

From Industry to Creativity: The Westinghouse Memorial and the Evolution of Pittsburgh

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In the early 20th century, Pittsburgh Pennsylvania's landscape, appearance, and economy were deeply affected by its steel, iron, coal, and glass industries. Therefore, titans of industry such as George Westinghouse, a Pittsburgh based engineer responsible for pivotal advancements in transportation and electricity, were the city's iconic figures of the time. Westinghouse in particular founded several companies, obtained innumerable patents, and had famously good relations with his workers. In fact, he was so beloved by his employees that after his death, they pooled their resources to personally fund his memorial (Skrabec 2). In 1926, twelve years after his death, the Pittsburgh City Council decided that the memorial would be built in Schenley Park. After hiring architects Henry Hornbostel and Eric Fisher Wood to design the memorial and sculptors Daniel Chester French, Paul Fjelde, and Massaniello Piccirilli to create the sculptures, the city began the monument's three year construction. On October 6, 1930, it was unveiled in Schenley Park, to a crowd of 15,000. ("The Memorial Story"). The Westinghouse Memorial remains there today for visitors to admire as they amble through the park.

The memorial consists of landscaping, architectural, and sculpted elements. Foliage is planted alongside two side paths leading to a lily pond surrounded by a Norwegian granite path and Phipps Run stream. At the front of the lily pond are three panels standing in a semicircle faced by a bronze statue of a boy standing on a pedestal which itself stands on a granite peninsula jutting into the pond. A small granite wall stands on the perimeter of the peninsula, intended to make the boy appear as though he is standing at the prow of a boat. Behind the boy is a granite bench. The boy, formally titled *The Spirit of American Youth*, marvels at each of Westinghouse's industrial achievements as depicted on the two side panels in front of him, explained on plaques underneath. The center panel features a medallion sculpture of Westinghouse, flanked by a mechanic on one side and an engineer on the other. Underneath these figures is an inscription identifying them as well as a plaque depicting an engraving of the first air brake system, invented by the industrial giant himself.



Figure 1. Westinghouse Memorial and Pond From Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy [Photograph], 2020, (<https://www.pittsburghparks.org/projects/westinghouse-memorial>)

As a space, given its physical and historical context, the Westinghouse Memorial is an intriguing artifact for rhetorical study. Though it is a celebration of industry, it is nestled within the natural environment of a park, a space which is experienced quite differently than its surroundings are. Just a short distance from the natural oasis of the memorial are both Carnegie Mellon University's campus and Pittsburgh's Oakland neighborhood, two spaces which feel unmistakably man-made. These notable differences between the park and its surroundings were especially pronounced in the early 20th century when the built environment of the city was characterized by pollution and cramped living spaces. For Pittsburghers of this era, the Westinghouse Memorial memorialized not just Westinghouse, but an experience of nature they had long since lost access to in an industrialized city.¹ However, the rhetorical function of the memorial today is much different than it was then.

In this article, I explore how the Westinghouse Memorial has served a dynamic rhetorical purpose for Pittsburgh over the years, positioning itself within shifting narratives of the city's identity. To do this, I examine how it reflected the city's aspirational image at its unveiling in 1930 and then again in 2016 after its most recent restoration. In the context of its origins, I use comments about the memorial from the press and from important city figures at its unveiling to situate the memorial within the broader rhetorical project promoting Pittsburgh's image as an industrial powerhouse which was occurring at the time. I also consider the challenges inherent in valorizing industry given the emotional toll Pittsburgh's rapid industrial growth had on Pittsburgh's

¹ In the early 20th century, a large proportion of Pittsburgh's population was composed of immigrant mill-workers, primarily from Italy and Poland (Faires 10). These workers came from primarily agricultural regions (Sister Lucille). The urban industrial landscape of 20th century Pittsburgh would have been a novel experience to immigrants who for the first time had little access to nature.

working class. In order to explain how choices regarding the memorial's design and subject matter might have served to mitigate these challenges, I apply scholarship of the bioregional movement to discuss how the natural beauty of the memorial might have promoted affiliation with rather than alienation from the space of the city. In a similar way, I consider how George Westinghouse's reputation as an enlightened employer might have promoted similar affiliation with an industrial city.

In the context of the 2016 restoration, I address how the memorial has evolved to fit the narrative of a transformed post-industrial city. I consider how changes to the memorial's design following the restoration as well as press coverage of the event serve as evidence of the memorial's new focus on creativity and nature's integration with the urban landscape rather than on industry and seclusion from the city. In both contexts, I also briefly discuss the consequences of the changing narratives of the city by evaluating how accessible each is to the experience of Pittsburgh's working class. My exploration of the Westinghouse Memorial's unveiling and its restoration contributes to scholarship of the rhetorics of public memory, space and place, and urban design by providing a case study of a distinctive memory place deeply tied to two different rhetorical constructions of Pittsburgh over time. Furthermore, by offering a bioregional interpretation of how natural spaces come to be rhetorically appealing, this study expands on the rhetorical space and place scholarship that specifically focuses on spaces lying at the intersection of man and nature.

Situated in Scholarship

In the introduction to their book *Places of Public Memory: The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials*, Greg Dickinson et al. describe how rhetorical study can complicate and augment scholarship of public memory as well as how spaces and places can be mediums of special rhetorical significance within the arena of public memory. They argue that contemporary scholars of public memory often share certain foundational assumptions which lack specificity and which should more precisely articulate the means by which a narrative becomes entrenched as public memory. Rhetorical study, with its focus on "meaningfulness, legibility, partisanship, consequentiality, and publicity as they manifest in and among discourses, events, objects, and practices" (Dickinson et al. 12), can often fill in some of these gaps when placed into conversation with public memory scholarship. Rhetorical study is often concerned with how the significance of specific "discourses, events, objects, or practices" might "inflect, deploy, and circulate affective investments" (Dickinson et al. 3), where "affect," is used to refer to the feelings and emotions that precede rational cognition. This concern allows it to more deeply explore and account for how specific features of a given narrative can create the affective intensity necessary to create a memory that resonates with a group and how different mediums work to support that narrative. A rhetorical investigation of the Westinghouse Memorial must consider which emotions specific features of the spatial medium, such as its position, materials, and subject matter might spark in its visitors, and how those emotions fit into the broader public image of the city.

