From the Red Room to Rochester's Haircut: Mind Control in *Jane Eyre*

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The control of the imagination is at stake in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. Throughout the novel, Jane comes under the power of people and institutions that want to break her spirit. While tyrants such as Aunt Reed, Brocklehurst, Rochester, and St John Rivers want to turn Jane into a personal servant, Lowood Institution wants to turn her into a servant of the wage labour economy. In response to these attempts to control her, Jane's romantic visions of an open untamed landscape, such as the moors, allow her to escape the feeling of being enclosed and commodified. The central dilemma of Jane's struggle is whether or not she can enter into society on terms that will allow her some measure of freedom within the social order. Her final settlement at Ferndean is the result of her struggle for such a balance. Here, she appears to be doubly free; she has the freedom that comes with having an employable skill and money in the bank and the freedom that comes with being a romantic figure living on the outskirts of civilization. But how free is she really? Many feminist critics have recognized a lack of freedom in Jane's marriage to Rochester, the way it threatens to remove her from the working world and turn her into a stereotypical Victorian angel in the house. For example, in *Uneven Devel-*

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opments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England, Mary Poovey argues that Jane's retirement form the working world reflects the almost universal Victorian assumption "that women would work only out of necessity" and "the belief voiced by conservatives that women's *proper* work was moral superintendence and (unpaid) domestic labor" (158–59). Jane's marriage to Rochester would appear to trap her in the same oppressive patriarchal system the novel critiques.

While it is appropriate to read the ending as one built upon compromise and constraint, this essay shifts the focus away from Jane as angel in the house to Jane as agent of the modern nation-state. As that agent, she is able to live at Ferndean only because she has negotiated a complex deal with the state, one that insists she become an active participant in darker forms of control, such as those in use at Lowood school. Nancy Armstrong argues that the female domestic space of nineteenth-century novels is an apolitical space: "As it became the woman's sphere, then, the household appeared to detach itself from the political world and to provide the complement and antidote to it. And in this way, novels helped to transform the household into what might be called 'counterimage' of the modern marketplace, an apolitical realm of culture within the culture as a whole" (48).

Our reading of the novel will demonstrate, however, that the version of the nineteenth-century household constructed at the end of Brontë's novel is not an apolitical space. Ferndean cottage may be a domestic space set back in the woods, but inside this space Jane works for and helps maintain the larger space of the English nation. The novel presents a modern view of the nation-state in which all spaces, even domestic ones, are part of a larger network of discipline. It presents a shift away from patriarchy, a shift that is marked by the ascendancy of benevolent mother figures, such as Bessie, Miss Temple, and Jane herself, but the assumption of the reins of power does not mark a clear-cut liberation for these women when they are then charged with making others conformable. The purpose here is to give Brontë credit for her hard-headed approach to the position of women in nineteenth-century society, an approach that says that in the modern nation-state women will find a more active role in the production of culture but that the role will also demand that they become implicated in the larger mechanisms of social control.

Much of the novel traces the movement away from tyranny as a mode of discipline. Foucault outlines, in *Discipline and Punish*, how the rise of the modern nation-state is marked by a shift away from spectacular forms of punishment, such as public hangings and floggings, to structural forms

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Leggatt_Parkes.indd 170 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

of discipline, ones built into the shape of society.[1] Discipline is inefficient in feudal and monarchical societies because the body of the king stands in for the body of state (208). As a figure who "looms over everything with a single gaze" (217), the king becomes a clear focal point for discontent. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the time in which *Jane Eyre* is set, the capitalist states began to replace individual tyrants with what Foucault calls a "carceral network," the goal of which is to produce in the population the feeling that it is continually held within the social order of the state and that there is no marginal or liminal world to which dissidents can escape: "The carceral network does not cast the unassimilable into a confused hell; there is no outside. It takes back with one hand what it seems to exclude with the other. It saves everything, including what it punishes" (301). At the heart of the carceral network lies the grid structure of Bentham's Panopticon, a structure that the individual continually encounters in institutions, such as prisons, factories, schools, hospitals, and madhouses. Because the individual is held within the regularly configured institutions of the carceral network, he or she is less able to slip outside the bounds of society and even less able to imagine an outside. According to Foucault, the modern individual is manufactured completely within this enclosed system: "[I]t is not that the beautiful totality of the individual is amputated, repressed, altered by our social order, it is rather that the individual is carefully fabricated in it" (217). Foucault also notes that the modern nation-state requires fewer disciplinary resources. When there is no figure looming over society, when the social order is the faceless grid, discipline is internalized to the point where individuals discipline themselves. Discipline is no longer imposed from above; it is embedded in the social order as a normal part of everyday experience.

