

## CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	xi
<i>Preface. Melville, Mumford, Modernity</i>	xiii
CHAPTER 1. Loomings (1927–29)	1
CHAPTER 2. The Whiteness of the Page (1856–65)	7
CHAPTER 3. Bitter Morning (1918–19)	14
CHAPTER 4. Fragments of War and Peace (1865–67)	20
CHAPTER 5. Reconstruction (1930–31)	29
CHAPTER 6. The Golden Day (1846–50)	37
CHAPTER 7. Retrospective (1956–82)	45
CHAPTER 8. A Bosom Friend (1850–51)	52
CHAPTER 9. Amor Threatening (1930–35)	62
CHAPTER 10. Cetology (1851–52)	71
CHAPTER 11. Neotechnics (1932–34)	80
CHAPTER 12. The Ambiguities (1852)	90
CHAPTER 13. Spiritual Freedom (1935–38)	99
CHAPTER 14. The Happy Failure (1853–55)	108
CHAPTER 15. Reconnaissance (1899–1925)	117
CHAPTER 16. Disenchantment (1853–55)	126
CHAPTER 17. Counterpoint (1938)	136
CHAPTER 18. Redburn (1839–55)	144
CHAPTER 19. Radburn (1923–39)	154

X CONTENTS

CHAPTER 20. Revolutions (1848–55)	166
CHAPTER 21. Misgivings and Preparatives (1938–39)	177
CHAPTER 22. The Piazza (1856–57)	186
CHAPTER 23. Faith (1940–43)	195
CHAPTER 24. The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating (1856–57)	206
CHAPTER 25. The Darkness of the Present Day (1944)	217
CHAPTER 26. More Gloom, and the Light of That Gloom (1856–76)	228
CHAPTER 27. Survival (1944–47)	240
CHAPTER 28. The Warmth and Chill of Wedded Life and Death (1876–91)	252
CHAPTER 29. Chronometricals and Horologicals (1944–51)	264
CHAPTER 30. The Life-Buoy (1891; 1924–29)	278
CHAPTER 31. Man’s Role in Changing the Face of the Earth (1951–62)	291
CHAPTER 32. Revival (1919–62)	302
CHAPTER 33. Call Me Jonah (1962–82)	315
CHAPTER 34. Lizzie (1891–1906)	330
CHAPTER 35. Sophia (1982–97)	341
CHAPTER 36. Rediscovery (2019)	352
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	361
<i>Notes</i>	371
<i>Illustration Credits</i>	433
<i>Index</i>	435

## CHAPTER 1

# Loomings (1927-29)

Do you know any optimistic historians? There aren't many. Spend almost any length of time studying the past, and the rosier conclusion you'll come to is that our record is, well, mixed. Every time we take a hundred steps forward, we take ninety-nine back, and it's unclear where the next one is going to land.

For every scholar willing to claim that, say, the 1950s were a "great" era in American history, when the income gap closed and opportunity knocked at everyone's door, a hundred others will remind you that not everyone had a door, that there was a war in Korea, that some veterans were drinking too much and beating their wives, that women were kept from the workforce, that African Americans were kept from voting, that children grew up with air-raid drills, that artists were blacklisted and intellectuals jailed for controversial opinions, that synagogues were bombed, that radiation and toxic chemicals were seeping into everyone's bodies.

But pessimism does not exclude the possibility of hope—because history teaches that things do shift. The most dour among us will argue that all change just represents entropy, the inevitable drift toward further chaos. But then why didn't Nature reclaim our cities centuries ago? Yes, we are part of the chaos, but we also sometimes struggle against it: we create culture, make meaning, insist on ideals like liberty, equality, and solidarity, sometimes with startling, unpredictable success.

Lewis Mumford's first book, published in 1922, just before he turned twenty-seven, was *The Story of Utopias*. It was, of course, a story of failure, because Utopia is an impossible dream. But the point was the value

of the dreaming, the restless striving toward collective thriving, the determined envisioning of alternatives to hierarchy and domination. If there was no such thing as a perfect place, there could at least be a “good place,” which Mumford sometimes referred to as “*eutopia*,” drawing on the Greek root in words like eulogy and euphonious. And he argued that our collective “will-to-eutopia” was in fact the only thing preventing society’s disintegration. Predictably, for the rest of his life, Mumford would have to fend off the label of dreamy Utopian, and that drove him crazy. In his 1940 book, *Faith for Living*, he included an entire chapter called “Life Is Better than Utopia,” and when he issued a new edition of *The Story of Utopias* in 1962 he cantankerously reminded his readers that “my utopia is actual life.” What he always returned to was the need, in any half-decent society, to protect people’s ability to protest and resist, to contest dominant values, which so often serve merely to keep the powerful in power: “Unlike utopian writers, I must find a place in any proposed scheme for challenge and opposition and conflict.”<sup>1</sup>

In short, to be a eutopian meant to believe in the constant, open renegotiation of what the good society should be, in the face of stiffening conventions and constraints—meant embracing hope, despite ever-looming “Ordeals of Reality.” That’s another chapter title, from the very last book Mumford published, just before the onset of dementia; it referred to the period when he was writing his Melville biography, from 1927 to 1929.

He had started work on the Melville project under congenial circumstances: summer, Martha’s Vineyard, with his wife, Sophia, and their two-year-old son, in “a shabby little shack” they had rented, “on a lonely heath.” The sea was their “constant companion,” washing against the cliffs, “whispering or roaring, soothing or threatening, advancing or retreating”; nearby was an ancient, tree-lined farm worked by two elderly women. Mumford delighted in the flow and ebb, the stimulation and repose of the landscape: “a ridge of sandy cliffs, skirting the shores for a couple of miles until they sank into dunes, marked the abrupt end of the land, and at the bottom of these cliffs we sunned ourselves and bathed.”<sup>2</sup>

It was a refuge, a retreat: many members of the Lost Generation escaped the trauma of the Great War by immersing themselves in nature and seeking inspiration from the past. Up to this point, Mumford had been ensconced in New York City, and he still lived there in the fall,

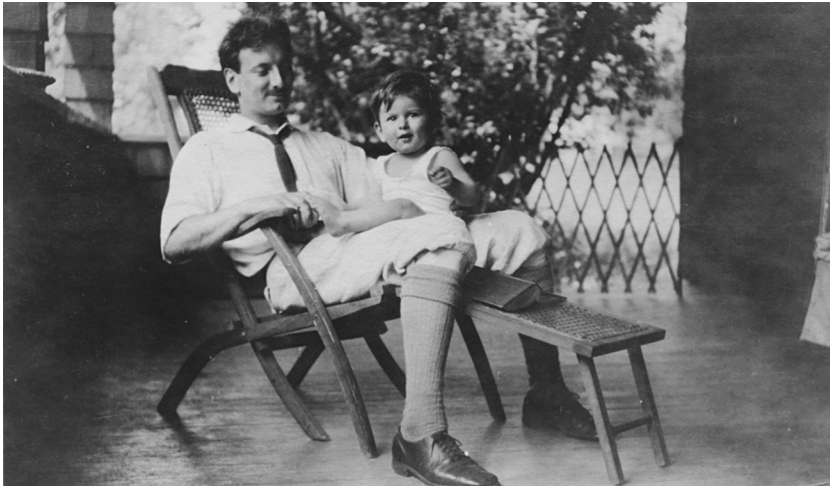


FIGURE 1. Lewis and Geddes Mumford in 1926 or 1927.

winter, and spring, but in his writing, throughout the 1920s, he had already begun to search historical landscapes for ways of transcending his life amid skyscrapers and offsetting his society's fixation on power and conquest. Unlike most 1920s intellectuals, though, who generally looked to Europe for alternatives to the conservatism dominating the United States, Mumford dove ever deeper into American cultural history.<sup>3</sup>

After *The Story of Utopias* he published *Sticks and Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (1924), in which he proposed the classic Massachusetts village as the embodiment of a highly "intelligent partnership between the earth and man."<sup>4</sup> Then, in his breakthrough book, *The Golden Day: A Study in American Literature and Culture* (1926), Mumford wrote even more yearningly of old New England, celebrating the efflorescence of imagination in the 1840s and 1850s, noting the outdoor energy of antebellum poetry and prose, the embrace of both science and art, modernity and timelessness. *The Golden Day* established writers like Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Hawthorne, Poe, and Melville as the archetypal American geniuses, sparking a new scholarly movement to appreciate what we now call "The American Renaissance."<sup>5</sup> The clear heroes of that book were Emerson and Whitman, and either could easily have served as the subject of a new biography. But Mumford chose Melville.

Perhaps he wanted to embrace tragedy as openly as possible, to shake off the public's perception that he was primarily a nostalgic utopian. Perhaps he truly craved a dose of darkness, found it exhilarating to follow Melville in a "flight . . . over an unconquered and perhaps an unconquerable abyss." Or perhaps he wanted to redeem Melville: "his perplexities, his defiances, his torments, his questions, even his failures, all have a meaning for us."<sup>6</sup>

Certainly, he wished to contribute to the revival that had been initiated by Raymond Weaver's book of 1921, *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*. Mumford agreed with Weaver that Melville was "distinctly modern" and that his tragic sensibility was deeply relevant to the post–Great War world.<sup>7</sup> But he was also eager to revise Weaver's accounting of the second half of Melville's life.

