# "Women that Melted into the Air:" Criticizing Marshall Berman's Critic of Modernity

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> History is a commentary on the various and
> continuing incapabilities of men.
> History is women following
> behind... with a bucket.
>
> *The History Boys* (Nicholas Hytner, 2006)

According to feminist theoreticians "urban scene was at all times represented from the point of view of the male gaze: in paintings and photographs men voyeuristically stare, women are passively subjected to the gaze." [1] Elizabeth Wilson says in reference to feminist theoreticians "the public arena - cafés and places of public entertainment such as the Folies Bergéres- offered a '*mise-en-scene'*, or setting where men of the bourgeoisie could meet and seduce or purchase working-class women."[2]

Consistent with those ideas it can be claimed that modernity, which is usually identified with the urban planning of Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Napoleon III, the poetry of Charles Baudelaire and the experience of his *flaneur* is analyzed from male gaze in different resources. Especially in Marshall Berman's *All That is Solid Melts into the Air*, which is one of the major contemporary works that focuses on this concept, modernity is explained from the gaze of male writers and defined as the age of masculinity in between the lines. Berman who tries to create a solid image of the urban experience in the nineteenth century concentrates on the works of Goethe as well as Baudelaire and produces the atmosphere of urban experience as a male practice.

When Berman speaks about Goethe's *Faust* (1808 - 1832), he briefly mentions on Gretchen as Faust's lover and describes her from a male point of view in the same way as in the tragedy. Gretchen who is presented as a self-destructive character is interpreted as an asexual being by Berman. He constantly emphasizes Gretchen's naivety and purity as well as how she lost all those qualifications after she tastes the opportunities of the modern age and turns into Faust's mistress. When Berman talks about a part in the tragedy, where Gretchen wears the jewellery that is given to Faust by Mephisto and looks at herself in the mirror he says "now, as she looks at herself in the mirror -maybe for the first time in her life- a revolution takes place inside her. All at once she becomes self-reflexive; she grasps the possibility of becoming something different, of changing herself- of *developing*."[3]

Although Berman interprets this scenery as a self-reflexive experience for Gretchen, it should be emphasized that Gretchen's position before the mirror reflects her author's gaze to the reader and indicates how she is self-consciously described by a male gaze. So, Gretchen's purity, naivety, her virgin-like aura and self destructive, developing character is actually not who she is but how the male gaze describes her. Gretchen's 'developing' and at the same time 'disappearing' personality is what male gaze wants her to be. The dilemma between development and destruction also creates another discussion. As Berman points out, Gretchen meets death when she gains consciousness about herself, about being a woman. According to Berman, she has to be smart in order to cope up with the modern deeds but as long as she gains intelligence, disasters follow her.

In contrast to Berman's thoughts, it can also be said that her intelligence - her come out of the shell of her small-town girl character- may turn her into a threat for the male dominated order because in this way, she can have a voice rather than just being Faust's poor, dependent lover. Therefore, Gretchen is destroyed at the end of the tragedy because an intelligent, 'decent' woman who has her own needs and wants cannot survive or is not allowed surviving in the modern world of men in theory and practice. In this way, as Rita Felski points out it can be claimed that from a reading of Berman's book, the gender of modernity is indeed male.[4]

By taking its inspiration from this understanding, this article claims that the mainstream theories on modernity also speak with a male voice by reflecting the male gaze on modernity. For that reason, the main aim of this article is trying to reveal the perception of a female writer on this subject and analyze the four essays of Virginia Woolf on London entitled as *The Docks of London*, *Oxford Street Tide*, *Great Men's Houses*, and *Portrait of a Londoner* that are collected under the title of *The London Scene* (1932). In order to explain the perspective of a female writer under the gaze of masculine powers in the beginning of twentieth century, the article concentrates on the image of women created by patriarchal society and explains Virginia Woolf's writings on domesticated, male-dependant, working class outsiders in the beginning of a new era.