Throughout the novel, Jane encounters and rebels against typical tyrants. The Reeds attempt to enclose Jane both physically and imaginatively so that she becomes their property. Jane's first description of John Reed's abusive behaviour and of her reaction to his tyranny sets a pattern

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1 Several critics of Victorian literature have used Foucault's ideas in the development of their own theories. Mary Poovey, in *Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation 1830–1864*, asserts that "modern industrial capitalism was characterized by a new organization of space and bodies in space. The formation of the culture attendant upon modern capitalism therefore entailed the naturalization of these spatial arrangements as well as the mystification of the 'framework of power' inherent in—and enforced by—the new organization of space" (25). D. A. Miller, in *The Novel and the Police*, has shown that "the novel—as a set of representational techniques—systematically participate[s] in a general economy of policing of power" (2).

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 171 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

that continues throughout the novel and that exemplifies the responses to tyranny outlined by Foucault. As John Reed begins to insult Jane, she is at first meek and passive. Jane describes herself as "[h]abitually obedient to John" and claims that "[a]ccustomed to John Reed's abuse, I never had an idea of replying to it; my care was how to endure the blow which would certainly follow the insult" (7). After John Reed throws a book at her, however, Jane leaves her passive acceptance in a moment of rebellion. She compares her cousin to "a murderer," "a slave-driver," and "the Roman emperors" (8). Casting her cousin in the role of an unjust tyrant allows her to defend herself physically and to attack her tormentor in return.

Jane is punished for her rebellion by being thrown into a dungeon—or the closest thing to a dungeon in the upper-class home of the Reeds. Jane explicitly compares the red room to a jail (12) and only narrowly escapes being "tied down" (9). By isolating Jane in the red room, Mrs Reed wants her to come to the realization that she is profoundly alone in the world, that she cannot possibly fend for herself, and that she must submit. But because Jane frequently endures old-fashioned torture, she feels that she is the victim of tyranny. The injustice of her situation leads her not into acquiescence but, rather, into a questioning of her situation: "Why was I always suffering, always brow-beaten, always accused, for ever condemned?" (12). This questioning, in turn, leads her to further rebellion: "'Unjust!—unjust!' said my reason, forced by the agonizing stimulus into precocious though transitory power; and Resolve, equally wrought up, instigated some strange expedient to achieve escape from insupportable oppression" (13). Mrs Reed and John Reed act as obvious points of focus for Jane's rebellion. Their tyranny means that Jane does not internalize discipline. She refuses to believe that she is the problem, and thus the red room functions with the inefficiency of a medieval torture chamber.

After her confinement, Jane fights openly with her aunt. As she turns Aunt Reed's accusations back on her, Jane gets her first taste of freedom from tyranny: "Ere I had finished this reply, my soul began to expand, to exult, with the strangest sense of freedom, of triumph, I ever felt. It seemed as if an invisible bond had burst, and that I had struggled out into unhoped-for liberty" (39). In gaining freedom, however, Jane has to become something of a tyrant herself: "I was left there alone—winner of the field. It was the hardest battle I had fought, and the first victory I had gained: I stood awhile on the rug, where Mr. Brocklehurst had stood, and I enjoyed my conqueror's solitude" (40). Rather than being submissive, she imagines herself as an opposing tyrant to Mrs Reed, occupying the same space as the next tyrant she will face, Brocklehurst. Terry Eagleton sums

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 172 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

up the difficult split that ensues in Jane's character and that characterizes Brontë's protagonists in general: "Charlotte's protagonists want independence, but they also desire to dominate; and their desire to dominate is matched only by their impulse to submit to a superior will" (30). Jane's vacillations between the positions of victim and opposing tyrant continue throughout the novel and show that tyranny is an ineffective mode of discipline; tyranny declares to Jane that in order to hold on to her identity she must become a tyrant figure herself; she must stand on the same rug as tyrants such as Mrs Reed and Mr Brocklehurst to maintain her sense of autonomy.

