

## MILTON AVERY: INDUSTRIAL REVELATIONS

By the 1940s, Milton Avery had arrived at his mature style, for which he is now well known. With simplified representational forms, he painted figures, still lifes, landscapes, and seascapes—all reduced to their essential forms, with flattened shapes and broad areas of color that were free from reflecting actual appearance. The route that Avery traveled to his mature style, however, has not yet been fully understood.

A close look at the little-known early works presented in *Milton Avery: Industrial Revelations* makes evident for the first time that Avery was an attentive observer of the immense technological changes that were taking place in the American economy and in society from the mid-1920s to the mid-1930s. Although Avery did occasionally exhibit some of this output, scholars and critics have tended to overlook this thread in his work, in favor of themes of leisure, nature, and the figure that anticipate his later development. Since Avery's industrial images remained little known, they are absent from major studies of America and the machine age, the term often used to characterize the period between the two world wars.<sup>1</sup>

Yet Avery's 1935 show at New York's Valentine Gallery included machine age themes among the twenty-two works shown: *Coal Pockets*, *Railroad Yards*, *Freight Yard*, and *Drawbridge*. His solo show of sixteen watercolors, held at Gallery 144 in 1933, included *Gas Tanks* and *Coast Guard Boats*, although most of the other works had themes such as *Mother and Child*, *Bather*, *Family*, and *Man with Pipe*. The previous year, at the same gallery, Avery's show of twenty-two works was mostly figures and landscapes, but included one industrial theme, *Freight Yard*.

In his industrial pictures, Avery elected to focus on coal and railroads, which were two essential elements for economic development in late 19th and early 20th century America. Fueled by coal, the industrial boom in the mid-Atlantic states had led to a very prosperous era during the 1920s. Coal had to be transported to New York City from mines in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, using rails combined with accessible ports and navigable waterways.

Coal or "black gold," as it was known, fostered growth in the towns that surrounded New York City. This soon led to automobile congestion and conflict over



Charles Demuth (1883–1935), *My Egypt*, 1927. Oil and graphite pencil on fiberboard, 35 3/4 x 30 inches. Whitney Museum of American Art; purchase, with funds from Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney 31.172



Syosset Coal Tower, not dated

who had the right of way: ships, trains, or cars. Avery clearly perceived this clash, for he chose to record it in a variety of topical paintings on canvas and on paper in watercolor and gouache. In his choice of subjects for this period, he did not favor the automobile. Instead, he included coal facilities, gas tanks, smokestacks, drawbridges, barges, tugboats, the harbor, railroad yards, train tracks, boxcars, and the Elevated Train (the El) that carried people around New York City.

The looming forms of the coal storage tanks and loading equipment of the Dietz Coal Company caught Avery's eye and appear in a number of his images from this period. Their singular forms evoke the same monumentality as the twin grain silo shafts and pedimental cap that Charles Demuth had observed in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and made the subject of his painting, *My Egypt*, in 1927. Avery cannot have missed the fact that Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney purchased Demuth's *My Egypt* in time for the 1931 opening of her new institution, the Whitney Museum of American Art. In his own urban compositions, Avery captured the distinctive coal storage tanks that were then quite prominent in and around New York City, recording their forms with fidelity to their appearance, as demonstrated by a surviving photograph of one such structure from the period.

Avery knew well that he was not alone in his penchant for recording the era's industrial themes, as he makes clear in his humorous watercolor, entitled *Four Sketchers*, where a group of four figures stands in the street capturing the distinctive shapes of some of the coal towers. Avery cleverly contrasted this modernist form with the gothic-style doorway in the green building in front of which the sketchers stand, literally turning their backs on the past. By the 1920s, industrial forms that affected American society, especially railroads and bridges, had long since attracted a number of artists, including Edward Hopper and Martin Lewis. Sometimes the contrast of modernity with the past was their focus. For example, in 1927, Hopper captured the intricate forms of a Victorian house in Portland, Maine, juxtaposed with an austere block-like modern apartment building visible nearby.<sup>2</sup>