Scholarship on the rhetoric of space and place also features prominently at the intersection of scholarship of rhetoric and public memory. Places, especially what

Dickinson et al. term “memory places,” such as “museums, preservation sites, battlefields, memorials, and so forth” (Dickinson et al. 24), wield strong rhetorical power. A memory place commands special attention because it “announces itself as a marker of collective identity” (Dickinson et al. 26), and by performatively connecting visitors to a significant past, can convince them to “understand the present as part of an enduring, stable tradition” (Dickinson et al. 27). The ability of memory places to prescribe how they are experienced through paths, signs, and constraints of locatedness affords them special rhetorical significance as well. As one such memory place, the Westinghouse Memorial is a highly visible statement of Pittsburgh’s identity, both in the early 20th and 21st centuries. Each component of the monument—the materials it uses, the prescriptions for how it is to be viewed, and the image of Westinghouse himself—situate themselves within a specific narrative of the city’s identity. The private, naturally appealing homage to a captain of industry in 1930 celebrated Pittsburgh’s industrial prowess. The more open, eco-friendly version of the memorial hailing a beacon of ingenuity in 2016 remembers the man and the city as part of a tradition of creativity rather than industry. Therefore, my study of the Westinghouse Memorial contributes to scholarly conversations at the intersection of the rhetoric of space, place, and public memory by providing an example of how each given narrative of Pittsburgh’s identity is announced rhetorically by the Westinghouse Memorial.

As an investigation of a memory place that is deeply tied to the identity of a city and that has recently undergone a restoration, this exploration of the Westinghouse Memorial is also relevant to scholarship in the rhetoric of urban communication. Such scholarship examines the inherently rhetorical nature of urban plans, viewing them as a “complex interplay of...diverse rhetorics” which have the purpose of persuading “audiences to accept proposed explanations, embrace inspiring visions, attract and channel emotional attachments, and/or undertake recommended actions that shape the course of the future” (Poiani and Stead 583). Any plan for an urban memory place must position it within the prevailing narrative of public memory. Much scholarship in urban communication explores how certain common narratives emerge within urban plans to perform this rhetorical function, as well as the often unequal consequences such narratives have for different stakeholders. For example, rhetorics of urban planning which foreground the values of innovation in economic development have been flagged by some scholars as hiding the negative effects of gentrification on the urban poor (Gries et al.). Other scholars note that the increasing push of post-industrial cities to “brand” their cities to invite investment and tourism “risks destroying place identity and culture” (Poiani and Stead 607) and “deepens the affliction of the poor and the marginalized” (Wilson 123). The Westinghouse Memorial provides a concrete example of how such narratives play out, with its most recent restoration in 2016 marking it as a contributor to the rhetorical goals of a post-industrial Pittsburgh.

One of the memorial’s particular rhetorical appeals relates to the tension between the natural environment of Schenley Park on the one hand, and the memorial’s man-made elements as well as the surrounding urban space on the other. The way in which the aesthetic appeals of the natural environment can rhetorically influence public identity has often been the subject of rhetorical study (Zagacki and Gallagher; Allen). One potential mechanism by which natural qualities have rhetorical implications for urban

identity is discussed by Kenneth Zagacki and Victoria Gallagher in their in depth investigation of sculpture museums which they use to theorize that presenting natural and urban settings in close connection can intensify the significance of both. They found that the experiences of simultaneously existing both inside and outside the city and moving quickly from one type of space to another provided visitors to the sculpture gardens with a unique angle through which to appreciate their relationship to their environment and their city (Zagacki and Gallagher). In this article, I hope to continue and expand on the tradition of interrogating the rhetorical significance of the intersection of humans and nature by viewing the natural appeals of the Westinghouse Memorial's man-made, urban space through a bioregional lens. Bioregionalism is a decentered, grassroots movement developed in response to the deleterious environmental consequences of industrialization. As a scholarly lens, bioregionalism sheds light on the rhetorical capabilities of the memorial's natural appeals by imagining a transformed consciousness of the environment as a primary means of fostering affiliation with it. The movement seeks to inspire people to "reimagine places from geopolitical to primarily ecological terms" (Glotfelty 2), allowing them to live in harmony with their particular environments.

The term "bioregion," coined by Peter Berg and Raymond Dasmann in 1977, describes a place reimagined in this way. Describing a bioregion as both "a place and the ideas that have developed about how to live in that place" (36), the two scholars contend that the creation of a bioregional sense of place entails a transformation of consciousness. An industrial consciousness, as characterized by Berg, revolves around an image of "material progress, transforming things, mutating things, changing their being...changing everything about them" (Berg 94), in short reducing the natural world to interchangeable material objects to be acted upon. An ecological consciousness by contrast, encourages relating to the natural world as particular and sacred. Such a transformation of consciousness can be accomplished through what bioregionalism scholars call "reinhabitation," which refers to "learning to live-in-place in an area that has been disrupted and injured through past exploitation" (Berg and Dasmann 36). One of several methods of fostering this process of reinhabitation explored by bioregional scholars is the "place based story." In this zone of focus, the work of bioregional scholars overlaps with that of rhetoricians interested in "ecomposition," the area of rhetorical study which considers the relationship of written discourse with the places it comes across (Weisser and Dobrin 2). In the case of bioregional discourse, place based stories are intimately related to the places they depict, and are designed to in turn affect how that place is perceived. Bioregional scholars contend that such stories can "restore the imagination of a place," allowing people to visualize an ecological connection with land they previously viewed in industrial terms. Such imagination "makes a place out of raw space, bequeathing it a sense that transcends its being usable or economically valuable" (Iovino 111). In 1926, the relative natural seclusion of Westinghouse Memorial's section of Schenley park contrasted with the rest of the rapidly industrializing city. Like a bioregional scholar's place based story, the natural space of the park might have offered an alternative narrative, restoring the "transcendence" of Pittsburgh in the minds of its alienated residents.

20th Century Context: Cramped Spaces and a Smoky City



Figure 2: Westinghouse Memorial, Schenley Park. From George Westinghouse Museum Collection of the Detre Library & Archives, Heinz History Center [Photograph], 1930

When the Westinghouse Memorial (Figure 2) was commissioned by the City Council in 1926, Pittsburgh's identity was caught between two competing narratives, both defined by its status as a center of industry. On the one hand, the city was becoming the "Workshop of the World," or "a city with the mission of promoting progress around the world" (Penna 52). Efforts of Pittsburgh's business elite to promote their city to the nation tapped into this narrative, highlighting industry's association with progress. Beginning in 1901, several articles began to be published in national journals and magazines hailing Pittsburgh's industrial prowess (Penna 51). The first of these, "A Glimpse of Pittsburg" written in January 1901 by wealthy industrialist William L Scaife, celebrated the industrial smoke that coated the city: "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" (qtd. in Penna 51). To Scaife, the smoke was a symbol of the industrial power that caused him in "Pittsburg, a New Great City" to describe his beloved city as "a new thing under the sun... entrusted with a human purpose, . . . the utilization of natural forces to replace the enslavement of men" (qtd. in Penna, 51). Pittsburgh was to be considered and remembered as being part of a trailblazing and enduring tradition of progress and flourishing.