Lowood, like Gateshead, fails when it is run by a single tyrant figure. Brocklehurst's methods are punitive rather than rehabilitative. He enjoys spectacular displays of punishment, such as when he forces Jane to stand on a stool and orders that she be shunned for the day (77). His job is to make sure that each girl is imaginatively confined within her role as a worker, but his methods instead produce Helen Burns, who longs to escape servitude in death. The power structures of the school under Brocklehurst do not suggest to girls like Jane that they can enter into society and still maintain autonomy. The anti-female bent of his reign is most recognizable when he orders the cutting of Julia Severn's long red hair. He claims the hair is evidence of her vanity, but whether or not Julia is vain is irrelevant; he wants her hair shorn because it gives her a measure of uniqueness, something that cannot be allowed to orphan children prized for their subservience. The hair is also an emblem of female sexuality, something that is traditionally associated with disorder and irrationality, and with a lack of control that defies Brocklehurst's power:[2]

> "Julia's hair curls naturally," returned Miss Temple, still more quietly.
>
> "Naturally! Yes but we are not to conform to nature: I wish these girls to be the children of Grace: and why that abundance? I have again and again intimated that I desire the hair to be arranged closely, modestly, plainly. Miss Temple, that girl's hair must be cut off entirely." (73)

Brocklehurst's control over how Julia Severn wears her hair is an instance of a human "entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down and rearranges it" (Foucault 138), in order to make the human body into a

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2 For a detailed Freudian reading of the connections between hair and sexuality in the novel, see Joanne E. Rea's "Hair Imagery in *Jane Eyre*."

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 173 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

machine. The ordered haircut declares to Jane that to enter into society is to enter into a completely mechanical culture owned by men; it declares that she must allow herself to be completely owned by patriarchy.

Thornfield too is run by a tyrant figure. Whereas Brocklehurst and the Reeds assume a superior stance to Jane based on class, Rochester's superior position is based on traditional concepts of gender roles. Although he claims her as his equal, Rochester continually bullies Jane and plays games with her emotions in order to make her conform to his desires and will. After their engagement, the couple conflates the battles of tyranny and rebellion with the language of love. When Rochester compares Jane to "the grand Turk's whole seraglio" (339), Jane responds that she would act as "'a missionary to preach liberty to them that are enslaved—your Harem inmates amongst the rest. I'll get admitted there, and I'll stir up mutiny; and you, three tailed bashaw as you are, sir, shall in a trice find yourself fettered amongst our hands: nor will I, for one, consent to cut your bonds till you have signed a charter, the most liberal that despot ever yet conferred'" (339).

As usual, Jane's way of dealing with tyranny is to become a tyrant herself, but in this case it seems to be a battle that she will eventually lose. Rochester threatens, "'[I]t is your time now, little tyrant, but it will be mine presently; and when once I have fairly seized you, to have and to hold, I'll just—figuratively speaking—attach you to a chain like this (touching his watch guard)'" (341). Although Jane has learned to confront tyranny, the inequality of marriage laws and her position without fortune or family form an insurmountable barrier to an equal union, even before the revelation of Bertha, whom Rochester has more literally seized and kept captive.

By the time Jane encounters St John, who also wishes to mould her to his will, she has the pattern of passivity followed by rebellion so entrenched that she even recognizes it in herself. She follows St John's orders passively for a time, although she "did not love [her] servitude" (508); then she rebels, but this time she recognizes that the break will come even before St John pushes her too far by demanding a loveless marriage: "I know no medium: I never in my life have known any medium in my dealings with positive, hard characters, antagonistic to my own, between absolute submission and determined revolt. I have always faithfully observed the one, up to the very moment of bursting, sometimes with volcanic vehemence, into the other" (511). It is, in fact, only the recognition of St John's "hardness and despotism" (519) that allows Jane to rebel. Until this point, she has been