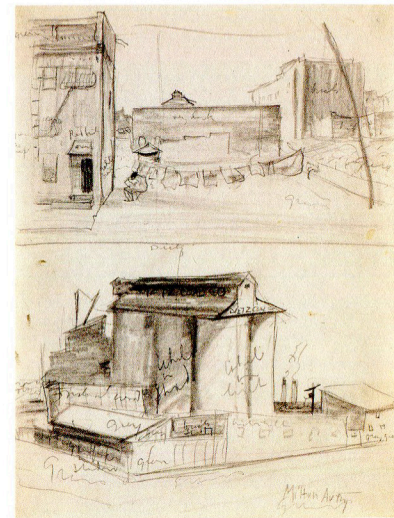
Also in the 1920s, industrial forms caught the eye of Charles Demuth, Niles Spencer, Preston Dickinson, Louis Lozowick, Charles Sheeler, and some of the others who became known as Precisionists. New developments in photography,

also practiced by painters such as Sheeler, likewise contributed to an interest in man-made forms and the products of engineers' ingenuity.

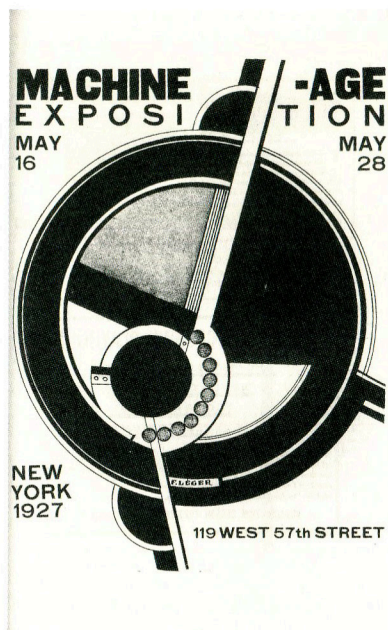
Avery's impetus to depict industrial imagery began after he moved from Hartford to New York in 1925 with his friend, the artist Wallace Putnam. Avery moved in order to be near Brooklyn-born Sally Michel, whom he had met in Gloucester during the summer of 1924, and would marry in the spring of 1926. Putnam offered Avery access to modern art, since while working in the art department of *The New York Sun*, he met Katherine Dreier, founder with Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray of the Société Anonyme, Inc., which collected, promoted, and organized exhibitions of contemporary art.

Dreier included three works by the then completely unknown Putnam in the large *International Exhibition of Modern Art*, held at the Brooklyn Museum in 1926.<sup>3</sup> For Avery, seeing his friend's work in this huge show would have meant exposure to the metaphoric mechanical forms on Duchamp's *Large Glass (The Bride Stripped Bare By Her Bachelors Even)*.<sup>4</sup> Avery would also have seen Lozowick's paintings, such as *Industrial Architecture* and *Beauty in Industry*, Dickinson's *Industry*, and other works in the show featuring machine imagery.

Then, in May 1927, the *Machine-Age Exposition*, organized by Jane Heap (editor of *The Little Review* and director of the publication's own gallery in New York), took place in Steinway Hall, then located at 119 West 57th Street in New York. This landmark show, drawing upon European artists' fascination with American industry and machines, made the point to one and all that the machine could be the basis of a new aesthetic. With Duchamp and Sheeler on the exhibition committee, the show included work by Demuth, Lozowick, and other artists, juxtaposed with photographs of electric plants, grain elevators, Russian industrial architecture, and modern skyscrapers.<sup>5</sup> Promoted enthusiastically in the press, the *Machine-Age Exposition* made clear the link between modern art and advancing industrialization in both Europe and America.<sup>6</sup> In the catalogue, a special issue of *The Little Review*, with a cover designed by Fernand Léger, Jane Heap stated: "There is a great new race of men in America: the Engineer. He has created a new mechanical world. . . . It is inevitable and important to the civilization of today that he make a union with



Milton Avery, *Untitled (Dietz Coal Company)*,  
ca. 1930, graphite on paper,  
11 x 8 1/2 inches



Fernand Léger, cover, *The Little Review*, May 1927. Catalogue of the *Machine-Age Exposition*, organized by *The Little Review*, and presented at Steinway Hall, 119 West 57th Street, May 16–28, 1927

the architect and the artist.”<sup>7</sup> Avery began to participate in New York exhibitions this same year, and thus it is not surprising that he joined others in responding to this new direction in modern art.