However, many of the human consequences of industrial progress constituted the very opposite of "flourishing." The "Workshop" narrative peddled by Scaife and other elites ignored the effects that industry and unbridled growth were having on the living conditions of industry workers. But a report on Pittsburgh's living conditions in the early 20th century forced elites to pay attention to a different narrative of their city. From 1907-1914, researchers conducted *The Pittsburgh Survey*, an investigation which uncovered a more negative image of the "workshop" and, to the dismay of the elites, revealed that

residents lacked “the civic pride necessary to prevent environmental destruction and human degradation” (Penna 54). The writers of the survey found that the price of Pittsburgh’s rapid industrial growth was overcrowded, disease-ridden, and unclean mill towns where industry workers lived in squalor when they weren’t working. When they were working, it was often for 12 hours at a time: toiling day in and day out to push the engine of progress forward. For industry workers, the same smoke which Scaife celebrated created a “city of hills and mills and grime and smoke” where “it is difficult to keep clean under the most favorable conditions (Dinwiddie and Crowell, 95).

The Pittsburgh Survey also noted that the community spirit necessary to mobilize and address the unsanitary and overcrowded conditions was severely lacking among the exhausted and locally segregated population. In one section of the survey, social worker and later Secretary of Pittsburgh’s Civic Commission Allen Burns describes this hyper-localized concern, “...civic bodies organized under these local names have been interested primarily and mainly in the improvement of their own communities...councilmen chosen by wards thrive through catering to local needs while indifferent or negligent to the weightier interests of the city as a whole.” (Burns 45). As Burns explains, Pittsburgh’s workers did not see themselves as being part of a broader city community, but rather as a collection of local neighborhoods who did not rely on or cooperate with each other. The consequences of this lack of cooperation and participation were often dire, as explained in the survey by its associate director Frank E. Wing, who describes how a lack of adequate water filtration caused typhoid to run rampant in several neighborhoods throughout the city for over 35 years. Despite such grim circumstances, the residents “only spasmodically and half-heartedly demanded the system of filtration which brought the delayed relief. In the meantime, those who could not afford to buy bottled water continued to drink filth” (Wing 66). In short, to the dismay of the elites, *The Pittsburgh Survey* revealed exhausted, sick, and disillusioned industry workers who did not identify with their city.

A remedy for the social ills driving this second, less flattering narrative of Pittsburgh required a strong city identity that transcended local concerns. After the shocking results of the survey, Pittsburgh’s business elites strengthened their attempts to bolster civic consciousness. Survey writer Robert A. Woods describes two gifts that elites hoped would create a greater city spirit:

In the absence of this community spirit, the individual acts of two persons stand out in notable relief. Before the close of the century, from the foremost absentee landlord and the foremost absentee capitalist came as gifts the two epoch-making improvements toward the finer public life of the city. Schenley Park and the Carnegie institutions located at its entrance form a civic center whose possibilities of civic influence are very great. (Woods 18)

Already in 1909, at the time Woods’ report was published, Pittsburgh’s elites had begun to consider the potential of sites such as parks and beautiful architectural spectacles to influence public identity and memory. However, as Woods goes on to explain, these sites did little to appeal to Pittsburgh’s industrial workers at the time. “...To the

discerning eye, however, all this cluster of enlightened agencies points by contrast to the economic as well as moral conditions that prevail among the people in all the less favored sections of the city and in all the satellite industrial towns” (Woods 30). The contrast between the situations of wealthy employers and their impoverished workers was set in full view by the conspicuous existence of such institutions of higher learning and leisure that resided exclusively within the purview of the elites. In the survey, Woods goes on to explain how at the time, the sense of a “more generous and democratic sense of responsibility on the part of employers and the more prosperous classes generally” (Woods 30), had yet to reach Pittsburgh’s mass of unskilled laborers, who continued to feel as alienated as ever.

Later, in 1926, The Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce launched *The Pittsburgh Forward*, in which they attempted to “sell Pittsburgh to Pittsburghers” (Penna 55) by equating the spirit of the city with the spirit of Pittsburgh’s industrial workers. When these efforts proved unsuccessful however, the chamber returned to what they knew and began once again to align the spirit of the city with the excellence of individual captains of industry such as “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” (Penna 56). However, this more individualistic narrative was printed and pushed in a journal for Chamber of Commerce members and “It became the private domain of the city’s business elite, contrary to the goals of the forward movement expressed only two years earlier.” (Penna 56). Therefore, this new narrative was similarly unsuccessful in bolstering civic support for improvements to living and environmental conditions, forcing industry workers to endure smoky working conditions well into the 1940s.

An Alternative Framing

Eventually, the efforts of Pittsburgh’s early 20th century elites to bolster civic pride fell short and declined. However, when the Westinghouse Memorial was commissioned in 1926, the endeavor was still very much alive. The memorial, situated within this broader rhetorical project, could have leveraged its power as a natural memory place to make specific appeals for how Pittsburgh’s residents should understand themselves and their city. As we have seen, at the time of the Westinghouse Memorial’s commissioning, Pittsburgh’s business elites were experimenting with several ways to align the city more strongly with the progress and flourishing sides of the “Workshop of the World” narrative whereby Pittsburgh was conceived as spearheading the charge towards global advancement. According to Penna:

A logical implication in its claim to supremacy was that Pittsburgh had a two-fold 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. (52)

Powerful industrial figures such as George Westinghouse were embodiments of this “Workshop of the World” ethos, and therefore discourse surrounding such figures

necessarily focused on their relation to industrial progress. Because of the power commanded by the image of industry, the city and the country sought to align themselves closely with a personage such as Westinghouse. Indeed, the Westinghouse Memorial's unveiling in 1930 drew huge crowds, as well as the attendance and comments of several powerful political figures. Many made public statements about Westinghouse and the memorial which affirmed the importance of Pittsburgh's image as a city committed to the advancement of industry and humanity. Andrew Mellon, the Treasury Secretary, sent a statement to be read at the memorial which honored Westinghouse's "contributions to the advancement of civilization," ("The Memorial Story"). Former president Calvin Coolidge hailed Westinghouse as "one of the great benefactors of mankind" ("The Memorial Story"). The keynote speaker at the ceremony, James Frances Burke, claimed that Westinghouse "brightened the pathway and lightened the burden of God's children as they toiled" ("The Memorial Story"). In the early 20th century, George Westinghouse, and by extension Pittsburgh, was spearheading civilization's progression from "toiling" and hardship to a new and brighter future characterized by industrial prosperity and human triumph. The Westinghouse Memorial, by memorializing Westinghouse in this way, espoused this image of Pittsburgh, both to residents themselves, and to visitors to the city.