To Weaver, the great author's final four decades, from 1851 (after *Moby-Dick* was published in November) until his death in 1891, seemed an utter waste—years of bitter withdrawal, disillusioned sterility, perhaps even mental illness. Yes, he wrote a few poems, but, as Weaver put it, "his signal literary achievement was done. The rest, if not silence, was whisper." After devoting 350 pages to that early achievement, Weaver tacked on one final chapter, called "The Long Quietus," to cover Melville's whispering defeat, even referring to *The Confidence-Man*, published in 1857, as "a posthumous work."<sup>8</sup>

Mumford read Weaver's book in the fall of 1927, and paused in his research notes to record his outrage: "Weaver, to support his melodramatic thesis, puts forty years into forty pages."<sup>9</sup> When Mumford's biography of Melville came out, it gave three times as much space to those final four decades, and the last chapter of the book was called, pointedly, "The Flowering Aloe."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Mumford insisted not only that Melville had written some beautiful, poignant poetry in his later years but also that he had stumbled onto a kind of "peace": especially during the 1870s and 1880s, "Melville found life, not good or bad, malicious or forbearing, true or false. Something more important had happened: he found it livable."<sup>11</sup>

Mumford had been through his own crucible from about 1915 until 1925, when he was in his twenties, struggling with his marriage, with vague but debilitating illnesses, with his conviction that he was destined

to write plays and poetry, with a tangled relationship to his overbearing intellectual mentor, Patrick Geddes. But once he started work on *The Golden Day* and once Sophia gave birth to their first child (named Geddes) in July 1925, Mumford came into a new confidence. He saw Melville as the ultimate challenge. Until that point, Mumford believed, “I had never pushed myself to my limits,” but by confronting Melville’s “dark life story,” he thought he could convey “the lesson of a noble defiance.”<sup>12</sup> On Martha’s Vineyard, in the summer of 1927, islanded, surrounded by the sounds of the sea, he took great pleasure in getting “a drenching in the nakedness of natural scenes, natural forces, natural acts.”<sup>13</sup> He seemed to assume that his “sanguine disposition,” his “naturally buoyant temperament,” would help him resurface after he went plunging after Melville into “those cold black depths, the depths of the sunless ocean.”<sup>14</sup>

But the writing process is fickle, unpredictable: “I could not guess then that Melville’s tragic exploration of his depths would in time unbare parts of my own life which I had never been ready to face.”<sup>15</sup> By the fall of 1928, as Mumford was finishing the biography, he found himself grappling with “problems, pressures, bafflements, and emotional cross-currents of my own similar to those I was probing in Melville.”<sup>16</sup> Apparently there was a “deeper parallel” than he had realized: he had found a “brother spirit.”<sup>17</sup> And this sudden identification would evolve into his lifelong obsession not only with Melville but with the darkness of his own soul, and of human history.

As both the year and his book drew to a close, Mumford found that his “energies were badly depleted,” and he began hoping he would fall ill, just so he would have an excuse to rest.<sup>18</sup> “In a verse I addressed to Melville . . . , I pictured my relation to him, ‘a sick man,’ as that of a nurse, watching by his bedside, tending him through the fever that brought him almost to death. In that office, I poured my sunlight upon him, only to find myself being swallowed up by his blackness, falling with him into chasms no light of mine could ever penetrate. Before that vigil was over, I wrote, ‘the weakened nurse became the patient: I watched the fever take possession of my bones.’”<sup>19</sup> Even his marriage began to falter again, as Sophia suffered a miscarriage and expressed jealousy over Lewis’s attentions to their neighbor Helen Ascher, a “dark,

sensuous” woman (Lewis’s words) who lived nearby both in New York and on Martha’s Vineyard and who was married but known for having many lovers.<sup>20</sup> And then, as Mumford put it, “with a kind of Melvillian fatality both Sophia and I from November on went through the most desolate year of our whole lifetime until our son’s death in 1944.”<sup>21</sup> As Mumford paced along New York avenues, he sometimes “composed obituaries, nice ones, written in the *New Republic* style, about myself.”<sup>22</sup> It was, as Ishmael would say, “a damp, drizzly November” in his soul.<sup>23</sup>

By May 1929, Mumford should have been celebrating his book’s publication, but instead, at the age of thirty-three, he was reading Dante and imagining himself lost in the darkest of forests—in a purgatory. His son had been in the hospital for months after barely surviving surgery for a double mastoid, which had come close to infecting his brain, and Lewis would be haunted by the boy’s feverish wails for the rest of his life. He felt he had experienced “one of the deepest torments a human being can know: his utter helplessness, as in a nightmare, to save the person he loves from mortal injury.”<sup>24</sup> Now he was actively considering an affair with Helen, and he suspected that Sophia was already seeing another man: “we felt inwardly estranged, with nothing in common except our distance from each other.” By July, the adjective “Melvillian” had entered his lexicon to stay (though with two different spellings). “The inner me has never been worse,” he wrote, in his private notes. “For the last few days I have been conscious of a bleak, Melvillean feeling of despair: vast, blank, senseless, but unaccountably desperate. His image is bad medicine; and when I am feeling down I begin to regret that I had anything to do with him.”<sup>25</sup>

Melville, it turned out, was Mumford’s white whale. But did that make him Ishmael or Ahab?

The biography did reasonably well at first, and was selected for the Literary Guild’s new paperback series. That provided a nice windfall. But sales dried up a few months later. On October 19, Mumford turned thirty-four. On October 29, the stock market collapsed, launching what would become the Great Depression. No one cared about white whales after Black Tuesday.



## INDEX

*Note:* “HM” refers to Herman Melville and “LM” refers to Lewis Mumford.

Page numbers in *italic* type indicate illustrations.

- Adams, John, 172  
affect theory, 372n3  
affordable housing, 156, 160, 162, 164  
African Americans: in early twentieth century, 32; injustices committed against, 99, 182, 222, 274–75, 319; in *Moby-Dick*, 60; Reconstruction’s outcome for, 29. *See also* black Englishmen; race and racism; slavery  
Agricola, 85  
Ahab (literary character): and death, 77, 279–80, 282; LM’s understanding of, 181, 276, 312; as modern figure, 312; persons (actual or fictional) compared to, 6, 84, 92, 130, 246, 248, 253, 276, 311, 349; power sought and wielded by, 76–77, 84, 181, 295–96; single-mindedness of, 276; and the tragedy/darkness in life, 54, 75–76, 94; trauma of, 20, 75, 151, 312; various significances of, 76–77, 311–12  
Albany *Evening Journal* (newspaper), 209–10, 213  
Alexander, Jeffrey, 375n16  
Alien Act (1918), 16  
Allen, Ethan, 210  
aloe, 4, 39, 261–62, 377n10  
ambiguity, 67, 71, 90–91, 101, 108, 274, 278, 285, 288–89, 306, 314, 316–17. *See also* openness; uncertainty  
Amenia, New York, 48–49, 51, 103–4, 142, 163, 183–84, 200, 203–4, 219, 225, 240–43, 250, 264, 268, 292, 322–25, 343, 357–58  
American Academy of Arts and Letters, 319  
American Aloe, 261–62, 377n10  
American literature, 3, 41, 144, 302, 309  
*American Mercury* (magazine), 371n1  
American Philosophical Society, 293  
American Renaissance, 3, 376n5  
American Revolution, xvii–xviii, 24, 91–92, 144, 166–68, 170–73, 175–76, 207, 209  
American Studies, 376n5  
Antinous, 333–34, 425n16  
Appalachian Trail, 155  
architecture: Bauer and, 68, 162; change and continuity in, 97, 319; HM and, 215, 260; LM and, 3, 33, 65, 104, 119, 138, 299, 319, 323; suited to contemporary needs, 160  
Ardeatine Cave memorial, 318–19  
Arendt, Hannah, 288  
Arvin, Newton, 310  
Ascher, Charles S., 161  
Ascher, Helen, 5–6  
atomic bomb, 243–44, 273, 308, 312. *See also* nuclear testing  
Auden, W. H., 288  
Augustine, 185  
automobiles, 117, 154, 158–59, 300  
avant-garde, 136, 358

- backward perspective: America's need for, 230; historical imagination and, 18; HM and, xvii, 21; interaction of forward perspective with, 1, 21, 78, 80, 230, 275, 322; Lincoln and, 21; LM and, xiii, 14, 31, 322; *Moby-Dick* and, 78. *See also* forward perspective; historical parallels; history
- Bailey, Liberty Hyde, 104, 139
- balance and interconnection: in cities, 122–23, 136–39, 399n3; between city and country, 139–43, 397n19; in communalism, 138–39; in democracy, 45; ecology and, 81, 85–88, 139; LM and, 47–50, 104, 123, 224, 270, 275, 313; in modern life, 45, 48–50, 79; in ports, 152; in Renaissance period, 86–87; in scientific inquiry, 74; technology and, 86–87; in writing, 47–48, 77–79
- Baldwin, James, 357
- Baudelaire, Charles, 325
- Bauer, Catherine, 64–70, 83, 86, 88, 101–2, 136, 161–63, 326, 342, 350; *Modern Housing*, 67–69
- Beard, Charles, 178
- Benedictine monasteries, 84
- Berkshires, Massachusetts, 8–9, 11, 42–43, 54, 57–58, 62, 91, 97, 110, 145, 171, 185, 186–87, 190–91, 229, 261, 262, 332, 338–39, 357
- Berlant, Lauren, 372n3
- Berman, Marshall, xiii, 389n18
- Billson, James, 414n29
- binaries, 72
- Bing, Alexander, 156–57, 161
- black Englishmen, 150
- Boas, Franz, 304, 309, 311
- Boone, Daniel, 208
- Bowen, Elizabeth, *The House in Paris*, 375n20
- Branford, Victor, 124
- Braude, Ann, 423n16
- Brewster, John, 186–87
- Britten, Benjamin, *Billy Budd*, 306
- Brodie, Jocelyn, 323–28, 341–42, 347, 349, 350, 423n16, 428n29
- Brooke, Rupert, 303
- Brooks, Van Wyck, 238, 376n5, 403n2, 411n25
- Buddhism, 261, 289
- Buffalo Bill, 236
- Calvinism, 312
- Cambridge History of American Literature*, 302, 332
- Camus, Albert, 288
- Cape Horn, as symbol of life's challenges, 13, 78, 132, 134, 191, 214, 250, 265, 288, 292
- capitalism: carboniferous, 81, 86, 356, 360; critiques of, 93, 99, 103, 138, 195–96, 306, 308; industrial, 81–83, 179, 195; racism linked to, 207
- carboniferous capitalism, 81, 86, 356, 360. *See also* fossil fuels
- Carson, Rachel, 139; *The Sea around Us*, 291; *Silent Spring*, 300
- Cather, Willa, *The Professor's House*, 375n20
- Central Park, New York, 50, 158, 160, 254, 256, 323
- cetology, 73–74, 280
- Chandigarh, India, 158
- change and continuity: in architecture, 97, 319; dialectical relationship of, xviii–xix, 274; HM and, 231; in “Jimmy Rose,” 115; LM's engagement with notions of, 30, 32, 222; in *Moby-Dick*, 355; recognition of, 237, 357; revolutions and, 168; in space and time, 274; in Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, xix. *See also* rediscovery
- Channing, William Ellery, 193
- Chase, Jack, 290, 335
- Chase, Richard, 310
- Christensen, Karen, 379n18, 429n35
- Christianity: as check on Roman excesses, 223; converts to, 213; critiques of, 92–93, 177, 185, 211, 212, 313; and death, 196–97; LM on, 223, 224; and love, 197, 200, 223; missionary activity of, 213; in Radburn, 161
- Churchill, Winston, 201
- Cicero, 237