**I.** First of all, it can be useful to begin the discussion with a brief biography of Virginia Woolf and the portrayal of the environment she was born and had lived in. Woolf was born on 25 January 1882 in Kensington, London. Her father was the distinguished Victorian author, critic and her mother who was born in India was an admired beauty and a model who was painted by many different artists. Woolf's childhood passed "in 22 Hyde Park Gate, London (formerly the Duckworth home), crammed into its narrow and gloomy confines, then, numerous children and several servants."[5] The household had transferred to Talland House, Cornwall in every summer for ten years of Woolf's childhood, which passed in prosperity. Her mother's sudden death when Woolf was 13 and her half-sister Stella's two years later caused a big devastation on Virginia Woolf. In 1904, her father also died and her devastation grew bigger.

While Virginia Woolf was experiencing such big changes, the world was altering quickly. The economic, social and cultural changes around the world were constructing a new way of living. According to Eric Hobsbawm,

> This was, as we all know, the age [of technological revolution] when the telephone and the wireless telegraph, the phonograph and the cinema, the automobile and the aero plane, became part of the scenery of modern life, not to mention the domestication of science and high technology by means of such products as the vacuum cleaner (1908) and the only universal medicament ever invented, aspirin (1899). Nor should we forget that most beneficent of all the period's machines, whose contribution to human emancipation was immediately recognized, namely the modest bicycle. And yet, before we hail this impressive crop of innovations as a 'second industrial revolution', let us not forget that it is so only in retrospect.[6]

The influences of those innovations were on the streets for everyday use. The flood of images, automobiles and crowd on the streets; the new routes that the urban planning directs the public and new habits that the new living imposes on people had been producing a completely new aura for the urban life.

On the other hand, in the age of Virginia Woolf, "Britain's centrality was for the moment reinforced by the very development of world pluralism. For as the newly industrializing economies bought more primary products from the underdeveloped world, they accumulated between them a fairly substantial deficit in their trade with that world."[7] So, the universally diverted goods were on the markets.

In this environment, Virginia Woolf began writing professionally but her mental health also began to suffer that caused her to rest in mental clinics for a while. She worked as a teacher at Morley College in London and taught English and History for about a year. At the same time, she came to know the members of the Bloomsbury Group that was "a liberal, pacifist, and at times libertine, intellectual enclave of Cambridge-based privilege. The Cambridge men of the group (Bell, Forster, Fry, Keynes, Strachey, Sydney, Turner) were members of the elite and secret society of Cambridge Apostles."[8] However, when Woolf's increasing awareness on feminism gain more importance for her, she lost her interest in this men's club and her works developed under the influence of women writers and feminist thinkers.

During the 1920's she published her most important works including *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925), *To the Lighthouse* (1927), *Orlando: A Biography* (1928), *A Room of One's Own* (1929) and afterwards *The Waves* (1931). In all her novels and essays, she tried to describe the world around her from her own eyes. When it comes to 1930's,

> Woolf turned her back on a number of tokens of her rising eminence, including an offer of the Companion of Honour award, an invitation from Cambridge University to give the Clark lectures, and honorary doctorate degrees from Manchester University and Liverpool University. 'It is an utterly corrupt society,' she wrote in her diary, '. . . & I will take nothing that it can give me'.[9]

At the same time, the world was in an ambivalent state. World War II was on the way. As Hobsbawm says, "in the middle 1920s when it seemed to have put the war and post-war disruptions behind it, the world economy plunged into the greatest and most dramatic crisis it had known since the industrial revolution."[10] According to Hobsbawm, this economic crisis brought power to Germany and Japan as the political forces of militarism and a second world war became highly predictable. He says, "Those who became adults in the 1930s expected it. The image of fleets of airplanes dropping bombs on cities and of nightmare figures in gasmasks tapping their way like blind people through the fog of poison gas, haunted my generation."[11] As a result, Virginia Woolf's *The London Scene* was born in an environment where everybody was in silence, waiting for the storm to burst and under the influence of Woolf's ideological attitude against the world that is utterly corrupt in her sense.