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 174 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

bowed by his piety and good works, in a way that she has never been by the more obvious tyrannies of the Reeds and Brocklehurst.[3]

Jane's increasing ability to free herself from tyrants seems to support Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar's claim that Jane "struggles from the imprisonment of her childhood toward an almost unthinkable goal of mature freedom" (339). It is our contention, however, that this freedom is illusory. While Jane effectively rebels against tyranny, she is unable to escape the more subtle bonds of the carceral network, which grow stronger throughout the novel until Jane herself works to maintain discipline and conformity. The beginnings of panoptic control exist even at Gateshead, where order is paramount. The servants are governed by ringing bells, and "punctuality at meals [i]s rigidly enforced at Gateshead Hall" (22). Like Foucault's carceral network, Gateshead encloses Jane both physically and imaginatively, but she has normalized her situation to the extent that she only subconsciously realizes that she is incarcerated within the house itself. When Jane awakes after being incarcerated in the red room, the first thing she sees are the "thick black bars" on the fireplace (17), which link the nursery to the more obvious prison of the red room.

The panoptic methods of control at Gateshead are enforced, not by the Reed tyrants but by seemingly benevolent servants. The servants, especially Bessie, do more to bring Jane under control than do John and Aunt Reed. Bessie is often kind to Jane, but she operates like an employee of a mental hospital whose job it is to reprogram the inmate so that he or she accepts the rules and regulations of the institution; she does so using classic brainwashing techniques. For example, during most of her stay at Gateshead, Jane is sleep deprived and while in this state she is constantly reminded that her existence depends entirely upon the Reeds's benevolence. Pervasive comments, such as Bessie's reminder that Jane is "under obligations to Mrs. Reed: she keeps you; if she were to turn you off, you would have to go to the poor-house" (10), control Jane more effectively than does the red room: "[M]y very first recollections of existence included hints of the same kind. This reproach of my dependence had become a vague sing-song in my ear; very painful and crushing, but only half intelligible" (10). In her state of sleep deprivation, Jane is vulnerable to the

3 For an alternative reading of tyranny in the novel, see "*Jane Eyre* and the Evolution of a Feminist History," in which Carol A. Senf argues that the progression of Jane's reactions to tyranny throughout the novel parallels the development of civilization. Jane starts as a savage, and "grows from victim to independent woman; she achieves mastery over herself without desiring mastery over others" (78).

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 175 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

suggestion that she is owned by Mrs Reed. Simply put, the servants and Reeds convince Jane that there is nothing for her outside of the social systems represented by Gateshead Hall. These hints work so well that when Mr Lloyd suggests that Jane might escape the Reeds by living with her less wealthy Eyre relations, she refuses, since she cannot "see how poor people had the means of being kind" (24). The only way Jane can conceive of escaping is into another well-regulated institution, and so she agrees to be sent away to school.

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When Jane moves to Lowood, she encounters a more efficient disciplinary mechanism. Heather Glen, in *Charlotte Brontë: The Imagination in History*, reads "the discipline institutionalized at Lowood school, with its surveillance, its regimentation, its punishments and privations" as "a hostile but realistic portrayal of the ethos of evangelism" (78). We would argue that the Christian discipline of the school also has an economic purpose. As a charity institution, Lowood manufactures inmates whose sole purpose is to provide labour for the market economy. Foucault shows how the labour of the modern prison transforms "the violent, agitated, unreflective convict into a part that plays its role with perfect regularity" (242). Like this prison, Lowood school functions as "a machine whose convict-workers are both the cogs and the products" (Foucault 242). Whereas Mrs Reed seeks to break Jane's spirit and make her the servant of a social order of her own construction, Lowood seeks to make Jane the servant of the larger economy. Here, grid-like structures and regular schedules, similar to those of Bentham's Panopticon, regiment the lives of the young girls. The servant's dinner bell at Gateshead is replaced by a series of bells that govern every moment of the students' day. Because of this ever-present discipline, they come together as a well-ordered set of individuals rather than a discontented mob: "Discipline prevailed: in five minutes the confused throng was resolved into order, and comparative silence quelled the Babel clamour of tongues" (51). For the most part, the regimen is effective in transforming the girls into "individuals mechanized according to the general norms of an industrial society" (Foucault 242). Any rebellion the inmates may have becomes almost completely internalized to the point where girls like Helen Burns convert their hatred of the school into self-loathing. Helen believes she deserves to be punished and that her punishers do her good. Jane does experience discontent at Lowood, but she also internalizes her frustrations. When presented with a dinner from which "rose a strange steam redolent of rancid fat," Jane "ate what [she] could, and wondered within [her]self whether every day's fare would be like this" (57). This "wondering within" indicates on Jane's