Of course, by celebrating any one of its individual captains of industry, Pittsburgh was marking itself as part of an enduring and proud industrial tradition, one which would resonate with the city's elites and the rest of the nation. However, as we have seen, many attempts to foster a similarly favorable view of the city and its industry among Pittsburgh's industrial workers did not resonate in the same way. The feeling between employers and their workers at the time was often not one of affiliation but antagonism. Celebrating one such elite employer simply highlighted the separation between the workers and their city. But memorializing George Westinghouse in particular might have been different. George Westinghouse was a man who inspired love in his workers where many of his peers did not. Westinghouse had famously good relations with all his employees, skilled and unskilled laborers alike. Notably, unlike many other companies, the Westinghouse Air Brake Company never experienced a general strike (Miller 47). In fact, in the words of Samuel Gompers, the founder and president of the American Federation of Labor "I will say this for George Westinghouse. If all employers of men treated their employees with the same consideration he does, the American Federation of Labor would have to go out of existence" (qtd. in Miller 49). With Westinghouse, the boundary between employer and worker was not as starkly drawn. A skilled mechanic himself, Westinghouse would often spend time in the shop with his workers (Miller 47), who he related to with "man-to-man comradeship and good feeling..." (Prout 287). Westinghouse also took special interest in the welfare of his workers, setting himself apart from other employers by going out of his way to provide for their needs: from implementing a generous pension system and Saturday half-holiday (Prout 209, 295), to sponsoring updated and safe sewage, water, and recreational facilities in their town (Miller 48). At a conference commemorating what would have been Westinghouse's 90th birthday in 1936, Thomas Campbell, a Westinghouse mechanic, remembered joining the company because "a man was considered lucky to get a job with the Westinghouse Company" (Campbell 19). In fact, Campbell has special significance when it comes to

memorializing his beloved employer: “When they designed the Westinghouse Memorial in Schenley Park, I was the model to represent the mechanic; I hold a hammer and am proud of it. Since I retired, I have been receiving a monthly pension and am living comfortably with my son” (Campbell 20). Campbell is only one of the almost 60,000 Westinghouse employees whose many small contributions constituted the memorial’s funding (Gay and Evert 193). Therefore, when the City Council commissioned the Westinghouse Memorial in 1926, they chose to celebrate a figure beloved by both elites and industrial workers. The Westinghouse Memorial told a story of not just a proud and impressive industrial tradition, but also a kind and fair one: whose spoils are shared by elite and worker alike.

Besides celebrating industry and its captains in order to create a sense of identification with the city, Pittsburgh’s elites were also eager to harness the potential of natural sites such as Schenley Park to create a greater sense of community. Pittsburgh’s city park system began with Pittsburgh native Mary Schenley’s donation of 300 acres of land to the city in 1889 (Frick Fine Arts Library 1). The creation of the park system was inspired by the American park movement, begun in 1850 with the creation of Central Park in New York City (Frick Fine Arts Library 1). The undertaking, influenced by the European Romantic and American transcendentalist movements grew as a response to rapid industrial growth and social inequalities, as well as to the same cramped and unsanitary conditions that were by no means unique to Pittsburgh at the time. Conceptualized as escapes from the city, American urban parks of this era were constructed according to anti-urban ideals (Cranz 3), with their harmony, serenity, and seclusion serving as “a visual antithesis to gridded streets and rectangular houses” (Cranz 8). They were intended as relief for the city-dweller, who was to find respite in the contemplation of nature. Indeed, most notable park designers at the time tried to limit visitor’s encounters with anything that seemed man-made. In their designs, they often chose to hide park buildings behind trees (Cranz 46), and condemned the use of statuary such as memorials which “reminded the viewer of men’s handiwork, not nature’s (Cranz 55). To the chagrin of many such designers however, several cities insisted on the inclusion of statues in their commissioned parks (Cranz 56), believing in their power to foster civic pride (Frick Fine Arts Library 1). Indeed, as discussed in the previous section by *Pittsburgh Survey* writer Robert Woods, at the turn of the century, Pittsburgh saw great potential for Schenley Park and the surrounding civic center to create pride and identity among its alienated and indifferent residents. The Westinghouse Memorial, commissioned in 1926, was the city’s man-made addition to the wilderness escape of Schenley Park.

Even while it was in part defined by the natural beauty of its immediate surroundings, the materiality of the memorial was still connected to the built environment of the city. “The bronze of the memorial creates a striking visual contrast between the verdant pastoral setting and helps to establish a person-made sense of place” (“Historic Landmark Nomination Addendum” 14). This “person-made sense of place” within a natural space served as a cautious connection between nature and the built environment and therefore also between beauty and industry. This unconventional framing of industry invited residents to associate it with significance beyond the

cramped living spaces and grueling hours that characterized their lives. But the memorial's materiality is significant beyond creating a distinctively man-made sense of place. The bronze of the memorial also pointed to Pittsburgh's industrial prowess through its interaction with the smoke of the city. As the article "Lily Pond Transformed" from *The Carnegie Alumnus* explains, the choice of bronze for the sculptures was "resorted to so as to permanently give the monument an interesting surface which will be enhanced by the smoky atmosphere of the city" (10). The bronze was visibly altered by the smoke of industry, making its connection to industry even more impossible to ignore. Even amidst Schenley Park's relative seclusion from the city, the memorial's gentle material reminders of connection to the built environment would have created an "intensified experience of existing both inside and outside at the same time" (Zagacki and Gallagher 175) for visitors to the site. The "inside" of the memorial could therefore transform the negative image of Pittsburgh's smoky conditions (the outside) by incorporating them into the beauty of the space. The Westinghouse Memorial, by combining "Workshop" appeals with natural ones, served as a quiet reminder of the friendliness of industry for the serene and content visitors to the site.

There are notable points of overlap between late 20th century notions of nature's ability to counter the consequences of rapid industrialization and a bioregional conceptualization of the ability of a bioregion to transform the industrial consciousness. On a bioregional reading, in tandem with the city's rapid industrialization was a rapid loss of place for Pittsburghers who were becoming alienated from their natural environment. Bioregional scholars would assert that this alienation, as a symptom of the industrial consciousness, was an important contributor to the lack of civic pride that *The Pittsburgh Survey* had revealed in 1914. When Pittsburgh industrialized, its citizens no longer felt connected to their environment which had been transformed "to a mere space...for industrial development: a space for 'growth'" (Iovino 102). In short, bioregional scholars would contend that when industrialization rendered the space of Pittsburgh as homogeneous and interchangeable with other industrialized spaces, residents no longer identified with the unique aspects of the land, manifesting in a loss of civic consciousness and pride. Indeed, the particularities and uniqueness of the natural world were rendered subservient to the impressive power of industry in much of the popular discourse surrounding "The Workshop" narrative, which hailed George Westinghouse and other captains of industry for their abilities to "bend the focus of Nature to the practical welfare of the people" (Batt 11). Bioregional scholars would argue that residents of late 19th and early 20th century Pittsburgh viewed their lives and the spaces around them through this goal-oriented and totalizing lens.