- cities: balance of countryside with, 139–43, 397n19; critiques of, 187; and democracy, 136, 138; environmental issues in, 154; HM's engagement with, 147, 153, 155; Hopper and, 399n3; interconnection in, 122–23, 136–39, 399n3; LM's engagement with, xiv, 36, 47–48, 117–19, 121–23, 136–39, 154–55, 299–300, 323, 344, 396n6, 397n19, 420n24; and modernity, 118, 121; Patrick Geddes and, 119–20, 141; productive conflict in, 136, 137, 155
- The City* (documentary), 105, 136, 163, 184
- City Housing Corporation, 156–57, 160, 161
- civilization: contradictory features of, 356; HM and, 38, 39, 127, 164, 170, 177, 212; LM and, 15, 47–48, 83, 164, 177–79, 181, 204, 220–21, 223, 267, 273
- Civil War: conduct of, 20–21; Hawthorne and, 23; HM's experience of, 12, 16, 24–25, 229; HM's works concerning, 12, 20–25, 229–30, 289, 308; literature and the arts after, 33–34; origins of, 134; trauma of, 22; World War I compared to, xvii
- class: cities and, 147–49, 153; exploitation of lower, 145; in HM's work, 144–49; housing developments and, 157, 160; LM and, 123, 141; New Deal and, 31; seafaring hierarchies likened to, 150–51; suburbs and, 138; in United States, 173, 289, 307
- climate change, xiv, xviii, 75, 154, 271, 356, 358–60
- closure. *See* completion/wholeness/finish; openness
- Coketown, 81–82, 118
- Cold War, 271, 300, 309, 312, 315
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, 324
- Columbia University, 302, 304, 331
- communal feelings: in the city, 137–42; ecological consciousness and, 291; HM and, 23–25; in HM's and Hawthorne's friendship, 56–57; Ishmael's reflections on, xvi, 17–18, 25, 60–61; LM and, 97, 291, 297; military/seafaring life and, 17, 207, 218, 224, 226, 258, 275, 336; in Roaring Twenties, 32; shared humanity as basis for, 131, 207, 275, 297; survival in modern times linked to, 244–45, 358, 359–60. *See also* love
- Communist Party, 292
- completion/wholeness/finish, 63–64, 73–74, 137, 280. *See also* openness
- Compromise of 1850, 60
- Congress (U.S.), 134, 270
- Conrad, Joseph, 90
- Constable (publisher), 306
- Constitution (U.S.), 21
- consumerism, 32, 81, 157, 180, 243–44, 269, 297
- Coons, Dick, 346
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 302
- Copland, Aaron, 136, 163, 305
- Cotkin, George, 376n25
- counterculture, 320
- Counterfeit Detectors, 210
- Country House, 81, 92
- Country Life movement, 104
- countryside, 48, 104, 139–43, 184, 200, 397n19. *See also* nature
- Covid-19 pandemic, xviii, 356
- Cowley, Malcolm, 178
- cultural criticism: in HM's work, xv–xvi, 38–39, 51, 82, 92–93, 144–53, 302, 305, 307–8; LM and, xiv, 3, 14, 16–17, 30–36, 50, 80–89, 104, 136–43, 177–85, 195–203, 221–24, 243–45, 270–77, 315–22, 348, 388n8, 389n8, 397n16; in nineteenth century, 388n8
- cultural relativism, 304–5
- cummings, e. e., 136, 305
- Cvetkovich, Ann, 371n2, 372n3
- Dante Alighieri, 6, 224, 228, 243
- dark decades: of nineteenth century, 16, 33, 34–35, 273, 308–9, 314; of twentieth century, xv, 16, 30–32, 34–35, 243, 272–73, 304, 308–9, 314, 317, 343; of twenty-first century, xiv–xv. *See also* tragedy and darkness in life

- Dartmouth College, 250, 309
- death: Ahab and, 279–80, 282; in *Billy Budd*, 278, 283–86; Christianity and, 196–97; HM and, 257, 262–63; LM and, 47, 196–97, 245, 268; meaning-making provoked by fact of, 234; memoirs about, 266; in *Moby-Dick*, 282–83
- De Certeau, Michel, 397n17
- Decker, Alice, 70, 101–2, 104–5, 326, 342, 345
- Declaration of Independence, 21
- Deism, 234
- Delano, Amasa, 132–35, 142
- Delmonico's (New York), 117, 260–61
- democracy: Americans' hypocritical practice of, 235–36; balance and interconnection in, 45; basic principles of, 236; cities and, 136, 138; and contemporary challenges, 359–60; LM and, 179, 183, 196; love of fellow beings as basis of, 135, 360
- The Dial* (journal), 15–16, 19, 30
- Dickinson, Emily, 33
- disenchantment: HM and, 134–35, 374n7; LM and, 142, 185; with modernity, 134–35, 196, 235; in Murray's attitude toward Melville, 314; pessimistic philosophy and, 261, 414n29; trauma of, 142
- doubt, in HM's life and work, 8, 12, 94, 96, 170–71, 215, 228, 233, 236–37, 288. *See also* uncertainty
- Douglas, Frederick, 134
- Dred Scott case, 208
- Duffy, John, 249
- Duyckinck, Evert, 10, 59–61, 167, 340
- Duyckinck, George, 167
- ecology, 80–81, 85–88, 119, 139, 224, 244, 291–96, 328. *See also* environmentalism; nature
- Egypt, 215, 317
- Eleanor (HM's granddaughter). *See* Metcalf, Eleanor Melville
- Ellison, Ralph, *Invisible Man*, 306, 313
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 3, 16, 33, 39, 53, 60, 64, 74, 130, 144, 272, 273, 324, 356
- empire. *See* imperialism
- endurance: as communal obligation, xx; HM and, 119; HM's literary depictions of, 116, 128, 175, 233–34, 355; LM and, 17, 70; in Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, xix
- Enlightenment, xviii, 223, 321
- entropy, xix, 1
- environmentalism, 75, 139–43, 154, 200, 397n19. *See also* ecology
- Eotechnic era, 85–87, 89, 100, 139, 199
- Espionage Act (1917), 16
- European revolutions (1848), 110, 167–68
- evolution, 119, 235
- existentialism, 376n25, 402n19. *See also* meaning-making
- fascism, 46, 100, 103, 178–85, 195–96, 199, 208, 241, 243, 292–93
- Faulkner, William, 306, 309
- FDR. *See* Roosevelt, Franklin D.
- feminism, 39, 350
- finish. *See* completion/wholeness/finish
- Fitzgerald, F. Scott, 309; *This Side of Paradise*, 303
- Five Nations, 210
- flogging, 39, 59–60
- flu pandemic (1918–19), xviii, 14
- Fogo, 207
- Ford, John, 354
- Forest Hills, Queens, New York, 157
- Forman, Paul, 374n9, 396n6
- Forster, E. M., 288, 306
- forward perspective: America's need for, 230, 274–75; HM and, 21; interaction of backward perspective with, 1, 21, 78, 80, 230, 275, 322; Lincoln and, 21; LM and, 80, 136–37, 179, 322; *Moby-Dick* and, 78. *See also* backward perspective; hope and renewal
- fossil fuels, 81, 294–95. *See also* carboniferous capitalism
- Fox sisters, 189
- France: 1848 revolution in, 167; 1789 revolution in, xvii–xviii, 168, 175–76; in World War II, 195, 199