**II.** At the first sight, *The London Scene* seems like an unproblematic and a peaceful piece of writing which contains Virginia Woolf's six essays on London. In the first piece that is entitled as *The Docks of London*, Woolf describes the ships that brought foreign goods from far away lands to London and the atmosphere in the docks. In the second essay, which is called *Oxford Street Tide*, she concentrates on the ordinary life in Oxford Street, describes the shops and people who turn into the target of the world capital as consumers from peasants. In the third essay entitled as *Great Men's Houses*, Woolf explains a journey she made to the house of the great poet John Keats and Scottish historian Thomas Carlyle. In the fourth essay called *Abbeys and Cathedrals*, she describes the battle of London cathedrals in the urban life and explains their influence on the city. In the fifth essay titled as *This is the House of Commons*, Woolf criticizes the political powers and international politics by explaining one of her days at the parliament building and finally in the last essay called *Portrait of a Londoner*, she tells the story of Mrs. Crowe by explaining her daily routines and habits of her household.

Actually, when the reader does not interpret the meaning that is hidden in between the lines or search for extra-diegetic knowledge about the essays, Woolf's writing seems like it is not different from Berman's male oriented-analysis of Baudelaire's Paris or his reading of Goethe's *Faust*. The same fascination and apprehension that Berman finds in Goethe and Baudelaire's works, the same passion for speed, temporary change and the tendency of destruction can still be perceived in Woolf's writing even though she refers to the urban life of late 1920's rather than the beginning of nineteenth century. When Woolf explains the vulgar, dynamic and mechanical character of the streets in *Oxford Street Tide*, the tone of her voice fills with a bitter excitement:

> Taking all this into account -the auctions, the barrows, the cheapness, the glitter- it cannot be said that the characters of Oxford Street is refined. It is breeding ground, a forcing house of sensation. The pavement seems to sprout horrid tragedies; the divorces of actresses, the suicides of millionaires, occur here with a frequency that is unknown in the more austere pavements of the residential districts. New changes quicker than in any other part of London. The press of people passing seems to lick the ink off the placards and to consume more of them and to demand fresh supplies of later editions faster than elsewhere. The mind becomes a glutinous slab that takes impressions and Oxford Street rolls off upon it a perpetual ribbon of changing sights, sounds and movement. Parcels slap and hit; motor omnibuses graze the kerb; the blare of a whole brass band in full tongue dwindles to a thin reed of sound. Buses, vans, cars, barrows stream past like the fragments of a picture puzzle.[12]

Virginia Woolf's depiction of the scenery of Oxford Street highly resembles Berman's analysis on Baudelaire's Paris in the nineteenth century especially his words concerning 'the boulevards'. Berman defines the boulevards in Paris as the breathing space of the modern city where people clash, contact and interact with each other. He also claims that the boulevards in Baudelaire's poetry create a new way of loneliness and privatization by teaching the city dwellers being lonely in the crowds. He describes the flow in those boulevards as the "endless parade of strangers."[13]

Woolf's text also reveals the interaction between people on the street but it also reflects the degeneration and changing reality perception with the development of new ways of communication and mass media. Her emphasis on movie stars, millionaires and the ‘glamorized’ lives of famous people carries the notions of private and public into a new level. In this way, she emphasizes the alienation of urban people as well as the constant change and speed of the ordinary life in the public and private life. According to Woolf, the street is like a river on which the shiny pebbles resemble the flowing water. Everything happens quickly and everything is temporary on Oxford Street. She says,

> The charm of modern London is that it is not built to last; it is built to pass. [...] We do not build for our descendants, who may live up in the clouds or down in the earth, but for ourselves and our own needs. We knock down and rebuild as we expect to be knocked down and rebuilt.[14]

Woolf's words on temporariness and destruction remind the psychic state of Goethe's Faust who destroys everything to create the new so that modernity keeps its creative and renewable character. But in Woolf's sense, this destruction is what modernity expects from humanity. The wanderers of the modern city should meet those expectations in order to survive and feed their desire to consume because the social and economical circumstances of the age were designed to be that way.

