and the city with its three rivers and the surrounding hills. But just as important as the panorama is the site. As early as April 1759, coal was mined at Saw Mill Run, supplying the army post under Colonel Hugh Mercer.¹⁴ Visitors, such as the botanist John Bartram, were taken to Saw Mill Run to marvel at the availability of so much coal so close to the surface. Alexander Hamilton recognized the value of the western



FIG. 4.
 Russell Smith,
*Pittsburgh Fifty
 Years Ago from
 the Salt Works in
 Saw Mill Run*,
 1834–1884.
 Oil on canvas,
 22³/₁₆" x 36¹/₈".
 The Carnegie
 Museum of Art,
 Pittsburgh; gift
 of the Howard
 Heinz
 Endowment.

coal seam, and in 1794, Tench Coxe commented on the Pittsburgh location: "The plenty of pit-coal in Pennsylvania will very soon give it an immense advantage over all the interior country north and east of it. . . . Of this useful fossil, Providence has given us very great quantities, in our middle and western country . . . so as to be found in the greatest plenty at Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and Youghogheny [*sic*] unite, and form the head of the Ohio."¹⁵

The dense smoke of the saltworks in the painting came from a six-horsepower coal-fueled engine that brought the salt water to the surface, where it underwent an evaporation process.¹⁶ Smith gives the smoke its full due: it is dense, heavy, and black. Upriver, more smoke weaves its various shades of gray above the city.

When Sir Charles Lyell came to America in 1840, his host in Pennsylvania was Henry Darwin Rogers, who took him on a tour of the Allegheny Mountain anthracite coalfields and later to the Pittsburgh coal seam. Russell Smith wrote that he had made lecture illustrations for Lyell as well as for Benjamin Silliman.

Lyell was impressed by Pittsburgh. In *Travels in North America* he wrote, "From the Summit of the hill, 460 feet high on the left bank of the Monongahela, we had a fine view of Pittsburg, partially concealed by the smoke of its numerous factories."¹⁷ He spelled out the meaning of the landscape: "No

idea can be formed of the importance of these American coal-seams, until we reflect on the prodigious area over which they are continuous. The boundaries of the Pittsburg seam have been determined with considerable accuracy by the Professors Rogers in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Ohio, and they have found the elliptical area which it occupies to be 225 miles in its longest diameter, while its maximum breadth is about one hundred miles, its superficial extent being about fourteen thousand square miles."¹⁸

Many sectors of society were interested in the Pittsburgh coal seam: scientists, the state government, capitalists. For geologists, it was a source of data that would confirm theories about creation and evolution as well as about the origins of fossil fuel. The state government and capitalist investors recognized its potential for development and profit.¹⁹

The importance of the Saw Mill Run site was, first, its entrance into the Pittsburgh coal seam and later as the site of the saltworks. When the salt was depleted, it became the site of a gasworks.

Circumstantial evidence ties Smith's 1843 version of the saltworks composition to geology again. That year in April, Professor Benjamin Silliman gave a course of lectures on geology in Pittsburgh, which "at least six hundred Ladies and Gentlemen" attended.²⁰ Perhaps this painting accompanied Silliman's Pittsburgh lectures. If so, Smith's addition of a genteel old man and a well-dressed young girl to this version may be an attempt to bring this image in line with the audience at the lecture. When Smith painted the 1884 version now at the Carnegie Museum of Art, he depicted plebeian figures, a man with a backpack and a man driving a horse and wagon.

On January 8, 1885, Smith presented eleven paintings to the Western Pennsylvania Historical Society of Pittsburgh through his friend General A. S. Pearson.²¹ Three days later, on January 11, "Pendennis," a columnist of the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, wrote a full-page feature about the gift, illustrated with woodcuts of the paintings (figure 5). In 1896, when the Historical Society moved into the newly built Carnegie Library, Smith's paintings were lost.²² In 1910, the *Pittsburg Dispatch* reprinted the entire page of the Pendennis feature as a way of evoking the Pittsburgh of the past.²³ Later, some of the paintings hanging in the office of Dr. William Holland, the first director of the Museum of Natural History at the Carnegie Institute, were recognized as the lost Smith paintings.²⁴ Some of the 1884 paintings subsequently entered the collection of the Carnegie Museum; others entered private collections or are still lost.