- Frances (HM's granddaughter). *See* Osborne,  
Frances Cuthbert Thomas
- Franco, Francisco, 178
- Frank, Waldo, 199–200, 406n14; *Chart for  
Rough Water*, 200; *The Rediscovery of  
America*, 31, 200
- Franklin, Benjamin, 172
- Franzen, Jonathan, 9
- freedom, 100–101, 103, 169–70, 183
- Freeman, John, 371n1
- Freud, Sigmund, 62, 311, 414n34
- Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique*, 300,  
350
- Frontier, 100, 208–11, 236, 390n2
- Frost, Robert, 309
- Fugitive Slave Law, 60
- Fuller, Margaret, 16, 33, 39, 64, 144
- Galapagos, 127–28, 237
- Gallipagos, 127, 175
- Gansevoort, Guert, 289
- Gansevoort, Kate, 336, 338, 339
- Gansevoort, Peter, 167
- Garden Cities, xv, 123, 140, 154–55, 157, 162,  
396n6, 420n24
- Gauguin, Paul, 303
- Geddes, Patrick, 5, 81, 83, 85, 119–21, 123–26,  
136, 138, 141, 154–55, 182
- 'Gees, 207
- geology, 235
- George, Henry, 388n8
- Gibbon, Edward, 253, 413n7
- Gilded Age, 29, 82, 236, 253, 307, 381n1, 388n8
- Go-Aheadism, 37, 110, 235, 308. *See also*  
Progress
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 57
- Goldberger, Paul, 344
- Gothic Line, 225, 227
- Grace Church, New York, 146
- Grant, Ulysses S., 21
- Great Depression, xv, xvii, 6, 30–31, 68, 80,  
89, 100, 137, 157–58, 161, 182, 198, 220, 343
- Great Recession (2008), xvii, 156
- Great War. *See* World War I
- Greeley, Horace, 212
- Greenbelt, Maryland, 162–64, 323
- Greenbelt Towns, 162
- Greif, Mark, 409n8
- Gunther, John, *Death Be Not Proud*, 266
- Guthrie, Woody, 69
- Haitian Revolution, 134
- Harline, Craig, *Conversions*, 375n17
- Harper's* (magazine), 187
- Hawthorne, Julian, 335–36; *Hawthorne and  
His Circle*, 336
- Hawthorne, Maria Louisa, 110
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel: and American  
literature, 144; background of, 53–54;  
*The Blithedale Romance*, 398n5; cultural  
criticism in writings of, 27, 39; “Fire-  
Worship,” 54; government jobs of, 10, 11,  
27, 109; HM's critical commentary on,  
43–44, 54; HM's friendship with, 10–11,  
43–44, 52–59, 61, 62, 96, 171, 206, 314,  
335–36, 414n34; LM's critical commentary  
on, 3; and *Moby-Dick*, 56, 58, 71; *Mosses  
from an Old Manse*, 43, 57; and Puritanism,  
39, 43, 59; reticent character of, 53, 55;  
*The Scarlet Letter*, 27; and the tragedy/  
darkness in life, 43–44, 53, 59; on United  
States and the Civil War, 23, 33
- Hawthorne, Sophia, 43, 55, 61
- Hayes, Rutherford B., 254
- Henry Clay* (steamboat), 110
- historical parallels: dark decades of nineteenth,  
twentieth, and twenty-first centuries, xiv,  
xvi–xvii, 16, 34–35, 273, 308–9, 314, 355–56;  
in HM's fiction and poetry, 144–53, 254;  
pandemics, xviii; personal lives of HM  
and LM, 5–6, 13, 62–65, 78, 243, 314, 342,  
355; Potter's memoir and, 166; Roman  
Empire and America, 254; as source of hope  
for renewal, xv, xvii, 1, 18, 34–35, 50–51,  
220–24, 236, 273, 357; the uncanny in, xvi,  
xvii, 34; work of HM and LM's life and  
work, 67, 78–79, 96, 106–7. *See also* change  
and continuity; rediscovery

- history: America's neglect of, 235–36; approaches to writing, 45; HM and, 144, 147–49, 170; LM's conception of, 30, 35, 51, 76, 83, 99–100, 142, 182, 198, 220–24, 322, 357, 384n16; modernity in relation to, 235; perspectives on, 1. *See also* backward perspective; change and continuity; historical parallels; rediscovery
- Hitler, Adolf, 178, 180, 183
- Holloway, Jonathan, *Jim Crow Wisdom*, 375n17
- Hollywood film industry, 266–67
- homeownership, 156
- Homer: *The Iliad*, 26; *The Odyssey*, 243
- homosexuality, 95–96, 289, 334–35, 425n24
- Honolulu, Hawaii, 163–64, 246–47
- hope and renewal: art and culture as means to, 297, 321; *Billy Budd* and, 290; ecology and, 292; historical instances of, xv, xvii, 1, 34–35, 50–51, 198, 220–24, 236, 273; HM and, 190; LM and, 1–2, 34–35, 65, 68–69, 88, 136, 140, 179, 198, 220, 245, 250, 273–74, 277, 292, 301, 317; Thoreau and, 189; Utopia and, 1–2. *See also* forward perspective
- Hopper, Edward, 399n3
- housing, affordable, 156, 160, 162, 164
- Howard, Ebenezer, 123, 154
- Howard, Leon, 310
- Hudson Guild Farm, New Jersey, 155
- Hughes, Langston, 69
- humanism, 179, 197, 202, 297, 348, 359–60, 374n7, 412n17
- humanities, 85, 202–3, 215, 243
- Humboldt, Alexander von, 74, 123
- humor, 11, 83, 208, 336, 429n29
- Hurston, Zora Neale, 309
- Hutchinson, George, 412n17
- immigration, 40, 99, 182
- Immigration Act (1924), 182
- imperialism: American, 24, 41, 177, 182–83, 304; critiques of, 304; Roman, 181, 185, 197, 223, 253, 413n7; Western, 223
- incompleteness. *See* completion/wholeness/finish
- Indians. *See* Native Americans
- Indian Wars, 236
- individualism, 17, 40, 53–54, 103, 130, 157, 211, 223, 297, 305
- industrialism: and capitalism, 81–83, 179, 195; HM's critique of, 147–48, 173–74; LM's critique of, 33, 81–82, 99; in London, 145–46, 173–75; nineteenth-century critiques of, 39, 82; nineteenth-century growth of, xvii, 18, 29; trauma of, 82–83; and women's employment, 145, 173. *See also* mechanization
- interconnection. *See* balance and interconnection
- Isaiah (prophet), 243
- Ishmael (literary character): at beginning of *Moby-Dick*, 286–88; and communal feelings, xvi, 17–18, 25; as heroic figure, 30, 402n19; mental state and musings of, 6, 39, 57, 110, 116, 137, 143, 181, 189, 296, 328, 356–57; as modern figure, xvi; in New Bedford, 353–54; persons (actual or fictional) compared to, 6, 23, 26, 57, 108, 116, 137, 143, 174–75, 180, 185, 233, 248, 338; and Queequeg, 17, 25, 56, 60–61, 62, 72, 283, 287, 335, 338; survival of, 7, 77, 108, 195, 282–83, 405n3, 417n11; as symbolic outcast, xv, 23, 316
- Israel, 317
- Jacobs, Jane, 300, 396n6; *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 300
- James, William, 78
- Jameson, Fredric, 374n15
- Jefferson, Thomas, 172
- Jerome, 185
- Jim Crow system, 157, 182
- Johnson, Lyndon, 319–20
- Jones, John Paul, 172, 175
- Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, 104

- Judaism, 161, 197  
Jung, C. G., 311
- Kansas, 134, 144, 208  
Kate (HM's cousin). *See* Gansevoort, Kate  
Kitimat, Canada, 158  
*Kristallnacht* (Night of Broken Glass), 178  
Kropotkin, Peter, 123, 396n9  
Ku Klux Klan, 32, 180, 304
- labor (individual): challenges of, 199; drudgery of, 128–31, 172–74, 193, 224, 308; mental and physical value of, 112, 121, 200, 388n6  
labor (workforce): activism related to, 16, 157; as basis for wealthy lifestyles, 81, 92, 145; Bauer and, 67; in Great Depression, 31; New Deal celebration of, 198; solidarity of, 69; strife related to, 18, 31
- Laing, Olivia, 399n3  
Lasch, Christopher, xv  
Lawrence, D. H., 306  
Leedsville, 104, 247, 391n13  
Leonardo da Vinci, 86  
Leopold, Aldo, 139  
Letchworth, England, 155  
Lewis Mumford Tour, 323  
Leyda, Jay, 310  
liberalism: and isolationism, 178–79, 182; realism vs., 183  
Lincoln, Abraham, 11, 21–22, 229, 254  
Literary Guild of America, 6, 307  
literary studies, 309  
Locke, John, 145  
London, England: HM in, 152, 166, 206; in HM's fiction, 145–46, 172–75; industrialism and poverty in, 145–46, 173–75; LM in, 124, 298  
Lost Generation, xvi, 2, 16–17  
Louis-Philippe (French king), 167  
love: Christian, 197, 200, 223; in democracy, 135, 360; ecological consciousness as, 291; HM and, 62, 262; LM and, 67, 101–2, 106, 264, 276, 291, 294, 296, 321, 326, 360; in *Pierre*, 93–95; power vs., 76; societal and ecological expressions of, 296. *See also* communal feelings
- MacKaye, Benton, 155, 157, 163  
MacLeish, Archibald, 69, 178  
MacMechan, Archibald, 331–32  
Malloy, Dave, *Moby-Dick: A Musical Reckoning*, 358–59, 431n22  
Manifest Destiny, 304  
“Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth” (symposium), 294  
Mapple, Father (literary character), 72, 128, 165, 242, 287, 316, 354  
Marcus Aurelius, 253–54  
Marsh, George Perkins, 35, 139, 294; *Man and Nature*, 33, 294  
Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, 2–3, 5, 352  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 292  
Massasoit, 210  
Matthiessen, F. O., 310  
Maugham, W. Somerset, *The Moon and Sixpence*, 303  
McCarragher, Eugene, 373n7  
McCarthyism, xv, 272, 292–93  
McWilliams, Carey, 396n8  
Mead, Margaret, 304–5  
meaning-making: Ahab and, 76; art as, 78; death's role in, 234; HM and, 97; human activity of, 1, 30, 76, 88–89, 203; LM and, 47, 203, 221; *Moby-Dick* and, 76–78, 312; modernity and, 88–89  
mechanization: critiques of, 320–22; lack of personal responsibility associated with, 244; the military and, 173; modernity and, 15, 76–77, 83–85, 315; of nature, 84–85; as theme in *Moby-Dick*, 76–77, 174, 321. *See also* industrialism; technology  
Megalopolis, 81–82, 118, 142, 299  
Melville, Thomas, 167  
Melville, Elizabeth (Bessie), 126, 189, 229, 230, 281, 333