Lozowick showed his *Machine Ornaments*, made a poster advertising the *Machine-Age Exposition*, and wrote a catalogue essay in which he stated: “The whole of mankind is vitally affected by industrial development and if the artist can make his work clear in its intention, convincing in its reality, inevitable in its logic, his potential audience will be practically universal.”<sup>8</sup> A year earlier, Lord & Taylor department store had commissioned from Lozowick large, Constructivist-inspired, architectonic backdrops for the fashion display in its windows. Then, in March 1931, around the same time that Avery was depicting the city’s industrial themes, Lozowick showed his lithographs of contemporary New York at the Weyhe Gallery. A reviewer noted of Lozowick’s work: “Some of the new themes have to do with tugs, coal yards, factories, electric towers, bridges and a less static phenomenon known as traffic.”<sup>9</sup>

Avery, too, chose very similar themes. Like Lozowick, he depicted the Queensboro Bridge, the industrialized riverfront, coal tanks, the El Train, tugs, piers, and the working harbor. Avery focused on the dominant modes of transport that were being challenged by the new phenomenon of automobile traffic.<sup>10</sup> The railroad crossings and drawbridges that he recorded in his paintings represented, for drivers, interference with the automobile’s novel claim to right-of-way, and so they blamed the drawbridges and rail crossings for creating the first serious traffic jams, as the number of cars soared during the prosperous 1920s. The growing popularity and accessibility of the automobile was encouraging an explosion outward from American cities into what would become suburban sprawl.<sup>11</sup> Already, by April 1929, an annoyed New Jersey motorist wrote to the *New York Times*, protesting as “out of date” what he had experienced when “a single barge of gravel handled by a slow and undersized tug” caused a fifteen minute delay “for trains and automobiles alike;” he argued that the time had come to change “the old-fashioned rule that gives water traffic the right of way over land traffic at drawbridges at all hours.”<sup>12</sup>

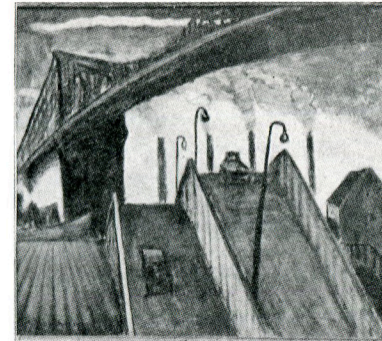
The railroad industry and all of its suppliers fought back. Copy from an advertisement for the General American Tank Car Corporation in *Fortune* magazine of May 1931 makes their argument clear: "Railroad transportation goes to market for us, bringing us the essentials of life. The riches of a thousand fields and farms would perish while people hungered, were it not for railroad transportation. Trainloads after trainloads come to our great cities every day, carrying hundreds of products to feed millions of our population. More and more we depend upon railroad transportation for the things that make life possible."<sup>13</sup>

The rails, however, depended upon New York's drawbridges to circumnavigate the city. The growing problems with the drawbridge system drew Avery's attention just as newspaper headlines documented its inherent danger, following a train wreck and the dramatic rescue that followed:

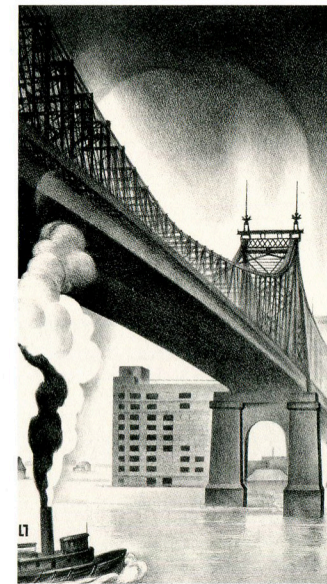
L.I. TRAIN WRECKED; / CAR WITH 16 ABOARD / IS HURLED INTO BAY /  
 28 Hurt as Electric Plunges / Through Open Drawbridge / at Hammel  
 Rockaway. / TRAPPED MEN ARE RESCUED / Some Break Windows  
 and Swim Out / — All on Train Shaken — / Aid Speeded to Scene; /  
 MOTORMAN IGNORED SIGNAL /<sup>14</sup>

An open drawbridge (resembling one that was then at the Gowanus Canal in Brooklyn) features in Avery's gouache, *Barge No. 14*. This image evokes the danger that occurred when human error caused a conductor to ignore the bridges' open status.