The 1910 reprint of the Pendennis column reveals that there was one exception to the double-dated canvases in Smith's gift. *Pittsburgh from Below Saw Mill Run, 1837* not only did not have the double date, it did not include the Anshutz saltworks. The double-dated canvas remained in the Smith family until 1977, when it entered the Carnegie collection. Perhaps Smith changed his

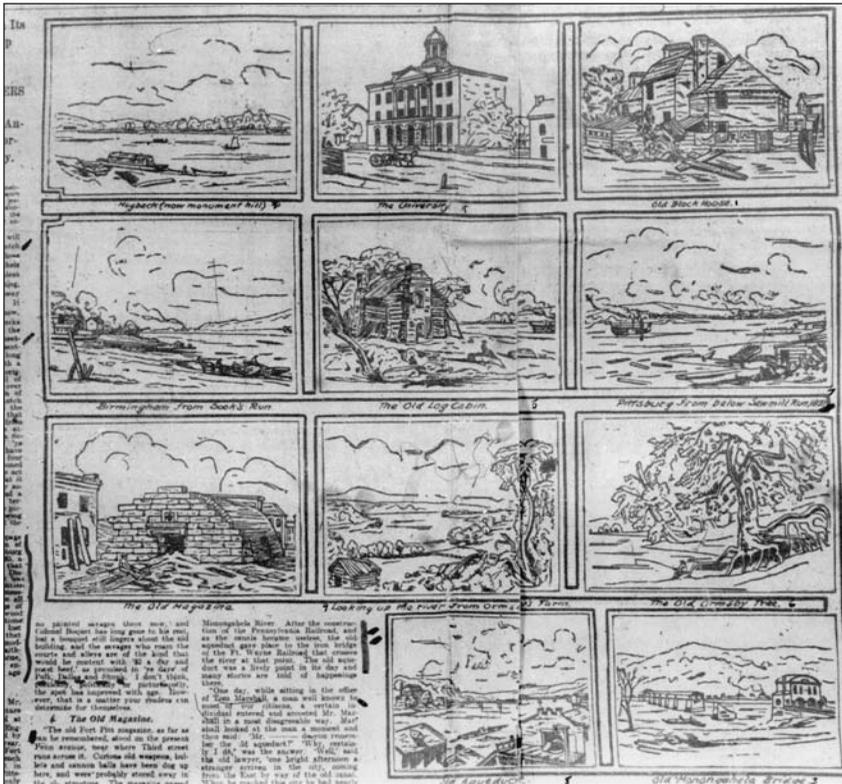


FIG. 5.
Woodcuts.
The Pittsburg Dispatch,
February 27, 1910.
Reprint of *The Sunday Dispatch*,
January 11, 1885.

mind at the last moment and kept *Pittsburgh Fifty Years Ago*. Certainly, he gave the Historical Society a composition that avoids dealing with industrial smoke and a ramshackle industrial building. Instead, he gave them a painting that would not disturb the impression, given by most of the other ten paintings, that Pittsburgh in 1834 had been an open, quiet place. Pendennis took up this theme. Commenting on *Pittsburgh from Below Sawmill Run*, he wrote, "At that time there were but few furnaces to send up their volumes of soot and smoke and the city was as quiet and clean as many of the villages of today."²⁵ Smith also kept the first oil sketch of the saltworks, which his son Xanthus Smith gave to Virginia Lewis, the author of Russell Smith's biography. She bequeathed it to Wellesley College.