The economical and social condition of Woolf's era is almost vividly visualized in *The Docks of London.* When she describes a scene in the ships and the load they carry, she says
"Liners come, high-decked, with their galleries and their awnings and their passengers grasping their bags and leaning over the rail, while the lascars tumble and scurry below - home they come, a thousand of these big ships every week of the year to anchor in the docks of London."[15] The diversity of the shipments and Woolf's emphasis on the diversity of the places that the shipment comes from reveals the economic, multinational and imperialist dynamic of the era that leaned on consumption.

On the other hand, Virginia Woolf, criticizes the same issue more explicitly in the deleted passages of *The Docks of London*. Susan Squier who compares the deleted passages of *The London Scene* with the published ones, tries to reveal Woolf's most courageous and appealing intentions for writing the essays. First of all, Squier draws attention to the reason why the passages she mentions were deleted from the essays and emphasizes the fact that Woolf's essays are published in a magazine called *Good Housekeeping* that is founded in 1885 by Clark W. Bryan in Holyoke in the US. The magazine first came out in Britain in March 1922. "The main purpose of GH [*Good Housekeeping*] has been to inform the domestic practitioner on domestic matters, and the reader is frequently reminded of the authority, reputation and trustworthiness of its Institute." [16] Therefore, the magazine was a domestic-oriented publishing that targeted to women, in other words, housewives under the circumstances of the day.

Because of the target audience *The London Scene* addressed, Susan Squier thinks that Virginia Woolf softened her language and tried to write more simply in order to be understood. For that reason, although Woolf wrote some more critical passages she did not hand them for publishing. One of the deleted passages that Susan Squier concentrates on is from *The Docks of London*. In this passage, Woolf writes

> The process, which is daily discharged in the port of London, of receiving this immense merchandise, of taking it on shore, of opening it, sorting it, sampling it, weighing it, selling it, distributing it, & passing it on, in its crude state, to be cooked, baked, tanned, worked, seasoned, rolled,-made in short into the million different luxuries & necessities upon which not only London but all England will feed; will wear-will use in its cars in its houses, in its streets-this vast patient skillful & unremitting labour is full of sweat & agony & squalor & horror. Looking out to sea is one thing, at the splendid ship, crowding her white sails, leaning across the bosom of the argent West, but turn East; look at the blight & squalor that surrounds us; as we turn to go towards the voracious city which those white sails feed. Nothing can be much more dismal. Factories & offices line the shore; stand crowded in the mud. Behind are the meanest streets in London. The line of warehouses is black, dingy, decrepit looking. Here & there are vast factories; whether new or old does not matter-The same dingy grey black coats them all. They crowd without order or intention. If a window is broken it remains. They have neither size nor strength. They seem run up & purely utilitarian & to fall. When one of them has been blackened by fire it seems scarcely more derelict &ruinous than the other. Behind them in ridges of grey rise the mean streets-which house the dock laborers.[17]

The melancholy concerning the economical and political processes such as mass production, commercialism, struggle of the working class and how all these affect the urban living on the whole is much more dominant in the deleted passage than the published version of the essay. What Squier says about this passage of *The Dock of London* is that "Virginia Woolf creates a memorable image for a painful fact: the price in human suffering paid by the working classes to produce the necessities and luxuries which middle- and upper-class England consumes."[18] In the dichotomous city, on the one-side lays the whiteness, cleanness and consumption and on the other side life and vitality are consumed and destroyed forever.