- Melville, Elizabeth (Lizzie): comments on HM and his work, 8, 27, 41, 57, 109, 187, 194, 229, 236–37, 239, 252, 256, 330–40; death of, 330; dedication of book to, 261–62, 339, 414n32; father of, 8, 37, 194; and HM’s legacy, 330–40; marriage and family life of, 27–28, 37, 41, 109, 186, 190, 229, 236–37, 239, 254, 256, 261–62, 278, 336–39, 342; photographs of, 42, 337; role of, in publishing HM’s works, 281; and the tragedy/darkness in life, 337
- Melville, Frances (Fanny), 189, 229, 230, 254–55, 281, 333
- Melville, Herman: abandonment of writing career by, 194, 213–14, 228; attitude toward America, 23–25, 144, 153, 171–77, 209, 216, 230, 305, 307–8; autobiographical elements in works of, 90–92, 333; in the Berkshires, 8–9, 11, 42–43, 54, 57, 62, 186–87, 190–91, 229, 261, 332, 338–39; biographies of, xiii, xiv, xv, 306–7, 310, 314, 331–33, 371n1; bitterness of, 4, 9, 10, 12, 18, 24, 39, 91, 96, 330; centenary of, 16, 18–19, 303; childhood of, 18, 91; on civilization, 38, 39, 127, 164, 170, 177, 212; and the Civil War, 12, 16, 24–25, 229–30, 289, 308; cultural criticism in writings of, xv–xvi, 38–39, 51, 82, 92–93, 144–53, 302, 305, 307–8; death of, xiii, 278, 330, 339; destruction of writings by, 19; disenchantment of, 134–35, 374n7; doubt as characteristic of, 8, 12, 94, 96, 98, 170–71, 215, 228, 233, 236–37, 288; employment of, actual and attempted, 11, 27–28, 109, 126, 228–29, 254, 256, 338, 339; extramarital affair of, possible, 62; final half of life of, 4, 228, 254–57, 260–63; finances of, 7, 9, 18, 27, 37, 57, 112, 186–87, 194, 256; friendship with Hawthorne, 10–11, 43–44, 52–59, 61, 62, 96, 171, 206, 314, 335–36, 414n34; as Ishmael, 23, 57; on lecture circuit, 11, 214, 228–29; marriage and family life of, 8–9, 11, 27–28, 37, 41–42, 57, 109, 186, 229, 236–37, 254–56, 261–62, 336, 338–39, 342; mental state and health of, 4, 5, 8–11, 27, 78, 98, 108–9, 151, 187, 190, 194, 206, 229, 236–37, 252–57, 290, 313–14, 330–31, 333, 414n22; and modernity, xiv, 4, 38, 41, 110–12, 128–29, 144, 207, 302, 303, 305, 307–8, 356; in New York City, 12, 41, 48, 91, 92, 153; obituaries of, 330–31; parents, grandparents, and ancestors of, 18, 46, 53–54, 91, 109, 151–52, 167, 187, 214, 231, 234; photographs of, 12, 231, 232, 255; physical health of, 11–12, 194, 229, 256, 280; and poetry, 4, 11–12, 22–23, 25–26, 253–54, 257, 260, 340, 414n35; publishing career of, xiv, 7–8, 37–40, 126, 253, 306, 417n11; reception of works of, 7, 11, 38–39, 71, 78, 80, 90, 97–98, 109, 193, 212–14, 252, 288–89, 309, 340; and religion, 10–11, 57–58, 92–93, 185, 211, 212, 234–35, 312, 313, 324; reputation and influence of, xv, xviii, 38, 252, 302–14, 330–40, 374n9; seafaring years of, 38, 40–41, 199, 207, 211, 336, 353–54; sexuality of, 62–64, 95–96, 111, 334–35, 425n17; and sociopolitical context, xv, 11, 39, 60, 92, 134, 307, 309; and the tragedy/darkness in life, xiv, 4, 51, 54, 59, 108–10, 171, 313; travels of, 9–10, 12, 151–52, 155, 166, 194, 206, 210, 213–16, 229, 260. *See also* Melville, Herman, works; Mumford, Lewis, and Herman Melville
- Melville, Herman, works: “The Aeolian Harp,” 259; “After the Pleasure Party,” 63–64, 425n24; “The Age of the Antonines,” 253–54; “The American Aloe on Exhibition,” 377n10; “The Apple-Tree Table,” 187–88, 206; “At the Hostelry,” 261; “The Attic Landscape,” 260; “Bartleby, the Scrivener,” 125, 128–32, 247–48, 271, 297–98, 308; *Battle-Pieces, and Aspects of the War*, 12, 20–26, 33, 229, 258, 308; “Benito Cereno,” 132–35, 306; *Billy Budd*, 62, 257, 280–81, 283–86, 288–90, 306, 335, 418n22; “Billy in the Darbies,” 257, 278, 280; *Clarel*, 12, 167–68, 195, 214, 229–30, 232–39, 252, 257, 266, 381n1; “Cock-A-Doodle-Do!,” 110–12, 167; *The Confidence-Man*, 4, 7–9, 194, 207–10, 213–14, 306, 308; “The



- Encantadas, or Enchanted Isles," 127–28;  
"L'Envoi," 339; "The Fiddler," 113–14; "The  
'Gees," 207; "The Haglets," 258–59; "The  
Happy Failure," 112–13; "I and My Chimney,"  
187–89, 206; *The Isle of the Cross*, 109, 126;  
*Israel Potter*, 8, 171–76, 210, 357; "Jimmy Rose,"  
114–16; *John Marr and Other Sailors*, 254,  
257–60, 280; *Mardi*, 7, 26, 37, 38–40, 90,  
106–7, 167–71, 177, 403n2; "Old Counsel,"  
196, 406n5; *Omoa*, 7, 37–38, 90, 93, 193,  
211–13, 247, 303, 330, 331; "The Paradise of  
Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids,"  
145–46, 173; "Pebbles," 259–60; "The  
Piazza," 191–94; *The Piazza Tales*, 8, 191,  
193; "Pontoosuce," or "The Lake," 262–63,  
414n35; "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich  
Man's Crumbs," 144–45; *Redburn, His First  
Voyage*, 7, 27, 37, 39–40, 42, 62, 90, 144, 147–54,  
161, 182, 206, 246, 284, 334; *Timoleon, Etc.*,  
63, 254, 260, 335, 339, 340, 425n24; "The  
Two Temples," 146–47; *Typee*, 7, 37–39,  
62, 90, 93, 193, 211–12, 247, 275, 302, 303, 330,  
331, 403n2; *Weeds and Wildings Chiefly*, 254,  
261–62, 339, 340; *White-Jacket*, 7, 13, 37–42,  
60, 62, 90, 151–52, 246, 284, 290, 331, 334. See  
also *Moby-Dick* (Melville); *Pierre* (Melville)
- Melville, Malcolm, 27–28, 42, 152, 166, 189,  
229, 230, 231, 257, 338, 339
- Melville, Maria, 91, 109, 187, 214, 231
- Melville, Stanwix, 189, 229, 230, 257, 337
- Melville, Tom, 229
- Melville Revival, xiii, xiv, 4, 16, 132, 190, 254,  
302–14, 330
- Melville Society, 354
- mesmerism, 398n5
- Metcalf, Eleanor Melville, 254–56, 281, 336
- Mexican-American War (1846), 177
- Michelangelo, 86
- military life: communal feelings resulting  
from, 17, 207, 218, 224, 226, 258, 275, 336;  
degradations of, 14–15, 17, 39, 59–60, 83,  
219; Geddes Mumford and, 203, 217–19,  
224–27, 238, 248, 249, 275, 355; LM and  
14–15, 17; slavery likened to, 39, 60, 207
- Miller, Donald, 102, 105, 344–50, 397n16,  
403n4, 412n31, 420n24, 427n16
- Missouri Compromise, 134
- Moby-Dick* (Melville): African Americans in,  
60; beginning of, 286–88; centenary of, xiv,  
306, 310, 354; cetology chapter in, 73–74;  
*Clarel's* invocations of, 234; death in, 282–83;  
diversity as theme of, 59; editions of, xiv,  
8, 44, 52, 310, 331; ending of, 77–78, 195,  
405n3, 417n11; film of, 354; Geddes  
Mumford's reading of, 247; Hawthorne's  
response to, 56, 58, 71; historical context of,  
xv–xvi; LM's understanding of, xv–xvi,  
48, 76–78, 80, 181, 195, 243, 295, 298, 305,  
323–24, 355, 371n1, 403n2; and meaning-  
making, 76–78, 312; mechanization as theme  
in, 76–77, 174, 321; on military ethos, 60;  
and modernity, 76–78, 312; reception of,  
xv, 19, 71, 78, 80, 302, 305–6, 310, 311–12,  
323–24, 371n1, 405n3; sexual themes in,  
335; structure of, 71–74, 78, 80, 387n10;  
and the tragedy/darkness in life, 76–77,  
94, 309; universal themes and scope of,  
xv–xvi, 36, 48, 71–72, 309, 311–12, 355,  
371n1, 405n3; writing of, 43, 56–57, 62,  
74, 90, 94, 403n2. See also Ahab; Ishmael;  
Mapple, Father; Queequeg
- moderate men, 209, 211, 221, 244, 270, 408n8
- modernity: Ahab and, 312; *Billy Budd* and, 289;  
cities and, 118, 121; contradictory features  
of, xiii, xvi, 32, 48, 83, 356, 371n2, 374n15,  
389n18; destructive character of, xiii, xvii,  
80, 83, 374n15; discontinuity and disorien-  
tation as characteristics of, xiii, xvii, xviii;  
disenchantment with, 134–35, 235; and evil,  
289; history/tradition in relation to,  
221–22, 235; HM and, xiv, 4, 38, 41, 110–12,  
128–29, 144, 207, 302, 303, 305, 307–8, 356;  
Ishmael and, xvi; LM and, xv, xvii, 15, 32,  
80–89, 118–19, 136, 180, 243, 356, 389n18;  
mechanical-military-bureaucratic organ-  
ization of, 15, 76–77, 83–85, 128–29; *Moby-  
Dick* and, 76–78, 312; origins of, xvii–xviii,  
224; Progress associated with, xiii, xviii, xx;