Sometime in his old age, Russell Smith wrote a comment that reflects his feeling toward the city of his childhood:

With our present ideas of scientific education I see the advantages a boy enjoys brought up in a rural manufacturing town amid hills on a river, with time and an inclination to observe all the various work and materials used

in furnaces, foundries, rolling, cotton, paper planing and flouring mills. The building of churches, houses, bridges vessels and boats The making of various kinds of machinery, and the much used chemicals, of painting, dying, weaving and glass blowing, with the amusements of swimming, boating, fishing, skating and hunting—and forest wandering, that such a locality affords. And compare this with the opportunities of a man born and brought up in Chestnut or Walnut Street, (even with good schooling) (except in social acquirements) how vague his original conception [of] things and their qualities, derived from books only must be. I have long observed the result, but only now see the cause.²⁶

This attraction to the materials and procedures of work is evident in a small canvas (8 by 12 inches) done in 1847. The subject is the new Monongahela Bridge replacing a covered bridge that burned in 1845. In the painting, it is almost finished, still needing work on the south shore end. We see the raw edges of the crossbeams of the deck of the last span. The sky on the Pittsburgh side is alive with clouds of smoke rising from different manufacturing places. Russell Smith signed and dated the painting on the back “The Monongahela Bridge/Pittsburgh, Pa./ Russell Smith/1847[?]”

It is likely that when Smith moved to Philadelphia in 1834, he met Joshua Shaw. In 1836, he and Shaw went to New York to see Thomas Cole’s paintings.²⁷ Judging from the notes Smith wrote of that trip, Shaw acted as Smith’s informal mentor. Before coming to America, Joshua Shaw (1776–1860) was accused of fraud in his native England for passing off his work as the work of well-known painters. That he could do so says something about his facility. His first accomplishment on arriving in America was a book of sketches engraved by John Hill. *Picturesque Views of the United States* was published in Philadelphia in 1819 and 1820. His work was an early influence on American landscape painting.²⁸

The two sheets of pen and ink drawings, *Sketches at Pittsburgh* and *Environs of Pittsburgh* (Carnegie Museum of Art) have been tentatively dated as later than 1825.²⁹ In fact, Shaw’s first works with Pittsburgh titles were exhibited in Philadelphia in 1838. Two of the drawings have titles indicating that they were sketched in 1836: *A view of Pittsburg, from a rising ground above the canal, as it is seen on approaching the city by the Penna. Canal: with the Alleghany river in the left. Sketched on the spot in July, 1836;* and *View of Pittsburg, taken on the spot in July, 1836, from the north bank of the Ohio, a little below the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers.* The second title in particular describes the view in *Environs of Pittsburgh*. In 1840, Shaw showed a *View of Pittsburg* at the first exhibit of Artists’ and Amateurs’ Association of Philadelphia.³⁰ It is likely that Shaw’s friendship with Russell Smith prompted his visit to Pittsburgh.



FIG. 6.
Joshua Shaw, *Sketches at Pittsburgh*, 1836.
Ink and graphite on paper,
14¼" x 9¾".
The Carnegie Museum of Art,
Pittsburgh; gift of the Howard
Heinz Endowment.

Sketches at Pittsburgh (figure 6) is a sheet divided into three registers. The top section, a sketch of a steamboat, reflects a very important aspect of Pittsburgh life. The city's vitality came from its location on the three rivers; the building and use of steamboats extended the enterprises of the city. After the first steamboat went down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans in 1811, steamboat manufacturing quickly established itself in Pittsburgh.

The middle section of the sheet has the most specific image. The artist has placed himself on the roof of a small craft going down river from Pittsburgh. To the left, a large wooden house overlooks the water. A dark group of