Alternatively, although Woolf's passage defines human bodies as suffering, consuming, machine-like passive entities, even the definition of it signifies the occurrence of a resistance and rebellion. In this way, different from Marshall Berman's depiction of modernity from the perspectives of male writers that concentrate on the fascination and destruction that come with will to power, Woolf's words and critic on modernity also signifies her resistance against patriarchal powers that rule the modernity as well as the new, oppressive order of the capitalist world.

In Woolf's writings, the struggle of the working class in this unfair and renovating world is used to signify the outsiders of modernity and sometimes, Woolf buries her rebellion against this tyrannical order under metaphors. For example, the metaphor that Virginia Woolf uses in *The Docks of London* sounds as a cry for a reform as well as reveals the gender of the era. Woolf says

> A thousand ships with thousand cargoes are being unladen every week. And not only is each package of this vast and varied merchandise picked up and set down accurately, but each is weighed and opened, sampled and recorded, and again stitched up and laid in its place, without haste, or waste, or hurry, or confusion by a very few men in shirt-sleeves, who, working with the utmost organisation in the common interest - for buyers will take their word and abide by their decision- are yet able to pause in their work and say to the casual visitor, "Would you like to see what sort of thing we sometimes find in sacks of cinnamon? Look at this snake!".[19]

The use of the word 'snake' in the passage signifies the rebellion of Virginia Woolf against male domination in the new world order. In many different mythologies, folktales and modern literature, snake figure which is a poisonous, phallic-shaped animal is used as a symbol for power and authority. Sometimes, snake, which may be worshipped or bewared turns into a murder device as in William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* or used to mark an evil character like Medusa in Greek Mythology. Its phallic-shaped figure is also associated with male power and castration anxiety in psychoanalysis as well as a threatening supremacy.

Therefore, Virginia Woolf's emphasis on the snake figure in the passage can be interpreted as a way to reveal the male dominated construction of the society. Woolf knows and emphasizes in the following sections of her essay that the goods are coming to the docks of London from British colonies, mostly from India and she criticizes the patriarchal, authoritative, imperialist system of modernity. The political and economical construction of the state that colonizes other countries conceals its power and authority but as Woolf points out sometimes a snake can be found in the sack of cinnamon and remind that the power relations of this male-dominated modern era can be found under every stone from trade agreements to working conditions of people and domestic order.

In one of the deleted passages in *The Docks of London*, Virginia Woolf concentrates on the male dominated character of the economical and social system much clearly. She says

> As if fortifications were being raised. But in fact these dykes are built of old fires [ashes] & vegetables. London is sending out the contents of her dustbins. Barges come down heaped with tin cans. The Londoner leaves behind him every day a fire [tin] & fish, bones, ashes, vegetables. And here they are, [being] dumped by men out to these ancient fifty year old rubbish heaps, by the river; which grow & grow; & sometimes catch fire-smoulder; & sometimes remain damp & sodden, so that weeds flourish & rats accumulate. And here is an ambiguous vessel, neither ship nor machine, but something between the two, which is dredging the river bottom. The silt will be carried out seventy miles & dropped into the sea. All is activity & [housemaids] Everywhere things are being sorted, ordered, kept in being. Here is London's scullery, its washing up place, its kitchen offices. And then, just as we are given up to thinking of London as the master, where men, whose habit of throwing away tins, cabbage, skittles keeps the whole population here busy clearing [cleaning] up after her, down comes a great steamer bound for India.[20]

In reference to Susan Squier, it can be said that through London's image that Virginia Woolf creates in this passage the gender relations are bound with class conflict as a typical tendency that is generally sensed in Woolf's writing. In this passage, Woolf describes the city as a place that is polluted by men and cleaned by the working force of women. Her emphasis on 'kitchen offices' implies that women are the ones who cook, serve, clean and work full time everyday. Whereas men turn the city into a polluted, overpopulated, over-consumed and greedy space, women try to run this already dead machine by cleaning, serving, repairing and reproducing new 'workers'. Women in Woolf's text are like invisible forces; where men were creating a new world order, women were working violently to keep the ordinary life going.