Spaces of the industrialized consciousness, to bioregional scholars, are interchangeable, ugly, and inert, while bioregions by contrast are infused with "aesthetic and ethical significance" (Ryan 81). The aesthetic effects of a bioregion come from the beautiful aspects of the natural world, which cause people to appreciate and identify with the land. Bioregional scholars believe that a re-identification with the land entails a transformation of people's consciousness of it, as they appreciate it for what it is rather than what it can produce. Therefore, on a bioregional reading, any power the Westinghouse Memorial had to recuperate civic pride came from its ability to transform

the industrial consciousness. One of the ways it sought to do this, which I will shortly discuss in more detail, was to utilize the natural beauty of its location in combination with a man-made celebration of industry to provide an alternative consciousness of the city's image, or in bioregional terms "transform the imagination of the space." In short, placing the memorial in a natural setting gave visitors the space to consider their city from an altered consciousness. In the midst of a secluded and quiet natural setting, Pittsburgh and its industry might not exclusively evoke images of interchangeably and predictably poor living conditions. The memorial would complicate and distinguish the notion of Pittsburgh and its captains of industry, by associating them instead with the unique and harmonious beauty of a natural setting.

On a bioregional reading, by foregrounding the aesthetic natural features of Schenley Park, the design of the memorial might have provided a mechanism by which "reinhabitation" might occur, allowing residents to combat their sense of placelessness and reaffirm their identification with the spaces around them. The memorial's placement in a beautiful and secluded area of the park is one of the most important elements of its overall positive effect on observers. In October of 1930, the alumni newsletter of Carnegie Mellon University, which borders Schenley Park, announced the unveiling of the memorial, proclaiming that the lily pond which "has always seemed a part of our Campus, has been made into one of the most interesting and beautiful spots in the City of Pittsburgh" ("Lily Pond Transformed" 10). The natural area, described in the article as "the most charming in Schenley Park" (10), created a distinct sense of place. Such distinctiveness explains the particular power rhetorical scholars have noted that parks in general have to connect the "aesthetic function of scenery directly with the rhetorical function of influencing individual identity in collective ways." (Zagacki and Gallagher 172). A bioregional scholar might add that this power of nature noted by rhetoricians arises because the way individuals experience themselves and their fellows in the expansive, private, and quiet atmosphere of the natural environment differs from their experience within the cramped, bustling atmosphere of a smoky city, where fellow citizens are just as interchangeable as industrial space. Indeed, in Pittsburgh at the time, the overcrowding was severe, and amounted to what survey writers called a "ruthless destruction of privacy" (Dinwiddie and Crowell 95). In such an environment, it becomes easy to view other people simply as inconveniences and obstacles, rather than as members of a shared humanity. A precisely designed experience of opposite conditions within the park, on the other hand, could relieve some of the pressure of the bioregionalist's "industrial consciousness", and transform the individualistic and hyper-local concern identified by *The Pittsburgh Survey*.

Apart from Schenley Park in general however, the memorial specifically was designed with the hopes of creating a specific aesthetic experience of the natural space. For example, the *Carnegie Alumnus* article explains how the paths of the monument prescribed very specific views of the memorial: "Its main axis is on the pond, but it will always be approached by the two side paths which lead around the front of the pond to the monument proper ("Lily Pond Transformed" 11). As an example of the effect of this prescription, the *Alumnus* explains how the statue of "The Spirit of American Youth" "...is approached from the side, and his pose was studied primarily with that in mind"

("Lily Pond Transformed" 11). Limiting the angles and approaches to the monument heightened the feeling of seclusion and separation from the built environment of the city already provided in part by the park more generally. The feeling of seclusion might have reminded "visitors that nature's solitude is possible even within the confines of urban space, but a space that has been meticulously landscaped to create this experience." (Zagacki and Gallagher 180). And meticulously landscaped it was. Each element of the monument was "considered of equal artistic importance":

The building of paths, the setting of granite benches, the profuse planting all help to bring about a complete, artistic, interesting ensemble... To illustrate what it means to accomplish a monument of this character conscientiously, artistically, and perfectly, it has taken three years of concentrated work. The figure of the youth alone occupied Mr. French for a year. The execution in wax of the ornamental portions of the monument required nine months of Mr. Piccirilli's personal attention. The cutting of the granite, building of foundations and the actual erection of the monument occupied so small a time that it is of no importance to consider. The landscaping took two springs of planting. The willow trees that dominate the pictorial beauty of that location have been carefully preserved, and the spot has been turned into the most luxurious natural spot in Schenley Park ("Lily Pond Transformed" 11)

Each detail of the monument, from the sculptures to the plants were intentionally crafted and placed. Every element of the space intensified the natural appeals of the park by emphasizing seclusion and natural "luxurious" beauty within its design.

The lives of many in Pittsburgh's working class were dominated by working in dangerous conditions and living in polluted mill towns. The experience of the memorial, on the other hand, was intentionally characterized by tranquility, cleanliness, and harmony. Indeed, both architect Henry Hornbostel² and sculptor Daniel Chester French³ utilized design principles from the popular Beaux Arts movement of the time in their work, a hallmark of which was its emphasis on creating harmony between several different elements of a piece. To do this, "symmetry, spatial hierarchy, sculpture, and classical detailing were paramount" ("Historic Landmark Nomination Addendum" 9). Such harmony and symmetry would have run counter to Pittsburgh as described by *The Pittsburgh Survey*, which described contamination and the asymmetry between

² Though esteemed nationwide, Henry Hornbostel was closely and specifically associated with Pittsburgh. He was classically trained in architecture at Columbia University and worked on several projects in different cities, but over half of his work was done in Pittsburgh. As founder of The Carnegie Tech Department of Architecture, he was responsible for a large portion of Pittsburgh's architectural landscape in the early 20th century, heading several iconic projects including Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall in 1907 and Webster Hall hotel in 1926 (Shaw).