- modernity (*continued*)  
resistance to, 85–86; survival in, 243;  
time as experienced in, xvii–xviii, xix;  
traumatic character of, xiv, xv, xx, 138,  
222, 356, 358, 371n2, 372n3
- Moorewood, Sarah, 62
- Moredock, John, 211
- Morgan, Christiana, 391n5
- Morris, William, 123
- Moses, Robert, 118
- Mount Greylock, Massachusetts, 187, 190,  
191, 215
- Muir, John, 139–40
- Mumford, Alison: and brother's death,  
226–27; childhood, adolescence, and  
young adulthood of, 70, 101, 142–43, 164,  
247, 250, 268–69, 292–93, 324–25, 346,  
350, 352; death of, 349; relationship with  
her mother, 349–50; relationship with  
LM, 46, 225, 268–69, 325, 347–50, 428n29
- Mumford, Elvina, 46, 205, 267–68, 275–76
- Mumford, Geddes: childhood and adoles-  
cence of, 2, 6, 65–66, 142–43, 164, 183, 202,  
204, 241–42, 246–48, 352; death of, 46,  
226–27, 240–43, 248, 264–66, 292, 298, 311,  
411n2; dedication of book to, 243; military  
service of, 203, 217–19, 224–27, 238, 248, 249,  
275, 355; name of, 5, 123, 407n30; parents'  
book about, 47, 242, 245–50, 264–67, 352;  
photographs of, 3, 218; relationship with  
LM, 47, 142–43, 164, 204–5, 217–20, 240,  
240–43, 245–50, 265–66, 268, 352, 358
- Mumford, Lewis: academic career of, 202–3,  
217–20, 292; in Armenia, 48–49, 51, 103–4,  
142, 163, 183–84, 200, 203–4, 219, 225,  
240–43, 250, 264, 268, 292, 322–25, 343,  
357–58; antifascism of, 46, 103, 178–85,  
195–96, 199, 241, 243, 276, 292–93; anti-  
nuclear stance of, 243–44, 267, 270–71,  
416n25; archival material related to, 19;  
attitude toward America, 3, 15, 35, 99–100,  
103, 182–83, 270–71, 274–75, 313, 315;  
autobiographical writings of, 45–47, 267,  
269–70, 315–16, 329, 341; awards and  
honors, 51, 202, 298, 299, 301, 316, 355;  
biography of, 344–48; bitterness of, 47,  
163, 243, 250; childhood of, xiii, 49–50, 154;  
on civilization, 15, 47–48, 83, 164, 177–79,  
181, 204, 220–21, 223, 267, 273; criticisms  
of, 178–79, 199, 202, 407n21; as cultural  
critic, xiv, 3, 14, 16–17, 30–36, 41, 50, 80–89,  
104, 136–43, 177–85, 195–203, 221–24,  
243–45, 270–77, 315–22, 348, 388n8, 389n18,  
397n16; and dark decades of twentieth  
century, xv, 16, 30–32, 243, 272; death of,  
341, 347–48; disenchantment of, 185;  
driving of a car by, 117–18; editorial career  
of, 15–17, 19, 30, 124, 200; education of,  
118; employment of, 118; extramarital  
affairs of, 5–6, 35, 46, 64–69, 100–106, 136,  
161, 164–65, 184, 242, 323–28, 341–42, 345,  
347, 349–50, 379n18, 428n29; finances of,  
19, 299; friendship with Murray, 199, 243,  
248–51, 271, 309–12, 323–24; and Great  
Depression, 30–31; in London, 298;  
marriage and family life of, 2, 3, 4–6, 19,  
36, 46, 48, 51, 65–70, 100–106, 124, 142–43,  
164–65, 184, 203–5, 217–20, 225–27, 241–42,  
250, 264–65, 267–68, 276, 293–94, 298–99,  
322–28, 341–51, 427n6 (*see also* extramari-  
tal affairs of); on Martha's Vineyard, 2–3,  
5, 352; and Melville Society, 355; mental  
state and health of, xv, 2, 4–6, 35, 46, 48,  
51, 64–65, 70, 105, 118, 138, 183–84, 224–25,  
241–43, 250–51, 264–67, 269–70, 292–93,  
329, 342–46, 349, 358, 393n4, 427n16; and  
modernity, xv, xvii, 15, 32, 80–89, 118–19,  
136, 180, 243, 356, 389n18; and nature, 104,  
264, 291–92, 397n19; naval service of,  
14–15, 17; in New York City, 2–3, 6, 48–50,  
104, 117, 121–23, 138, 183, 268, 292, 399n3;  
obituaries of, 6, 348–49; parents and  
grandparents of, 46, 117, 122, 154, 205, 244,  
260, 267–68, 275–76, 349; photographs of,  
3, 201, 218, 318, 343; physical health of, 45,  
118, 217, 219, 242–43, 292; and post-World

- War I years, 4, 14–18, 29–30; reception of works of, 202, 220, 224, 266, 275, 293, 297, 343–44; regional planning activities of, 67–69, 140, 142, 155–64; relationship with his daughter, 46, 142–43, 225, 268–69, 325, 347–50, 428n29; relationship with his son, 47, 142–43, 164, 204–5, 217–20, 240–43, 245–50, 265–66, 268, 352, 358; relationship with Patrick Geddes, 5, 81, 119–21, 123–25, 155; reputation and influence of, xiv, xvi–xvii, 163, 201–2, 300–301, 306, 315–16, 341–51, 376n5; scholarship on, 373n7; as self-taught public intellectual, 376n5; sexuality of, 62–64, 276; and sociopolitical context, 2, 31, 47, 68–69, 103, 163, 178–84, 198–99, 270–72, 293–94, 298, 300, 315, 319–21, 397n16; and Sunnyside Gardens, 68, 97, 101, 103, 138, 156–57; teaching career of, 118; and the tragedy/darkness in life, 4, 101, 269, 294, 296, 317, 326–27; trauma of, 118, 242, 294; travels of, 65, 83, 293, 298; and Utopianism, 1–2, 17, 357; and Woolf's work, xix, 34, 358, 375n20; and World War I, 14–15, 17; and World War II, 46, 163, 195, 199, 201, 203–5, 217–20, 224–27, 243–44, 293, 308, 318. *See also* Mumford, Lewis, and Herman Melville; Mumford, Lewis, drawings; Mumford, Lewis, writings and speeches
- Mumford, Lewis, and Herman Melville: as existentialists, 376n25; LM's biography of HM, xiii, xv, 2–6, 18, 34, 64, 78, 126, 190, 236, 247, 248, 256, 306–307, 310, 312–315, 371n1; LM's commentary on HM's works besides *Moby-Dick*, 39, 41, 91, 93, 96, 114, 132, 134, 177, 185, 190, 208, 233, 236, 238, 262, 289–90, 308, 403n2, 414n35, 418n22; LM's lifelong engagement with HM, xv, xvii, 3, 5, 13, 17, 185, 355, 374n9; LM's understanding of HM, 8, 17, 27, 38, 41, 51, 55, 62–65, 78, 96, 111, 136, 155, 164, 190, 194, 206–7, 215, 238–39, 243, 248, 251, 254, 262, 279, 305, 313–14, 414n34; LM's understanding of *Moby-Dick*, xv–xvi, 48, 76–78, 80, 181, 195, 243, 295, 298, 323–24, 371n1, 403n2; parallels between work and life of, 67, 78–79, 96, 106–7; parallels in personal lives of, 5–6, 13, 62–65, 78, 243, 314, 342, 355
- Mumford, Lewis, drawings, 240, 399n3; “Mills from Bluff St., Pittsburgh,” 122; “New Bedford (with Geddes),” 353; “Our House on the Other Side of the Road,” 49; “Pasture at Foot of Old Mitchell Place,” 241; “Self-Portrait (in Navy Costume),” 15
- Mumford, Lewis, writings and speeches: “Address on the Vietnam Holocaust,” 319; *Aesthetics, a Dialogue*, 371n1; *The Brown Decades*, 33–35, 87; “Call Me Jonah,” 316–17, 329; “The Case against Modern Architecture,” 319; *The City* (documentary), 105, 136, 163, 184; *City Development*, 420n24; *The City in History*, 51, 299–300, 312, 320, 323; “The Collapse of Tomorrow,” 16–17; *The Condition of Man*, 36, 202, 219–25, 242, 243, 272, 315, 350, 409n8; *The Conduct of Life*, 36, 272–77, 279, 291, 293, 315; *The Culture of Cities*, 36, 69–70, 102, 136, 140, 141, 155, 163, 178, 180, 196, 201, 220, 299, 320, 397n16; “Dialogue on Esthetics,” 371n1; *Faith for Living*, 2, 195–203, 221, 243, 356; *Findings and Keepings*, 46, 321–23, 327–28; “For Those Bereaved in War,” 242; “From Revolt to Renewal,” 419n18; *The Golden Day*, 3, 5, 33, 34, 41, 305, 306, 313, 315, 371n1, 376n5; *Green Memories*, 47, 242, 245–50, 264–67, 352, 427n5; *Herman Melville*, xiii, xv, 2–6, 18, 34, 64, 78, 126, 190, 236, 247, 248, 256, 306–7, 310, 312–15, 371n1; *In the Name of Sanity*, 416n25; *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth*, 295–96; “The Menace of Totalitarian Absolutism,” 103; *Men Must Act*, 178–85, 221, 243, 403n4; *The Myth of the Machine*, 86, 316, 320–21; *My Works and Days*, 46, 69, 106, 327–29, 342, 355; “Open Letter to President Lyndon Johnson,” 319; “Open Letter to the American People,” 272; *The Pentagon of Power*, 316, 341;