The struggle of women in this modern society comes into the question for Virginia Woolf in the essay entitled as *Great Men's Houses* as well. In this essay, Woolf tells her experiences when she visited the houses of the poet, John Keats, and the historian, Thomas Carlyle but mostly; she concentrates of the domestic life of Thomas Carlyle and his wife.

> According to Woolf, Carlyle's house where only one maid was working was a battle field. She says, All through the mid-Victorian Age the house was necessarily a battlefield where daily life, summer and winter, mistress and maid fought against dirt and cold for cleanliness and warmth. The stairs, carved as they are and wide and dignified, seem worn by the feet of harassed women carrying tin cans. The high panelled rooms seem to echo with the sound of pumping and the swish of scrubbing.[21]

In this passage, Woolf emphasizes how women are domesticated in the modern world and excluded from the everyday life of modern society for being the members of the working class. In the following, she also mentions about how Mrs. Carlyle can be anxious about Mr. Carlyle's comfort when she was sick and cannot do the housework. She says,

> So the long watches of the sleepless night passed, and then she heard Mr. Carlyle stir above her, and held her breath and wondered if Helen were up and had lit the fire and heated the water for his shaving. Another day had dawned and the pumping and the scrubbing must begin again.[22]

Thus, Woolf does more than saying something like "behind every successful man there is a wise woman."By talking about Mrs. Carlyle's everyday routine, she stresses that in the late 1800's while men were playing effective roles in the construction of the new society and the new political/economical system women were prisoners in the domestic routine of everyday life and struggling with making everything easier for men. When she was talking about the working conditions of women in the late 1800's, Elizabeth Wilson explains the situation by saying "in 1873 a detailed investigation of women's work in France revealed that women were crowded into the least skilled and most poorly paid sectors of employment."[23] The situation was not different in London. Wilson says "in London, the majority of women were employed in the needlework trades. Another important source of employment was in retail. Saleswomen formed an indeterminate class, and it was hard 'to decide whether they are workers, servants or clerks."[24] When Virginia Woolf wrote *A Room of One's Own* (1929), she explains the same situation for her own age. The book starts with a woman's hike in a university. Wherever she goes she bumps into a barrier. Although she tries to get into a library, the officer says women are not allowed in the library if they do not have a male companion from the university. Only the air is allowed to women around the campus. At this moment, Woolf explained how the universities are taken from kings at the end of the age of faith and given to merchants and manufacturers with the beginning of age of reason.[25] So, the power of knowledge was taken from one patriarchal authority and given to another.

At the end, Woolf asks " Why did men drink wine and women water? Why was one sex so prosperous and the other so poor?"[26] According to Woolf, although there are countless books that are written about women from male perspective and gaze, women writing was considered something worthless. In order to be taken seriously, women had to write their books under masculine fake names. As Elizabeth Wilson points out only jobs that were available for women were the least qualified ones. Virginia Woolf's main character *in A Room of One's Own* who inherited a salary from her aunt had worked in the most incompetent jobs in order to make a living. "Before that I had made my living by cadging odd jobs from newspapers, by reporting a donkey show here or a wedding there" she says, "I had earned a few pounds by addressing envelopes, reading to old ladies, making artificial flowers, teaching the alphabet to small children in a kinder garten. Such were the chief occupations that were open to women before 1918."[27] In the last essay of *The London Scene* entitled as *Portrait of a Londoner*, Woolf explains the story of Mrs. Crowne who sat by the fireplace for sixty years, greeted her guests for five o'clock teas, followed the gossip around the city and experienced London as if it is a village in the country.