We know that Brooklyn, where Sally grew up and where her parents still lived, had some appeal for Avery; he painted at least two views of the Brooklyn Bridge, and won the Atheneum Prize of two hundred dollars for his 1929 painting of the iconic bridge (a work untraceable since the 1930s), when he showed it in the annual Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts exhibition. He also painted the bridge in a watercolor known as *The East River*. In both compositions, Avery viewed the bridge from the perspective of looking up from below, much as Lozowick showed the Queensboro Bridge in his 1930 lithograph. In depicting the Brooklyn Bridge, Avery followed many artists—among them Lozowick, John Marin, Joseph Stella, and Albert Gleizes.



Milton Avery, *Brooklyn Bridge*, 1929



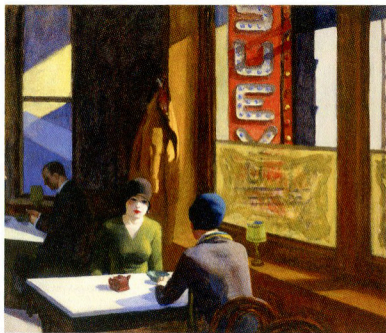
Louis Lozowick (1892–1973), *Queensboro Bridge*, 1930, lithograph on paper, 13 1/2 x 7 5/8 inches. Gift of Adele Lozowick. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC



Lincoln Square, New York, October, 1933

Brooklyn, however, was quite a distance from where Avery was then living on the West Side of Manhattan. From the winter of 1927, he and his new wife found a studio in the Annex of the Lincoln Arcade, at 1931 Broadway between 64th and 65th Streets. For decades, the shabby complex offered studios at cheap rents to a roster of artists that from time to time included George Bellows, Thomas Hart Benton, Stuart Davis, and Stanton Macdonald-Wright. Robert Henri ran his School for Independent Artists there in 1909, and it was where Duchamp began work on *The Large Glass*.

The Lincoln Arcade and Annex were part of Lincoln Square, formerly the area between Columbus and Amsterdam Avenues, between West 63rd Street and West 66th Street. A vintage photograph shows the presence of the El Train that formed part of the view from Avery's studio window, shown in his watercolor, *Studio View (Chop Suey)*. He depicted the El Train passing close by, a streetcar or trolley below, a Chop Suey sign advertising a second-story Chinese restaurant, shop windows, billboards, and a number of pedestrians. A comment by Wallace Putnam suggests that the locale of *Studio View (Chop Suey)* was Lincoln Square. He recalled that when Milton and Sally "lived in the Lincoln Arcade Annex on the south side. . . . They had elevated trains going by 15 feet away. You had to stop whenever they went by."<sup>15</sup> Putnam also recalled seeing Avery's paintings "over on the Hudson" in this studio. This would mean that *Studio View (Chop Suey)* was painted before the summer of 1930, when Avery left for summer vacation, since they would typically give up their apartment before they left for the summer, putting their belongings in storage and moving in the fall. Since Avery's next few West Side studios were located mid-block, they did not have such a close view of the El Train.



Edward Hopper (1882–1967), *Chop Suey*, 1929, oil on canvas, 32 x 38 inches  
Collection of Barney A. Ebsworth

Avery's focus on a Chop Suey restaurant captured what was then a popular food fad in New York. A similar sign appeared earlier in Edward Hopper's eponymous canvas of 1927, which recorded another second-floor eatery, also located on the West Side, but at Columbus Circle. Like Hopper, Avery took an interest in observing city life that was visible above street level. He was surely familiar with Hopper's work since the Rehn Gallery, which represented Hopper, gave Avery a show of his watercolors in 1928.



*Studio View (Chop Suey)*, ca. 1930s, watercolor on paper, 22 1/8 x 15 1/4 inches



Sally, March, and Milton Avery, New York City, 1933

The Averys, like many couples during the 1930s, relocated often, probably to take advantage of free rent incentives in a time of many vacancies. By the fall of 1930, they moved to 150 West 72nd Street, and by the fall of 1932, they moved again—to 101 West 78th Street.<sup>16</sup> From his various West Side studios, Avery roamed all around Manhattan and its surroundings in search of his new industrial subjects. His decision to experiment with views of urban industry might reflect his hope that a well-heeled magazine like *Fortune*, which catered to industrial tycoons by featuring stories and images of industry and conspicuous consumption, would pay to reproduce his paintings. Avery made this body of work, after all, at the beginning of the Great Depression, when such payment would be especially valuable. In 1931 alone, *Fortune* reproduced art by Thomas Hart Benton, George Biddle, Henry Billings, Edward Bruce, Edward Hopper, Reginald Marsh, and Charles Sheeler, among others, as well as photographs of industrial subjects by the photographer Margaret Bourke-White. Almost any artist would be pleased to have work reproduced in such a prominent place, though some, such as Hopper, turned down such opportunities for commissioned work.<sup>17</sup>