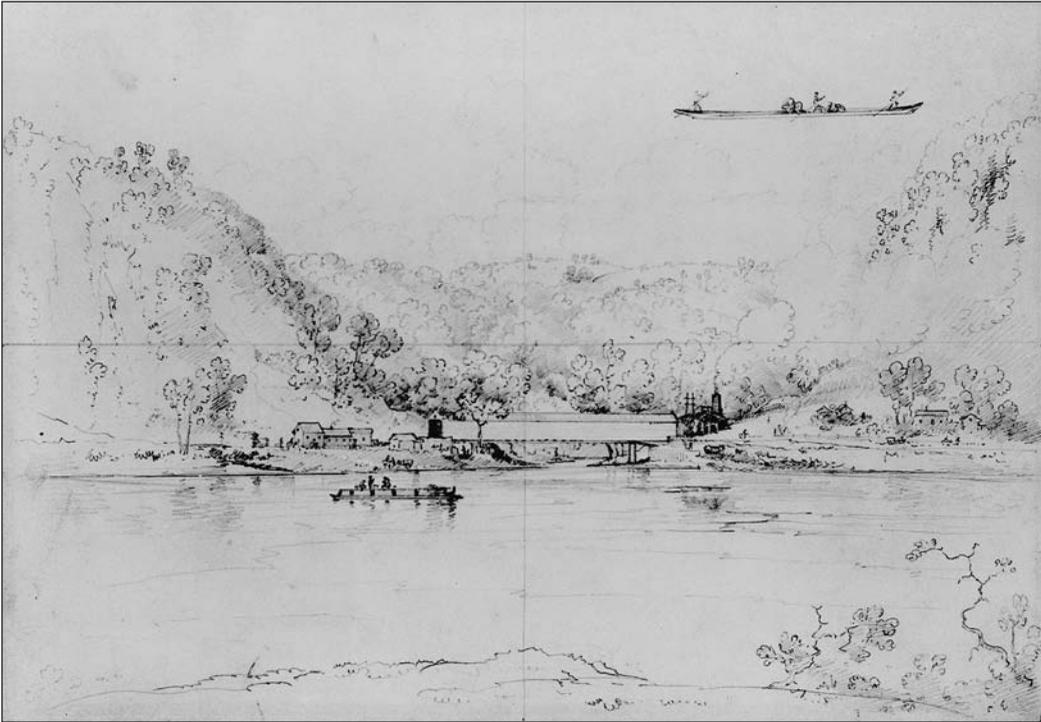


FIG. 7.
 Joshua Shaw,
*Environs of
 Pittsburgh*, 1836.
 Ink and graphite
 on paper,
 9¾" x 14".
 The Carnegie
 Museum of Art,
 Pittsburgh; gift
 of Guy R.
 Bolton.

buildings with smoking chimneys at the center of the picture indicates the saltworks. The buildings are at a distance, half hidden by the hills: they appear as a picturesque accent in a charming landscape.

With *Environs of Pittsburgh* (figure 7), Shaw deals directly with George Anshutz's saltworks as seen from the north shore of the Ohio. We see the saltworks across the wide river, just to the right of the covered bridge across Saw Mill Run. The houses along the river road are clearly indicated and the saltworks are a dark cluster of buildings from which a chimney rises, emitting lightly indicated streams of smoke. The river, the hills, and trees surround this cluster. Unlike Russell Smith, Shaw treated the saltworks in a picturesque manner.

Around 1840, the smoking chimneys of Pittsburgh began appearing in advertisements. In the 1844 *Harris's Business Directory of the Cities of Pittsburgh and Allegheny*, an American eagle stands in front of the Eagle Cotton Works of Arbuckles and Avery, a large three-story factory with a cupola at the front gable of the roof (figure 8).³¹ This eagle supports a shield with the American flag on it; the ribbon in its beak spells out "Encourage American Manufactures." The chimney spews dark smoke.



COTTON YARN,
Candle Wick, Batting, Carpet Chain,
WRAPPING YARN,
AND ALL DESCRIPTIONS OF
COTTON WARPS,
ON HAND OR MADE TO ORDER AT SHORT NOTICE.

WHITE LEAD MANUFACTURERS.
ISAAC GREGG. MORDE F. EATON.

GREGG & EATON,
MANUFACTURERS OF
**WHITE AND RED
LEAD,**
Wood Street,
PITTSBURGH, PA.

(*) Their Lead will be branded "Pearl—guarantees \$1,000."

John Hannen & Co.
MANUFACTURERS OF
WHITE & RED LEAD,
LITTLETON, CO.,
Liberty Street,
PITTSBURGH.