³ Daniel Chester French was one of the foremost American classical sculptors during the early twentieth century. He was well-known and renowned and had worked on several famous sculptures by the time he was commissioned for the Westinghouse Memorial, the most notable of which was the acclaimed Lincoln Memorial. *The Spirit of American Youth* was one of his last works before his death in 1931 ("Daniel Chester French").

expectations and realities of the space. For example, when describing Homestead, a mill town, the survey calls attention to the dissonance between the name and experience of the town, saying that the latter gives “a sense of the stress of industry rather than of the old time household cheer which its name suggests” (“Homestead Introduction”). The same section goes on to describe an asymmetry between what the space once was and what it had become, noting that “gray plumes of smoke hang heavily from the stacks of the long, low mill buildings, and noise and effort dominate what once were quiet pasture lands.” For mill workers steeped in the contamination and asymmetry of their homes, the aesthetic harmony of the *Beaux Arts* movement would have been a welcome change. According to architectural historian Leland Roth, *Beaux Arts* “was less about following strict architectural guidelines and more about creating an architecture of feeling” (“Historic Landmark Nomination Addendum” 9). In the minds of bioregional scholars, the “feeling,” or affect (to use the vocabulary of rhetorical scholars) created by the Westinghouse Memorial, as an alternative to the feeling/affect created by their homes and places of work, would have encouraged alienated and placeless mill-workers to respond to the space with a renewed feeling of affiliation.

But of course, the memorial’s rhetorical work did not end with the creation of affiliation. According to Dickinson et al., “affiliation, is, by definition, the principal affective modality of public memory.” However, “affect can never define, by itself, why things should matter. That is, unlike ideology and pleasure, it can never provide its own justification, however illusory such justifications may in fact be” (16). In other words, the affiliation created through the peculiar spatial experience of the memorial must have a clear target on which to rest in order to produce a response. For example, bioregional scholars hope that the affiliation people feel for the aesthetic aspects of nature land will be directed towards a conception of the natural world as being inherently valuable, leading to an ethical commitment to sustainable living. The Westinghouse Memorial’s complex symbolism on the other hand, channels the affiliation created by the aesthetic experience of the space towards a particular construction of Pittsburgh’s identity and its industry. Residents might respond by understanding themselves as part of an enduring and proud industrial tradition, united with their fellows by a shared civic pride.

Unapproachable Appeals

The rhetorical project of The Westinghouse Memorial in particular and of Pittsburgh’s elites in general was to propagate and crystallize the city’s identity as “The Workshop of the World,” while downplaying its association with social and civic decay and contamination. However, despite their best efforts, overall civic pride remained low, and Pittsburgh’s identity was inseparable from pollution and poor living conditions for years after the memorial’s construction. Given all the potential of its rhetorical appeals to restore respect for Pittsburgh, why might this project have failed so miserably?

Ultimately, Pittsburgh’s business elites crafted a memorial and a message that was not accessible to the working-class: the ones who needed it most. To foster pride in Pittsburgh’s identity, the city chose to elevate George Westinghouse, captain of industry uniquely palatable to the working class. However, Westinghouse’s alignment with the

spirit of the city would have only been familiar to the elites themselves, since this narrative existed solely in elite circles (Penna 56). Furthermore, placing the memorial in a park at all ensured that working class Pittsburghers would never see it. Industry workers largely lived apart from parks, which were usually located near the more expensive houses of the Pittsburgh elites. For example, when describing the mill town of Homestead, *The Pittsburgh Survey* explains how “larger and more attractive dwellings” are

grouped about two small parks....The green of the parks modifies the first impression of dreariness by one of prosperity such as is not infrequent in American industrial towns. Turn up a side street, however, and you pass uniform frame houses, closely built and dulled by the smoke; and below, on the flats behind the mill, are cluttered alleys, unsightly and unsanitary, the dwelling place of the Slavic laborers (“Homestead Introduction”).

Moreover, parks are areas generally earmarked for leisure time, especially within the 19th century park tradition which imagined a long escape from the city: “Ideally, people would spend an entire day in the park, selecting some portion of it and spending the time there with friends and books, watching squirrels and birds, listening to music, picnicking, playing croquet, boating, watching their children at play, and so on” (Cranz 10). Such luxuries were outside the purview of most Pittsburgh residents, whose lives primarily “included long hours, short pay, and smog” (“Homestead Introduction”). Because the designs and plans for the memorial mistakenly focused on what would best appeal to Pittsburgh’s business class, the memorial’s appeals did not reach and could not resonate with the working class. Indeed, in the words of Survey writer Edward T. Devine, change for industry workers would come “Not by gifts of libraries, galleries, technical schools, and parks, but by the cessation of toil one day in seven and sixteen hours in the twenty-four, by the increase of wages, by the sparing of lives, by the prevention of accidents, and by raising the standards of domestic life (Devine 4).

Potential bioregional appeals fell short for similar reasons. Though the power of the bioregional movement lies in its decentered, bottom up approach—elevating the particularities of individual experience and specific environments to the highest priority—the Westinghouse Memorial was by contrast an official city commission. Rather than allowing the ground level experiences of residents to rise up and inform the appeals of the monument, city elites used the memorial to project an identity of Pittsburgh that did not resonate with a majority of its population. The recognition and visibility of the particularities of individual experience were lost from the bioregional appeals of the memorial, hampering its effectiveness.

In the years following its construction, the Westinghouse Memorial eventually fell into disrepair alongside the rest of Schenley Park and the greater Pittsburgh park system. According to the executive summary of the Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy’s 2000 Master Plan, “Like many park systems, Pittsburgh parks fell into a cycle of decreasing funds, a decline in the skilled labor force, an emphasis placed on suburbanization and

the priority of needs other than parks” (“Executive Summary” 13). The city’s intense focus on the potential for parks to exist as escapes from the city that existed in the 19th and 20th centuries gave way to other concerns as Pittsburgh’s economy began to suffer the consequences of the Great Depression and deindustrialization (Penna 50). It would not be until later that a renewed interest in Pittsburgh’s parks would drive 21st century restoration efforts that gave the Westinghouse Memorial a new significance to the city.

21st Century Context: Sustainable Investment

After the Great Depression, Pittsburgh’s status as an industrial powerhouse began to wane, while its image as a polluted, grimy city prevailed (Penna 50). After World War 2, several Pittsburgh elites united to form the Allegheny Conference on Community Development (ACCD), in order to “ensure the continued viability of their investments in the Pittsburgh region” (Vitale 36). To do this, they planned to “replace Pittsburgh’s reputation as a grimy, chaotic manufacturing district” (Mershon qtd. in Vitale 36). Through disinvesting in Pittsburgh’s industry and investing heavily in sectors such as education, research facilities, cultural districts, and white-collar suburbs, the ACCD transformed Pittsburgh into “a center of finance, corporate administration, medicine, higher education, and research” (Vitale 34). The committee packaged this transformation as “The Pittsburgh Renaissance,” boasting the city’s ability to “remake themselves into dynamic, “livable” centers of the postindustrial economy” (Vitale 34). Pittsburgh’s image as a livable, creative, and postindustrial city dominated the narrative of subsequent “Renaissances,” for the next seventy years, all of which were characterized by the same patterns of uneven disinvestment and investment.