Michel's work as an illustrator, however, left Avery free to focus on his painting. Whether he was hoping for a commission from *Fortune* or elsewhere, he did make the effort to journey to northern Manhattan to find more industrial subjects to paint. Whenever he visited a place he wanted to depict, he produced black and white sketches on paper with written notations identifying or describing the colors. Like some other artists of his day, from Hopper to Charles Burchfield, Avery usually took his sketches back to his studio, where he painted his oils. According to his daughter March, Avery also painted his watercolors in his studio, utilizing his sketches and color notes. His notes on his sketch of the tanks of the Dietz Coal Company, for example, include: "white in shade," "white in light," "grey," "green," and "bright shadow" (see page 9). This kind of notation is a practice that has since been eclipsed by the invention of inexpensive color film and now, too, by digital photography.

Avery's watercolor, *Under the Bridge / Houseboat* depicts the Washington

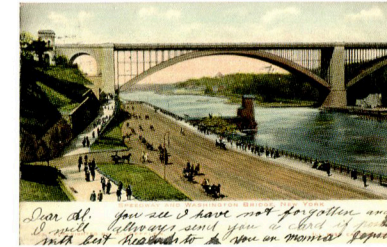


Bridge—connecting 181st Street and Amsterdam Avenue in Washington Heights to University Avenue in the Bronx—which is located along the Harlem River, with a view of High Bridge underneath it in the distance. Not far away, at the point where Spuyten Duyvil Creek and the Hudson River meet, Avery found the site for his watercolor, *Railyards*, which depicts the Spuyten Duyvil Swing Bridge, opened in 1899, which carries trains across the Spuyten Duyvil Creek between Manhattan and the Bronx.<sup>18</sup> A lone figure in the foreground approaches a sign that proclaims “Private Property NY Central;” in the middle ground, a tug pulls a barge across the water.

Tugboats held special appeal for Avery, who liked to depict them pushing or pulling barges in New York harbor. Not only the forms and colors of the tugboats attracted Avery. He was able to identify with their operators’ difficult working conditions, since he had had to rely upon employment in blue-collar factory jobs to support himself since he was a teenager. Before he became able to market his artwork, Avery worked variously as an assembler, a lathe man, and a mechanic. Wallace Putnam, his friend from the Hartford years, recalled that they “made tires for the U. S. Rubber Company—stinking job at night, but that way, we had day-hours to paint.”<sup>19</sup> Thus, when tugboat operators’ hardships were publicized, before they briefly went on strike in the spring of 1926, Avery may have experienced empathy when he heard about their demands for better pay and a ten-hour work day, instead of the sixty- to seventy-hour weeks that they had to put in before winning the right to get overtime pay.<sup>20</sup>

Only rarely, however, did Avery include people in his industrial images. Most of the industrial scenes he painted are, in fact, emptied of the urban populace. This is the case in his canvas, *Barge*, which depicts a barge and several tug boats before a view of warehouses, smokestacks, and the Queensboro Bridge, opened in 1909, located at 59th Street and connecting Manhattan and Queens, as it crosses the lower end of Roosevelt (formerly Welfare) Island in the East River.

When Avery does include the occasional lone figure, he calls to mind artists of similarly deserted urban settings, such as Hopper. Also related to Avery’s theme is Raphael Soyer’s canvas, *Water Street* of 1932, which depicts homeless



Speedway and Washington Bridge, vintage postcard, ca. 1906



Berenice Abbott (1898–1991), *Queensboro Bridge*, New York, 1937

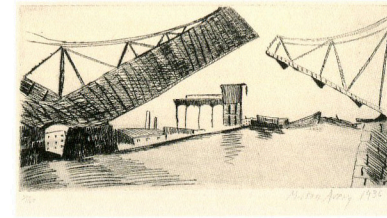


men crouching against a building along the waterfront, while a bold red billboard, advertising "GOOD PREMIUM COAL," is visible in the distance, behind which looms a construction crane.<sup>21</sup> In a canvas painted in a somber blue tint, known as *Mary*, for the name on the boat, Avery depicted the lonely figure of a solitary man, whose head is literally downcast. This gesture and tonality make us think, not only of Soyer's downtrodden Depression-era figures, but also of Picasso's earlier Blue Period, with its combination of blue tonality and moody desperation. The initial optimism attached to urban and machine imagery had clearly given way to disillusionment and fear, as the economic boom of the 1920s had yielded to the entrenched Depression of the 1930s.