She created a feminine map for herself for London as the city allowed her and the only map she can create shuttles between the lives that she has no chance to live. Just like the newspaper, that writes the lives of movie stars and millionaires, her news is always about other people. The modernity that did not take her seriously gave her no opportunity or qualified job to release her voice but domesticated her and made her a worker for 24 hours. Woolf says, "Women have served all these centuries as looking–glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. Without that power probably the earth would still be swamp and jungle."[28]

This looking–glass is the mirror from which Faust's Gretchen gazes herself wearing Mephisto's jewellery. However "if she begins to tell the truth, the figure in the looking–glass shrinks; his fitness for life is diminished. How is he to go on giving judgement, civilizing natives, making laws, writing books, dressing up and speechifying at banquets, unless he can see himself at breakfast and at dinner at least twice the size he really is?"[29]

> Therefore, as Helen Cixous points out
> Woman must write her self: must write about women and bring women to writing, from which they have been driven away as violently as from their bodies-for the same reasons, by the same law, with the same fatal goal. Woman must put herself into the text-as into the world and into history-by her own movement.[30]

If women write their own stories, define the past, the age of modernity and the prospective future of the modern by reflecting their own gaze, the rhetoric that repeatedly reproduces the male gaze, recreates the power relations and confirms the male dominance in both theory and practice may change. If women write, people may have the chance to hear another story on modernity from the perspective of women and in this story; Gretchen may survive with all her deeds.

## *Biography*

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**Notes**

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[2] Ibid.
[3] Berman, Marshall. "Second Metamorphoses: The Lover." *All That is Solid Melts into Air*. Penguin Books, 1988. p. 54
[4] Felski, Rita. "Introduction: Myths of the Modern." Gender of Modernity. Harvard University Press Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995. p. 2.
[5] Goldman, Jane. *The Cambridge Introduction to Virginia Woolf*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 4
[6] Hobsbawm, Eric. *The Age of Empire 1875 – 1914*. Vintage Book Edition, 1989. p. 52
[7] Ibid. p. 51-52
[8] Goldman, Jane. *The Cambridge Introduction to Virginia Woolf*. Cambridge University Press, 2006. p. 8
[9] Ibid. p. 21
[10] Hobsbawm, Eric. *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914-1991*. UK: Abacus, 1995. p. 35
[11] Ibid.
[12] Woolf, Virginia. "Oxford Street Tide." *The London Scene*. London: Snowbooks Ltd, 1975. p. 27-28
[13] Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. Penguin Books, 1988. p. 151-152
[14] Woolf, Virginia. "Oxford Street Tide." *The London Scene*. London: Snowbooks Ltd, 1975. p. 31
[15] Woolf, Virginia. "The Docks." *The London Scene*. London: Snowbooks Ltd, 1975. p. 12
[16] Martens, Lydia and Scott, Sue(2005) '"The Unbearable Lightness of Cleaning": Representations of Domestic Practice and Products in Good Housekeeping Magazine (UK): 1951-2001', Consumption Markets & Culture, 8:4, p. 383.
[17] Squier, Susan. " "The London Scene": Gender and Class in Virginia Woolf's London." Twentieth Century Literature, Vol. 29, No. 4, Henry Green (Winter, 1983), p. 490
[18] Ibid.
[19] Woolf, Virginia. "The Docks." *The London Scene*. London: Snowbooks Ltd, 1975. p. 18
[20] Squier, Susan. " "The London Scene": Gender and Class in Virginia Woolf's London." Twentieth Century Literature, Vol. 29, No. 4, Henry Green (Winter, 1983), p. 491-492
[21] Woolf, Virginia. "Great Men's Houses." *The London Scene*. London: Snowbooks Ltd, 1975. p. 39
[22] Ibid. p. 40
[23] Wilson, Elizabeth. "From the Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women." *The Blackwell City Reader*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2002. p. 420
[24] Ibid. p. 420 - 421
[25] Woolf, Virginia. *A Room of One's Own*. p. 2-4
[26] Ibid. p. 10
[27] Ibid. p. 15
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Cixous, Helene. "The Laugh of the Medusa." Signs, Vol. 1, No. 4 (Summer, 1976), p. 875