Pittsburgh is just one of many cities in the “global west” which have had to rethink their images in a post-industrial world. Geography and Urban Planning Professor David Wilson explains how in the absence of the contribution of industry and in the face of population loss and real estate disinvestment, such cities are increasingly rebranding themselves from industrial hubs into “creative cities.” Rather than emphasize their contributions to the industrial progress of mankind, postindustrial cities have begun to utilize “a new technical vocabulary” that privileges “smart growth, sustainable cities, green cities, urban innovators, creative re-birth...” (Wilson 107). Therefore, as the image of the city is remade, its characteristic symbolism is also reimagined, with visual symbolism at the forefront of these efforts. Images emblematic of the city are of particular importance to the goal of recreating the perception of the city. As Wilson states:

...the drive to creativize these cities is not merely about fabricating an ideal spatial form, and it may not even be its principal aim. It is also about manufacturing a city of sight and meaning that communicates across the globe an effervescent creativity and internationalism...Creative city making becomes as much a discursive project as a material producing, with its center the drive to cultivate appearances and impressions that can trigger anticipated patterns of human decision-making (where investors will invest, where educational elites will live, where business people will locate new plants and businesses). (124)

In order to create the image of an up and coming, creative, and artistic city therefore, post-industrial cities must focus not only on changes to their economies, but to their visible landscapes as well. Indeed, in the interest of improving its visible landscape, Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy released the previously mentioned 20 year “Master Plan” in 2000, hoping to revitalize Pittsburgh’s regional parks. The plan came “at a time of intense interest in Pittsburgh on issues of sustainability, green development and the need to capitalize on the “green assets” of the landscape setting of the City.” (“Executive Summary” 6), and sought to rediscover how Pittsburgh’s parks could benefit the city. Where parks were valuable in the 19th and early 20th centuries primarily as avenues of escape from the city, by the turn of the century, the value of Pittsburgh’s regional parks lay instead in their ability to “expand Pittsburgh’s character as a green city” (“Executive Summary” 7). In 2016, the then still dilapidated Westinghouse Memorial became the newest addition to this aspirational expansion, as the site of a \$2.7 million restoration project (Lindstrom).

A Reimagined History

The restoration of the Westinghouse Memorial, though it aimed to “restore the original beauty of the monument and its landscape” (Rademacher), had a very different story to tell than when it was commissioned in 1926. The rhetorical goals of the post-industrial city in 2016 differed sharply from those of the industrial powerhouse of the 20th century. Indeed, the goal was no longer to “sell Pittsburgh to Pittsburghers” but instead to tourists and businesses that might move to, visit, or invest in the region. To attract this audience, Pittsburgh must be portrayed as a creative livable city. It must be distanced from associations with pollution and industry, and instead be considered as eco-friendly, green, and sustainable. Most of all, any conception of the city must be attached to an attractive visual component. The Westinghouse Memorial, as a visually distinctive, natural space tied to a figure who is still “very much is a part of the lore, part of the personality of Pittsburgh” (Lindstrom), is representative of Pittsburgh itself, and therefore an ideal site for these narratives to be situated.

As noted by University of Maine Communication scholar Kaitlyn Haynal Allen in her investigation of Pittsburgh’s Frick Environmental Center, the way the city utilizes its parks has shifted since the 20th century. While Pittsburgh’s parks, as an escape from the smoky city, initially emphasized seclusion and established clear boundaries between nature and industry, “today, the usefulness of the parks for Pittsburgh is seen in their reframing as borderless places, contributing to popular public narratives of sustainability and livability of the city.” (Allen 1012). The Westinghouse Memorial’s restoration reflected this tradition. For example, one of the most important features of the original monument was the dominance of the weeping willow trees whose “thick canopy of arching branches” (Heron) created an ideal experience of seclusion. The native willows of Schenley Park therefore made it a perfect site for the creation of a space meant to feel like a separate oasis where residents could enjoy the natural beauty their city was lacking. However, after many years in decline, the memorial lost among other things, its weeping willow trees (Rademacher). Rather than revitalize the original vegetation of the site, the restoration effort did not repair the damaged willow

trees, nor did it plant new ones, opting instead for different plants. The spatial experience created by this change is one that is more expansive and integrated with the rest of the city, inviting “visitors to remember that the urban spaces of their homes are not so different from the “natural” spaces of parks” (Allen 1019). By creating a space that softens the line between the city and the park, the memorial makes a case for Pittsburgh’s status as a green, livable, and attractive city, seamlessly integrated with the natural world. The memorial’s more open space also argues for Pittsburgh’s inherent creativity by encouraging exploration of the park from a greater number of angles. After the restoration, the memorial’s dilapidated paths were restored and more were added. “The walk also will be extended behind the monument, so that visitors can admire the beauty of the sculptural images from all sides. To encourage further exploration of the site, a rustic path will reach up the stream valley to an overlook point before looping back to the monument” (Rademacher). This is a far cry from the memorial’s original insistence on the importance of approaching it from the side and thereby viewing it in more relative stillness. Today, residents are encouraged to view the memorial from multiple angles, in a way that can foster new, exploratory, and creative insights.

The restoration also added symbolically significant material elements to the memorial in the form of high-tech, and eco-friendly features accentuated in descriptions of it. Most news coverage of the restoration pays particular attention to its new lighting. Some articles focus on the eco-friendly nature of these light fixtures, with one praising the “energy-efficient halo lighting around the monument” (Gilmore). Others paint a beautiful, aesthetically pleasing picture of the memorial in which the lights take the foreground. From Susan Rademacher at the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette: “At night, subtle lighting will create a halo over the pond and capture reflections of the lush new landscape plantings” (Rademacher). The changes this energy efficient lighting makes to the overall visual appeal of the memorial is especially noteworthy because as Wilson explains, it is not enough to create images that are visually pleasing. These images must also be imbued with meaning. The beauty of the memorial and of the subtle lighting signal to visitors that Pittsburgh is a city transformed. The abstract changes to the city’s economy and ideals find concrete, manifestation in the changes to visible sites such as the Westinghouse Memorial.