HILARY BRUNOT,
WHITE & RED LEAD
MANUFACTURER;
Paint and Oil Merchant,
[CORNER OF LIBERTY & CHERRY STS., (Fifth Ward)]
PITTSBURGH, PA.,
Also, at No. 26 Wood Street, **GEORGE COCHRAN, Agt.**

FIG. 8.
Arbuckles &
Avery, 1844.
Woodcut,
3½" x 4½".
Harris's Business
Directory of the
Cities of
Pittsburgh and
Allegheny, 1844.

SPADES AND SHOVELS,
fines, gaug and planer forks, &c.
No. 42 St. Clair St. near the old Allegheny Bridge,
PITTSBURGH, PA.

OX & CROCKETS,
MANUFACTURERS OF
REAR AND FOREHEAD

William Day,
William Crofts,



J. HESSEGER & SON,
MANUFACTURERS OF
HAMMERED SPADES AND SHOVELS.
HOES, HAY AND MANURE FORKS, &c.
Warehouse No 35 Wood Street,
(Second Story,) nearly opposite the St Charles Hotel.
PITTSBURGH PA.

FIG. 9.
J. Berger & Son,
1847.
Woodcut,
3¼" x 3¾".
Harris's General
Business
Directory of the
Cities of
Pittsburgh and
Allegheny with
Environs, 1847.

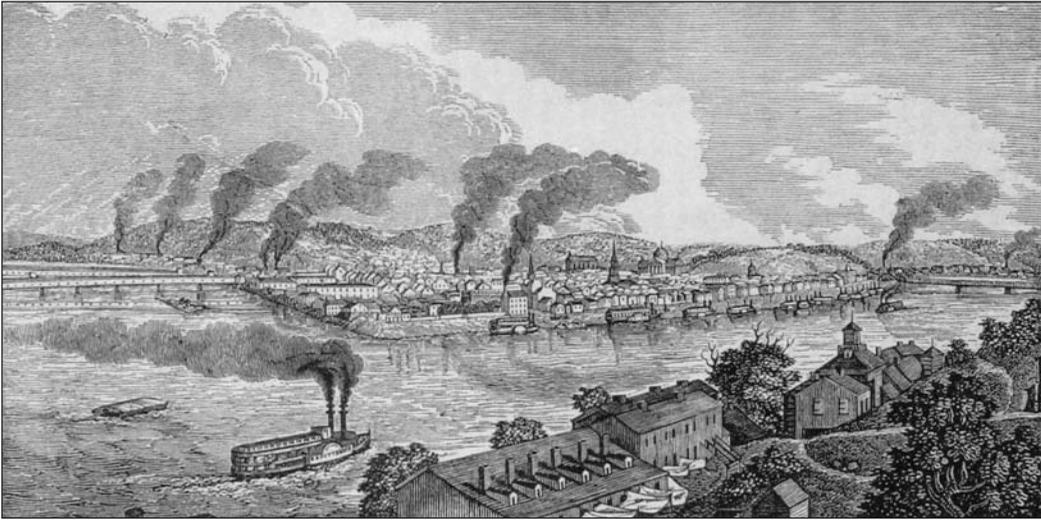


FIG. 10.

Sherman Day,
*Pittsburg, from
the Northwest*,
1843.

Wood engraving,
3¼" x 5½".
Historical
Collection of the
State of
Pennsylvania,
Philadelphia.

Most of the later images of factories are cruder and starker than the Eagle advertisement. The 1847 advertisement for J. Berger and Son, manufacturer of spades and shovels, is an example (figure 9).