- Mumford, Lewis, writings and speeches  
(*continued*)  
“Prologue to Our Time: 1895–1975,” 321–22; “The Recovery of the American Heritage,” 99, 103; *The Renewal of Life*, xiv, xvii, 36, 45, 67, 69, 78, 80, 101, 104, 178, 184, 202, 250, 272, 297, 310, 360; *Sketches from Life*, 45, 47–49, 69, 267, 329, 342–44; “The Sky Line” (magazine column), 299; *Sticks and Stones*, 3, 323; *The Story of Utopias*, 1–2, 81, 315; *Technics and Civilization*, 36, 67–69, 80–86, 137, 139, 196, 201, 220, 315, 320; *Technics and Human Development*, 316; *The Transformations of Man*, 296–98; *Values for Survival*, 243–45, 412n17; “Vietnam—Before and After,” 320
- Mumford, Sophia (née Wittenberg): antifascism of, 183, 241, 411n4; book about Geddes by LM and, 47, 242, 245–50; career of, 15, 19, 66, 379n18, 427n5; death of, 348; dedication of book to, 322; and LM’s extramarital affairs, 5–6, 65–70, 100–106, 324, 326–28, 341–42, 350; and LM’s legacy, 341–51; marriage and family life of, 2, 5–6, 36, 48, 65–70, 100–102, 104–6, 124, 164–65, 184, 203–4, 219, 225–27, 241–42, 250, 264–65, 293–94, 298–99, 322–28, 341–51, 411n4, 415n20, 427n5, 427n6; photographs of, 218, 343; physical health of, 164–65, 219, 247, 350; relationship with her daughter, 349–50; trauma of, 342
- Mumford Revival, xv, 315
- Murray, Henry “Harry,” 199, 243, 248–51, 271, 293, 309–14, 323–24, 344, 391n5, 412n31; “In Nomine Diaboli,” 310, 311–12
- Mussolini, Benito, 178, 183
- The Nation* (magazine), 18, 302
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 142
- National Book Award, 51, 299
- National Medal for Literature, 316
- Native Americans: atrocities and injustices against, 11, 86, 99, 145, 182, 208–9, 222, 231, 235, 258, 274–75; theft of land from, 103, 210, 308
- native peoples: in Hawaii, 247; HM’s regard for, 38, 39, 207, 211–13, 303–4; Western admiration for, 303–4; Western imperialistic conquest of, 223. *See also* Native Americans
- nature: HM and, 261; humanity’s relationship with, 33–34, 84–85; LM and, 104, 264, 291–92, 397n19; mechanical/controlling attitude toward, 84–85; *Moby-Dick* and, xvi; scientific inquiry and, 74; twentieth-century interest in returning to, 2, 87; urbanization in balance with, 49–50. *See also* Amenia, New York; Berkshires, Massachusetts; countryside; ecology; environmentalism
- naval life. *See* Melville, Herman: seafaring years of; military life; Mumford, Lewis: naval service of
- Nazis, 178–79, 195, 225, 226, 244, 318
- Nelson, Horatio, 149, 206, 284, 287
- Neotechnic era, 80–81, 86–87, 89, 139
- New Bedford, Massachusetts, 352–54
- New Bedford *Mercury* (newspaper), 193
- New Bedford Port Society, 354
- New Criticism, 309
- New Deal, 14, 30, 68–69, 88, 103, 137, 156, 162–63, 182, 198, 220, 343
- New England Quarterly* (journal), 422n29
- New Republic* (magazine), 180, 200
- Newsday* (magazine), 344
- New Western History, 390n2
- New York City: Central Park, 50, 158, 160, 254, 256, 323; Customs House, 27, 228, 229, 254, 256, 339; Grace Church, 146; HM in, 12, 41, 48, 91, 92, 153; LM in, 2–3, 6, 48–50, 104, 117, 121–23, 138, 183, 268, 292, 399n3; Riverside Park, 50
- New York Customs House, 27, 228, 229, 254, 256, 339
- New Yorker* (magazine), 104, 299
- New York Mail and Express* (newspaper), 254
- New York Press* (newspaper), 330

- New York Public Library, 161, 238  
*New York Times* (newspaper), 331, 344, 348  
New York World's Fair (1939), 163  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 200  
nihilism, 271  
Novak, Frank G., Jr., 374n9  
nuclear energy, 295  
nuclear testing, 267, 270–71, 293. *See also*  
    atomic bomb
- Oberlin College, 99, 103  
O'Brien, Frederick, 304  
October Mountain State Forest, 339  
offsetting forces, 47–48, 49, 50, 61, 65, 71–72,  
    77, 121, 142, 155, 224, 288  
O'Keeffe, Georgia, 136, 305  
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 33, 158  
openness, 2, 137, 183, 221–22, 274, 276–77, 280,  
    321. *See also* ambiguity; completion/  
    wholeness/finish; uncertainty  
organicism, 84–85, 87, 221, 223  
Origen, 185  
Osborn, Frederic J., 420n24  
Osborne, Frances Cuthbert Thomas, 255–57,  
    261, 333–34, 336, 425n16  
Outlook Tower, Edinburgh, Scotland,  
    119–20, 123, 126  
Oxford University, 216
- Pacific Northwest, 163–64  
Paine, Thomas, 284  
Paleotechnic era, 81–83, 85–86, 118  
Palmer, A. Mitchell, 16  
Palmer Raids, 16  
Panic of 1857, 7, 214  
Penn Warren, Robert, 414n35  
Pessimism, 261, 303, 414n29  
*Philadelphia Evening Bulletin* (newspaper), 193  
photography, 87  
the Picturesque, 261  
Pierce, Franklin, 109, 126, 133  
*Pierre* (Melville), 8, 62, 248, 288; autobiograph-  
    ical elements of, 90–92; cultural criticism  
    in, 92–93, 307–8; dedication of, 191; LM  
    and, 67, 91, 93, 96, 101, 106, 184–85, 250–51,  
    273–74; plot of, 90–91; reception of, 90,  
    97–98, 109, 193, 312; sexuality and rela-  
    tionships in, 63, 67, 94–96, 228; and the  
    tragedy/darkness in life, 91, 93–94, 108,  
    228; women in, 90–91, 350  
*Pittsfield Evening Journal* (newspaper), 332  
Pocahontas, 210  
Poe, Edgar Allan, 3  
politics. *See* sociopolitical context  
Polk, James K., 177  
Potter, Israel R.: HM's treatment of the life of,  
    171–76; *The Life and Remarkable Adventures*  
    *of Israel R. Potter*, 166, 171  
poverty, 82, 145–47, 173–75, 198, 356  
Progress: American notion of, 31, 82, 135, 210,  
    230–31, 234–35; contradictory features of,  
    356–57; critiques of, 123, 171; discontinuous  
    character of, xviii; history in relation to,  
    222; modernity associated with, xiii, xviii,  
    xx; science and, 74; supposed inevitability  
    of, 16, 222; Western conception of, 85.  
    *See also* Go-Aheadism  
Progressivism, 14, 18  
Prohibition, 14  
Public Works Administration, 162  
Puritanism, 39, 43, 59, 312, 324  
*Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, 126–28, 132,  
    134, 187
- Quakers, 353  
Queequeg (literary character), 17, 25, 56,  
    60–62, 72, 195, 207, 276, 279–80, 283, 287,  
    311, 335, 338
- race and racism: in American culture, 18, 29,  
    60, 103, 141, 142, 157, 162, 182, 289, 304, 308,  
    319–20; capitalism linked to, 207; colonial-  
    ism and, 304; cultural relativism and, 304–5;  
    democracy and, 183, 245; HM and, 60, 207;  
    LM and, 103, 141, 142, 182, 245; “scientific  
    racism,” 182, 308; in Western society, 207.  
    *See also* African Americans; Native  
    Americans; native peoples