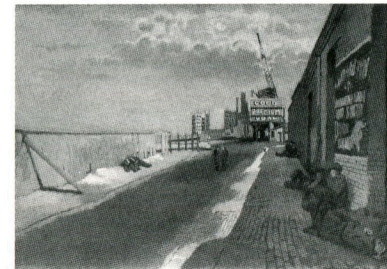
Despite such occasional expressive figures, Avery concentrated more on the forms and structures of industry. His decision to return, in 1936, to one such image for his drypoint, *Drawbridge, The Harlem River Bridge*, suggests that he remained rather pleased with this subject matter, even after he had moved on. Though Avery's other prints treat different types of themes, he produced this drypoint in an edition of sixty. Its composition recalls his earlier gouache, *Barge No. 14*, which also depicted an open drawbridge, the very kind that caused an inattentive motorman to drive his train into the water.

It was the previous year that the important art dealer Valentine Dudensing had invited Avery to join his prominent Fifty-seventh Street gallery. Other American artists there included Stuart Davis, Bernard Karfiol, Reginald Marsh, and Alexander Brook, but Dudensing also showed the work of major European modernists, creating more prestige for the gallery's American artists.

Also in 1935, Avery joined those who initiated The First American Artists' Congress Against War and Fascism. The Congress itself took place in New York City, from February 14–16, 1936. Among the more than 300 artists and other interested persons who signed a "Call for the American Artists' Congress," we find Avery listed, along with such names as Alexander Calder, Stuart Davis, Philip Evergood, Lorser Feitelson, Hugo Gellert, Adolph Gottlieb, William Gropper, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Louis Lozowick, Lewis Mumford, Isamu Noguchi, Meyer



Milton Avery, *Drawbridge, The Harlem River Bridge*, 1936, drypoint, 6 1/2 x 13 inches



Raphael Soyer (1899–1987), *Water Street*, 1932, oil on canvas, 16 x 24 inches

Schapiro, Ben Shahn, David Smith, Moses Soyer, Raphael Soyer, Niles Spencer, James Johnson Sweeney, and Max Weber.

Yet Avery's daughter March, who was only a small child during the 1930s, describes her father as "not politically active."<sup>22</sup> She nonetheless notes that her father read *P.M.*, a leftist daily tabloid newspaper published in New York from June 1940 for eight years.<sup>23</sup> Radical journalists wrote for *P.M.*, and it featured photographers as notable as Weegee [Arthur Fellig] and Margaret Bourke-White.

Reacting against the Hitler-Stalin Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, however, Avery, as well as his friends Gottlieb and Mark Rothko, withdrew from the American Artists' Congress, in order to protest that organization's ties with the Communist Party. Intending to separate art from politics, Avery and a number of other artists formed the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors in 1940. By then, Avery had shifted gears and turned away from his industrial subjects. The Depression years had now made clear that the optimism that accompanied technological advancement during the 1920s needed to be reconsidered. In his latest work, Avery had found much greater satisfaction in other aspects of modernism. At the same time, he had arrived at his mature signature style, painting with a reductive representation to express what he observed through his mastery of color and simplified form. That formal direction, with its abstract shapes and dramatic emphasis on tonality (such as his turquoise skies juxtaposed with red accents) had already manifested itself in some of Avery's industrial images.

— Gail Levin

Gail Levin is Distinguished Professor of Art History, American Studies, and Women's Studies at Baruch College and The Graduate Center of The City University of New York. Her work has been recognized with grants from the National Endowment of the Humanities, the Fulbright Association, The Getty Research Institute, the Pollock-Krasner / Stony Brook Foundation, Harvard University, Yale University, and Brandeis University, among others. She has organized exhibitions internationally. Her publications include *Edward Hopper: A Catalogue Raisonné*; *Hopper's Places*; *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography*; *Becoming Judy Chicago: A Biography of the Artist*, and many other books and essays. Her biography of Lee Krasner is forthcoming in 2011.