In contrast to the commercial advertisements, the image of industry in Sherman Day's *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania* is in an urban context.³² *Pittsburg, from the Northwest* (figure 10) looks straight down from Coal Hill on glass factories and workers' homes on the South Side. The view includes Pittsburgh, the bridges connecting the three cities, and the smoke rising from factories. The Juniata Ironworks of Dr. Peter Schoenberger is on the Pittsburgh side of the Allegheny River; the smoke beyond the Monongahela Bridge could be from the Bakewell's glassworks and Eichenbaum's copper wire works. Trees no longer frame the view, though a few appear among the houses. The entire composition is dedicated to workshops, factories, and workers' homes. Day, who sketched this scene, wrote an instruction to the engraver of this image, "Please give to the smoke [of Pittsburgh] a graceful easy appearance. The buildings in the foreground are very dark being constantly exposed to smoke."³³

Day's book is dedicated to the needs of "the intelligent yeomanry of the state, . . . [to] awaken in their minds a spirit of inquiry into the history of their own immediate neighborhood . . . [and] more distant sections of the state."³⁴ He explains that Pittsburgh is "distinguished as the great manufacturing city of the west" because the Pittsburgh coal seam furnishes "exhaustless supplies for the manufacturers of Pittsburg, and for exportation down the river."³⁵ Day

writes of “extensive manufactories rolling out their black volumes of smoke.” He quotes the description in the *Wheeling Times* in 1841: “[From the hills one] looks down [on a] sea of smoke . . . ten thousand busy mortals . . . in pursuit of wealth, of fame, of love, and fashion.”³⁶ This wood engraving of Pittsburgh, though without animating figures, is energetic.

Sherman Day’s book was modeled on the books of his friend and colleague, John Warner Barber, who “understood the extraordinary importance of manufacturing villages in the transformation of national culture.”³⁷ Barber wrote and published *Connecticut Historical Collections* (1836), *Historical Collections of the State of New York* (1841), *Historical Collections of Massachusetts* (1844), and *Historical Collections of the State of New Jersey* (1844). He mentioned Day’s book in the preface to his New Jersey collection: “This present year [1843], a similar volume on Pennsylvania by Sherman Day, has been published.”³⁸ Day sent his sketches in the exact size of the projected woodcut to Barber for corrections and engraving. However, there is no illustration in any of the Barber books that compares with *Pittsburgh from the Northwest* in vigor and unconventionality. For that matter, no other illustration in Day’s book compares to this one.

Day’s image of Pittsburgh had a limited circulation because his book was not a profitable venture. In contrast, another image of Pittsburgh from the 1840s had a wide audience due to the economics of publishing and printing. *Pittsburgh* was painted by Frankenstein (who could be one of the Frankenstein brothers of Cincinnati, John or Godfrey) and engraved by A. W. Graham as the frontispiece to the April 1847 edition of *Graham’s Magazine* (figure 11). Whereas Day tried to capture the ambiance of a manufacturing city, Frankenstein’s image is another attempt to show the city in a picturesque way. The view is from the Ohio, near Saw Mill Run, looking back to the city along the river road. A man with oars over his shoulder walks toward the viewer; the river is filled with activity. On the south bank, a group of houses with smoking chimneys crowd the shore at a curve in the river. Civic and religious landmarks appear at the Point. Smoke rises from chimneys in the city.

One discrepancy gives a clue as to when the original sketch was done. The Monongahela Bridge is rendered as a covered bridge. Since the covered bridge was destroyed in the fire of 1845 and rebuilt as a suspension bridge by the next year, Frankenstein must have sketched the original image before 1845, though it was engraved and published in 1847.

A short poem in the magazine comments on this frontispiece.³⁹ It evokes the city’s industry: through its “keels” and its “fabrics,” Pittsburgh’s wealth reaches to “the west,” “the artic,” and “the zahara.” The poet urges the city, “Toil on, huge Cyclops as thou art / though grimed with dust and smoke.” The



FIG. II.
 Frankenstein,
Pittsburgh, 1847.
 Copper or steel
 engraving,
 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
Graham's
Magazine, April
 1847.

last stanza refers to Nature, to the beauty of the rivers and the night. Just as Frankenstein presents the city from a distance, surrounded by hills and rivers, so the poet frames the Cyclopean city with reminders of a larger nature.