- Radburn, New Jersey, 157–62, 159, 323  
Radburn Idea, 157–58, 162  
Raubeson, Colin, 266  
realism: Dante and, 224; HM and, xx, 94, 180, 191, 229, 248, 261, 284, 289, 355; hopefulness linked to, 243–44, 289, 360; liberalism vs., 183; LM and, xx, 16, 180, 183–84, 202, 219, 224, 248–49, 269, 360; Niebuhr and, 200; as outlook on life, 233–34; pessimistic philosophy and, 261; Sophia Mumford and, 347  
Reclus, Elisée, 123  
Reconstruction, 235; post–Civil War, 12, 22, 24, 29, 33; post–World War I, 29–30  
rediscovery: of common humanity, 147; of the countryside, 50; of historical resources for contemporary use, 35, 51, 84, 87, 140, 197, 220–24, 237, 357, 360; of HM, xiii, xiv, 18–19, 302, 340; LM and, xvi, 30, 83–85, 122–23, 154, 197, 344; of nineteenth-century arts and literature, 34; process of, xvi; sense of the enduring constituted through, xix; trauma as occasion for, xx  
Red-Jacket, 210  
Red Scares, 16, 180, 272  
Reform Judaism, 161  
regional planning, 67–69, 124, 140, 142, 155–64  
Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), 67, 155–57, 161–62  
religion: HM and, 10–11, 57–58, 92–93, 185, 211, 212, 234–35, 312, 313, 324; science in relation to, 234–35. *See also* Buddhism; Christianity; Deism; Judaism  
Rembrandt van Rijn, 86  
Renaissance, 86  
renewal. *See* hope and renewal  
Resettlement Administration, 162  
responsibility, failure of, in modern life, 244–45, 253  
revolutions: American, xvii–xviii, 24, 91–92, 144, 166–68, 170–73, 175–76; French (1789), xvii–xviii, 168, 175–76; French (1848), 167; Haitian, 134; in HM's *Israel Potter*, 171–73; in HM's *Mardi*, 167–71; LM and, 221; Russian, 16  
Riverside Park, New York, 50  
Roaring Twenties, 31–32, 236  
Roberts, David, 431n20  
Roman Empire, 181, 185, 197, 223, 253, 413n7  
Romanticism, 223, 261, 296, 313  
Roosevelt, Franklin D. (FDR), 14, 30–31, 68, 88, 137, 142, 156, 183, 198  
Roscoe, William, 149  
Rothberg, Michael, 430n20  
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 248  
Royal Observatory, Greenwich, 274  
Royal Society, 85  
Rozario, Kevin, 374n15  
RPAA. *See* Regional Planning Association of America  
Ruskin, John, 123  
Russell Sage Foundation, 157  
Russian Revolution, 16  
Salt, H. S., 331  
Saltus, Edgar, *The Philosophy of Disenchantment*, 414n29  
Sanborn, Geoffrey, 405n3, 423n3  
San Jose State University, 248  
Sartre, Jean-Paul, 408n8  
Schopenhauer, Arthur, 261  
science: in American culture, 202, 234–35, 271, 293, 295–96; arts and humanities in relation to, 85, 88; critiques of, 295–96; *Moby-Dick* and, 73–74, 78; and racism, 182, 308; religion in relation to, 234–35. *See also* ecology; technology  
Sedition Act (1918), 16  
serialization, 171  
sex and sexuality, 62–64, 111, 276, 345–46, 425n17. *See also* homosexuality  
Shakespeare, William, 54, 171, 192, 194, 207, 216, 228  
Shaw, Lemuel, 8–9, 11, 37, 40, 43, 60, 186, 194  
Shaw, Lemuel, Jr., 256

- Shelden, Michael, 62
- Sierra Club, 139
- Simon, Jean, 310
- Sims, Thomas, 60
- slavery: abolition of, 29, 149–50; “Benito Cereno” and, 133–34; bureaucratic capitalism likened to, 131; as foundation of American economy, 24, 173, 308; Hawthorne’s view of, 59; HM and, 16, 24–25, 208; Mexican-American War and, 177; naval life likened to, 39, 60, 207; pre-Civil War tensions over, 39, 92, 126, 208
- Smith, Joseph (Joe), 332–33, 414n22
- sociopolitical context: HM and, xv, 11, 39, 60, 92, 134, 307, 309; LM and, 2, 31, 47, 68–69, 103, 163, 178–84, 198–99, 270–72, 293–94, 298, 300, 315, 319–21, 397n16
- Spanish-American War, 304
- Spingarn, Joel, 142
- Spiritualists, 189
- Springfield *Republican* (newspaper), 252
- Stanford, Leland, 217
- Stanford University, 202–3, 217–20, 243
- Stedman, Arthur, 331–32
- Stein, Clarence, 138, 156–60, 162–63; “Plan of a Typical Lane at Radburn,” 159
- Stewart, Kathleen, 372n3
- Stewart, T. D., 112, 186–87, 191, 194
- Stieglitz, Alfred, 136, 305
- Stonorov, Oskar, 67
- Stowe, Harriet Beecher, *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, 126
- Strongin, Jill, 106
- Strongin, Josephine (Jo), 105–6, 136, 164–65, 184, 238, 326, 342, 345
- suburbs, 36, 138, 140, 162, 300
- Sunnyside Gardens, Queens, New York, 68, 97, 101, 103, 138, 156–57, 323
- Superblocks, 158, 160
- Supreme Court (U.S.), 208
- survey, urban, 117–23, 141
- Swain, William, 353
- Switzerland, 317–18
- Systematic Pessimists, 261
- Tahiti, 213
- technology: in American culture, 202; benefits of, 87–88; human thought and agency and, 83–84, 88; lack of personal responsibility associated with, 244; LM’s study and critique of, xiv, 36, 80–89, 295, 316, 320–22, 389n20; *Moby-Dick* and, 76–77; and Neotechnic era, 80–81; skepticism about, 14; specialization in, 81. *See also* industrialism; mechanization; science
- Tennyson, Alfred, Lord, 192
- Thomson, James, 261; *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Poems*, 414n29
- Thoreau, Henry David, 3, 18, 33, 39, 60, 74, 111, 139, 177, 193, 199, 213, 248, 275, 328, 343, 404n7, 420n6; *Walden*, 189, 275
- time: human nature and, 222; modern character of, xvii–xviii, xix; in *Pierre*, 273–74
- Time* (magazine), 163, 343, 407n21
- Times Literary Supplement* (magazine), 303
- Toll Gate Inn Restaurant, 104, 391n13
- tortoises, 127–28, 175, 237
- totalitarianism, 103
- Town Planning Institute, 298
- tragedy and darkness in life: Ahab and, 54, 75–76, 94; Hawthorne and, 43–44, 53, 59; HM and, xiv, 4, 51, 54, 59, 108–10, 171, 313; Lizzie Melville and, 337; LM and, 4, 101, 269, 294, 296, 317, 326–27; *Moby-Dick* and, 76–77, 94, 309; *Pierre* and, 91, 93–94, 108, 228; realism as means of surviving, 243–44. *See also* dark decades
- Transcendentalism, 16, 189
- trauma: Ahab’s, 20, 75, 151, 312; attitudes toward, 18; of the Civil War, 22; of elder care, 268; everyday, 179, 358, 372n3; fascism as source of, 179–80; history and, 222; industrialism as source of, 82–83; intergenerational, 409n12; LM and, 118, 242, 294; of LM’s and Sophia’s marriage, 327; modernity characterized by, xiv, xv, xx, 138, 222, 356, 358, 371n2, 372n3; of Sophia Mumford, 342; treatment of, xx, 20, 75

- Trent, W. P., 331  
Truman, Harry S, 243, 270  
Tugwell, Rexford, 162  
Twain, Mark, 33, 304, 381n1
- uncanny, historical, xvi, xvii, 34, 374n11  
uncertainty, 25, 54, 314, 321, 360. *See also*  
ambiguity; doubt; openness
- United Nations, 270, 360  
United Press International, 348  
United States: critique of ideals vs. reality in,  
xvi, 1, 21, 24, 82, 92–93, 144–45, 150, 170–71,  
182, 208–9, 216, 235–36; and history,  
235–36; HM's attitude toward, 23–25, 144,  
153, 171–77, 209, 216, 230, 305, 307–8;  
imperialism of, 24, 41, 177, 182–83, 304;  
isolationism of, 178–79, 182, 199; Lincoln's  
attitude toward, 21; LM's attitude toward,  
3, 15, 35, 99–100, 103, 182–83, 270–71,  
274–75, 313, 315; Paleotechnic era in, 81;  
and Progress, 31, 82, 135, 210; race and  
racism in, 18, 29, 60, 103, 141, 142, 157, 162,  
182, 289, 304, 308, 319–20; science in, 202,  
234–35, 271, 293, 295–96. *See also* American  
Revolution; Great Depression; Roaring  
Twenties; World War I; World War II
- United States Housing Authority, 162  
University of Pennsylvania, 292  
urbanism. *See* cities  
Utopianism, 1–2, 17, 357
- Vallingby, Sweden, 158  
Van Doren, Carl, 302–3, 306–7, 331–32  
Vaux, Calvert, 158  
Victoria (English queen), 167  
Vietnam War, 47, 315, 319–20, 321, 358  
Voting Rights Act, 320
- Warner, Charles Dudley, 381n1  
Washington, George, 161  
*Washington Post* (newspaper), 348  
Watergate scandal, 321  
Weaver, Raymond, 18–19, 256, 281, 288, 289,  
302–3, 306, 310, 414n32, 418n22; *Herman  
Melville*, 4, 190, 306–7, 371n1  
Wegelin, Oscar, 413n22  
Weil, Martin, 348  
Wells, H. G., 421n8  
Welwyn, England, 155  
whales: scientific understanding of, 73;  
various significances of, in *Moby-Dick*, 8,  
30, 73, 75, 77–78, 312, 313, 324  
Whitman, Walt, xiv, 3, 74, 87, 123; *Democratic  
Vistas*, 33  
wholeness. *See* completion/wholeness/finish  
Wilder, Thornton, 288  
Willis, Samuel, 209–10  
Willkie, Wendell, 419n18  
Wojtowicz, Robert, 428n16  
women: absence of, from HM's work, 86,  
90, 350; absence of, from LM's work,  
86, 350; in HM's life, 90–91; industrial  
employment of, 145, 173  
Woolf, Virginia, xix, 34, 303–4, 375n20,  
420n6; *To the Lighthouse*, xix, 358, 375n20  
work. *See* labor  
World War I, xv, xvii, 2, 14–15, 18, 80, 83, 99,  
178, 303  
World War II, xv, 46, 163, 195, 199, 201, 203–5,  
217–20, 224–27, 243–44, 293, 308, 318  
Wright, Frank Lloyd, 178–79, 403n7  
Wright, Henry, 138, 156–58, 160, 162  
Wright, Nathalia, 354–55
- Yanella, Donald, 354–55