1. See, for example, Richard Guy Wilson et al., *The Machine Age in America, 1918–1941* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986).
2. See Edward Hopper's *Libby House, 1927*, in Gail Levin, *Hopper's Places* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985, 1998), pp. 54–55, no. 14.
3. Francis M. Naumann, *Wallace Putnam 1899–1989* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002), pp. 36–37.
4. Duchamp and Avery shared an interest in the eccentric artist Louis M. Eilshemius (1864–1941), whom Duchamp supported long before Eilshemius preceded Avery, by a few years, in joining Valentine Dudensing Gallery; Avery completed a posthumous portrait of Eilshemius in 1942.
5. Dickran Tashjian, "Engineering a New Art," in Wilson et al., pp. 221–234.
6. Margret Kentgens-Craig, *The Bauhaus and America: First Contacts, 1919–1936* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001), p. 71.
7. Jane Heap, "Machine-Age Exposition," in the catalogue *Machine-Age Exposition, May 6–28, 1927* (New York: *The Little Review*), n.p.
8. Louis Lozowick, essay in the catalogue *Machine-Age Exposition, May 6–28, 1927*, reprinted in Janet Flint, *The Prints of Louis Lozowick: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1982), p. 19.
9. "Lozowick Shows Lithographs," *The New York Times* (March 24, 1931), p. 30.
10. One of Lozowick's 1930 lithographs, *Traffic*, depicts the El Train above with automobiles clustered below.
11. See for example, Lloyd Morris, *Not So Long Ago* (New York: Random House, 1949), p. 382.
12. Stephen G. Rich of Verona, New Jersey, letter to the editor, captioned, "Close the Drawbridges," *The New York Times* (April 4, 1929), p. 9.
13. Advertisement for General American Tank Car Corporation, *Fortune* 3: 5 (May 1931), p. 105.
14. "L.I. TRAIN WRECKED; CAR WITH 16 ABROAD IS HURLED INTO BAY," *The New York Times* (July 22, 1928), p. 1.
15. Wallace Putnam, Oral History Interview of August 13–20, 1982, conducted by Avis Berman, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.
16. Research in the New York City directories contrasts slightly with information in the chronology by Jill Snyder and Isabelle Dervaux in *Against the Stream: Milton Avery, Adolph Gottlieb, and Mark Rothko in the 1930s* (Katonah Museum of Art, 1994), pp. 58–59.
17. For example, although Hopper later turned down the offer of a commission from *Fortune*, he did allow the magazine to reproduce his paintings. One issue at this time included his lighthouse in an article on that subject; see "Pillar of Fire," *Fortune* 3: 6 (June 1931), p. 53, for a reproduction of Hopper's *Lighthouse Hill*. See Gail Levin, *Edward Hopper: An Intimate Biography* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995; Rizzoli, 2007), p. 296, and note 63.
18. Lozowick later depicted the Spuyten Duyvil Swing Bridge under the new Hudson Bridge in his 1936 lithograph *Spanning the Hudson (New Hudson Bridge)*. See Flint, no. 140, p. 122.
19. Wallace Putnam, "Three Heroes I Have Known," unpublished ms., Wallace Putnam Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Naumann, p. 29, notes that they left their insurance company jobs to work for higher pay as manual laborers, but that the smell of glue and freshly cut rubber was awful.
20. "3,000 IN TUG STRIKE; MAY TIE UP HARBOR," *The New York Times* (April 16, 1926), p. 1. Avery's wife Sally Michel began working as an illustrator for *The New York Times*. It is evident that the couple were aware of what was going on in the city.
21. Soyer repeated this image in his 1934 lithograph entitled *Waterfront*, Collection Library of Congress.
22. March Avery, interview with the author, 12–2–2009.
23. *P.M.* was published by Ralph Ingersoll and financed by Marshall Field, III, trustee of The Museum of Modern Art, and heir to the department store fortune. March Avery also recalled that her parents sent her to the Little Red Schoolhouse, a progressive school in New York that, from its founding in 1921, tested principles advocated since the turn of the 20th century by John Dewey.