Much like in 1926, the Westinghouse Memorial’s 21st century rhetorical power derives from more than its status as a nature space. Its position as a memory place, honoring a figure who is deeply connected to Pittsburgh’s legacy, is just as relevant to the goals of the restoration as it was to the goals of the original commission. Pittsburgh’s transition from an industrial powerhouse to a creative city was, above all else, an identity crisis. And as scholars of urban communication well know, “times of rapid change, insecurity and identity loss encourage a tremendous desire for a stabilizing, coherent and warmly remembered past” (Pojani and Stead 592). If the ideals of sustainability, creativity, and livability are to be incorporated as authentic aspects of the Pittsburgh identity, they must be conceived as being enduring parts of the city’s history. Pittsburgh’s identity has always been deeply tied to its industrial past. Therefore, if these new ideals are to be truly integrated into the city’s narrative, they must somehow be shown to fit within the industrial narrative. The Westinghouse Memorial reflects Pittsburgh’s continued

representation of industry, but through this new lens. George Westinghouse's significance to the city has begun to shift from hero of industry to beacon of creativity. Statements made at the unveiling of the restoration in 2016 as well as in articles about the event reveal how this new Westinghouse fits into the broader image business leaders want to propagate. The official website of the memorial quotes a ceremony attendee aligning Westinghouse with one of the central tenets of creativity by saying that "The Westinghouse legacy continues to inspire and encourage us to *challenge the norms* [emphasis mine]" ("The Memorial Story"). In an online magazine article about the restoration, a Westinghouse employee, David Howell is quoted as praising Westinghouse's "spirit of innovation" (Lindstrom), another clear link between Westinghouse and the creativity ideal. Also characteristic of this ideal is novelty, and therefore the same article goes on to emphasize how Westinghouse was "among *the first* to offer his workers health and retirement benefits [emphasis mine]" (Lindstrom) and quotes Howell further as saying that Westinghouse "basically invented weekends, "He basically was *the first* employer, at a time when most American companies treated workers as a commodity, to create the 55-hour work week [emphasis mine]" (Lindstrom). As "*the first*" employer to offer such benefits, Westinghouse is conceived as thinking outside the box, going beyond his contemporaries, and creating new norms for labor. The memorial therefore has become part of Pittsburgh's greater project of reinventing itself through aligning itself and its icons with the ideals not of industry, but creativity.

As Wilson explains, the ultimate audience for the project of postindustrial re-imagination are business investors, tourists, and other visitors to the city that can help Pittsburgh rebuild its economy in the absence of industry. The potential that the memorial has to appeal to this outside audience was explicitly acknowledged at its restoration. News coverage of the restoration revealed its possible function as an attraction for visitors. Descendants of Westinghouse were quoted as saying "Our hope is that the Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy's efforts to restore and renew the Westinghouse Memorial will encourage more visitors to be inspired by both his incredible mind and the care he had for those who worked for him" (Gilmore). The memorial's official website also makes sure to emphasize "the warm Pittsburgh hospitality" ("The Memorial Story"), that these visitors would be sure to experience should they come and see the memorial. Such visitors are likely to be attracted to the Westinghouse Memorial, as a site of high culture that symbolizes creativity and inspiration.

A Costly Narrative

The rhetorical project of The Westinghouse Memorial's restoration has seen greater success than the project of its commissioning. Today, Pittsburgh does indeed boast a post-industrial economy, sustained by the educational, cultural, financial, and medical sectors (Vitale 34), for whom the creative, livable, sustainable city narrative is designed. These sectors were indeed top of mind in the Pittsburgh Parks Conservancy's "Master Plan," which mentioned focus groups conducted with "young professionals regarding the role of the parks in the new economy," in order to best understand what appealed to a "demographic group, so important to Pittsburgh's future" ("Executive Summary" 8).

However, the narrative that appeals to these “young professionals,” tourists, and investors of Pittsburgh’s “future” is bought at the expense of today’s working-class Pittsburghers who must face the perils of job loss, displacement, and poor living conditions to make this narrative possible. Indeed, if it’s true that the “overarching objective of rhetoric in planning and design is... the creation of city-regions that are ecologically healthy, economically vital, aesthetically pleasing, socially just and politically democratic (Throgmorton, qtd. in Pojani and Stead 583), it may be difficult to truly attribute success to this narrative.

In the quest to create a visibly attractive city, “The ACCD and its members prioritized the growth of the postindustrial economy and considered visible industry, pollution, and working-class culture as inimical to this effort.” (Vitale 36). The members of this “working-class culture,” who had previously defined the spirit of the city, no longer fit into the image elites wanted to propagate. Pittsburgh’s working class simply isn’t attractive to outside investors. As a result, they continually fall prey to what Wilson calls “intense desires to visually erase any semblance of the marginalized from central creative sites” (108). In the face of disinvestment and redevelopment, industry workers are forced from their jobs, out of their homes, and into poverty at high rates (Vitale 34). So, while the Westinghouse Memorial ostensibly remains a celebration of Pittsburgh’s industry and workers, it in reality glosses over the fact that the new economy does not support either one. The ultimate result of the creative, livable, sustainable spirit of Pittsburgh is the erasure of the true reality of the city. With the erasure of industry comes the erasure of the true working class. With the promise to visitors of greenness and livability comes the invisibility of the fact that Pittsburgh residents still must contend with some of the worst air quality and water pollution in the nation (Allen 1010). Scholars of urban communication warn that “the transformation of urban space morphology into a business attraction risks destroying place identity and culture” (Pojani and Stead 607). For countless working-class Pittsburghers, these words ring painfully true.

Concluding Remarks

From its unveiling in 1930, the Westinghouse Memorial has made different arguments about how the city of Pittsburgh should be perceived. During a period characterized by a booming industrial economy, coupled with unsanitary and cramped living spaces, the memorial’s natural beauty and seclusion might have encouraged disillusioned Pittsburghers to continue to connect with the natural beauty of the city. The monument’s association with Pittsburgh’s industry and George Westinghouse could provide residents with a way to continue to identify with and take pride in their home. After Pittsburgh’s deindustrialization in the late 20th century, the memorial’s restoration served as a visual representation of the city’s reinvention. Like its namesake, the Westinghouse Memorial is deeply connected to Pittsburgh, and will continue to serve the city’s chosen narrative as it evolves over time. How well it will serve all of Pittsburgh’s citizens in the future remains to be seen.

The Westinghouse Memorial is just one instance of a complex rhetorical narrative. Future research into how this narrative is manifested in different spaces within the city

of Pittsburgh should be conducted to perhaps complicate the picture. Such research could consider more closely how the narrative has evolved over time and gauge its prevalence and reception among different social circles, where alternative, simultaneously existing narratives might be uncovered, explored, and used to contribute to the narrative's continued evolution. More work should be done to find adjustments to the prevailing narrative of the city which might better account for the perspectives and interests of Pittsburgh's urban poor. My investigation of the Westinghouse Memorial also opens avenues for rhetorical study more broadly. Future research of the rhetorical power of nature places such as parks and environmental centers might be enhanced by utilizing the conceptual language of the bioregional movement.

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