Frankenstein's image of Pittsburgh achieved wide circulation. Because it was tipped in, the engraving could be removed and framed. It also was copied and used in other venues. Thus this composition shows up in a letterhead of a communication written by Andrew Burke to Mr. McIlvaine dated April 29, 1850 (figure 12).⁴⁰ The printer added two strange boats riding high on the water. Both the boats and the typo "Salt Worko" may indicate that the letterhead was not printed in Pittsburgh. However, since Graham did not connect this site to the saltworks on Saw Mill Run, and since the Monongahela Bridge is correctly shown to be a suspension bridge here, the letterhead must have been commissioned by a Pittsburgher.

The Graham image went through another mutation in 1853 when it appeared in *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (figure 13).⁴¹ Deveaux claims credit for the composition and Major engraved the wood block. Where Frankenstein had shown a low river bank on the north shore, here it is a high bank. Two large passenger steamboats ply the river and blend their



FIG. 12. Letterhead: *Pittsburg*. Taken from the *Salt Worko* [sic] two Miles below the City, ca.1850. Lithograph, 3" x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Catherine R. Miller Collection, Jennie King Mellon Library, Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pa.

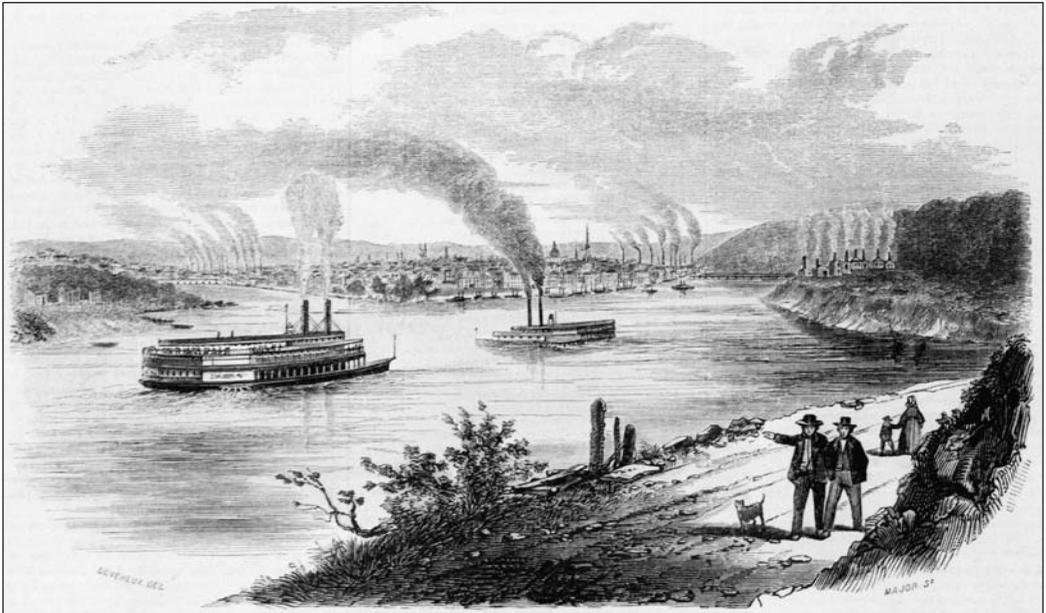


FIG. 13. Devereaux, *View of the City of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania*, 1853. Woodcut, 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ " x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion*, April 30, 1853, 280.

smoke with the rising smoke from the many chimneys in Pittsburgh and the South Side. Only the courthouse and the spire of the Presbyterian Church stand out. Instead of the shirt-sleeved workman walking on the path, two men dressed in jackets and broad-brimmed hats stroll with a dog; a woman and a child walk in the opposite direction. The bridge is the covered bridge that was burned in the 1845 fire. Like the image, the text in *Gleason's* is derivative. It simply repeats descriptions about Pittsburgh. The people on the road are now genteel and more in tune with the readers of *Gleason's*.

Through the 1840s, images of Pittsburgh oscillated between pictures governed by picturesque conventions and the brisker compositions invested in the development of industry. Just at midcentury, the imagery changed through the energies of two kinds of entrepreneurial artisan-artists— itinerant view makers and local lithographers. The former brought a frank admiration of enterprise to their vision of Pittsburgh; the latter brought European artisan skills to advertising images.