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 176 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

part a reluctance to share her rebellion with the other girls; like Foucault's prisoner, she disciplines and silences herself.

The enclosure of Jane within the carceral network becomes complete once the tyrant is removed from the head of Lowood institution. After the deaths of many girls during a typhoid epidemic, the local officials realize that Brocklehurst's reign of terror must end. Brocklehurst is removed from his singular position of authority and, instead, "the funds of the school [a]re entrusted to the management of a committee" (98). In the new administration, Brocklehurst is just another employee of the institution: "[H]is office of inspector [...] was shared by those who knew how to combine reason with strictness, comfort with economy, compassion with uprightness" (98). Whereas tyranny such as Brocklehurst's can turn the individual into a machine, the modern disciplinary power described by Foucault "has as its correlative an individuality that is not only analytical and 'cellular,' but also natural and 'organic'" (156). After the reforms, Lowood moves from being Brocklehurst's school to being an institution of the carceral network. It forms the girls for labour without completely shattering their identities.

That Miss Temple achieves as much power as Brocklehurst under the new administration helps to feminize the school. Like Bessie, she becomes a mother figure to Jane, and her power rescues the school (and, by extension, society) from the perception that it is owned and operated by men exclusively. Even before Brocklehurst's power has waned, his capricious tyranny is balanced by Miss Temple's more modern forms of discipline. Brocklehurst's public punishment of Jane for being a liar, without more evidence than the word of Mrs Reed, exemplifies the spectacular forms of punishment that Foucault links with feudal and monarchical forms of control. Miss Temple, on the other hand, treats Jane as an accused prisoner in a fair and balanced system: "[Y]ou know, or at least I will tell you, that when a criminal is accused, he is always allowed to speak in his own defence. You have been charged with falsehood: defend yourself to me as well as you can" (82). She seeks corroborating evidence of Jane's testimony and then publicly announces "that inquiry had been made into the charges alleged against Jane Eyre, and that she was most happy to be able to pronounce her completely cleared from every imputation" (87). Miss Temple's modern and transparent approach to justice convinces Jane that she is a valued individual who is cared for by the system. The school becomes more efficient with Miss Temple in ascendance because it declares to girls like Jane that they can have a place of importance inside society.

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 177 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

Helen Burns argues that the ordered behaviour Miss Temple inspires in her is a "passive" goodness: "I make no effort; I follow as inclination guides me. There is no merit in such goodness" (65). Inspiring passive goodness is, however, a far more effective means of control than is tyranny. Miss Temple succeeds in the same mission in which Brocklehurst fails. Even Jane is very nearly cured of her rebellion with her in charge: "I had imbibed from her something of her nature and much of her habits: more harmonious thoughts, what seemed better regulated feelings had become the inmates of my mind. I had given in allegiance to duty and order; I was quiet; I believed I was content: to the eyes of others, usually even to my own, I appeared a disciplined and subdued character" (99). Jane imagines her thoughts as a set of well-regulated inmates. Her imagination has become a microcosm of the well-disciplined school. Because of Miss Temple's influence, Jane is no longer able even to conceive of herself as anything other than a servant: "I desired liberty; for liberty I gasped; for liberty I uttered a prayer; it seemed scattered on the wind then faintly blowing. I abandoned it, and framed a humbler supplication; for change, stimulus: that petition, too, seemed swept off into vague space; 'Then,' I cried, half desperate, 'Grant me at least a new servitude!'" (101). Where liberty, excitement, and enjoyment seem "hollow and fleeting" fantasies to Jane, servitude "must be matter of fact" (102). Her formative years at Lowood, under the influence of Miss Temple, make unregulated freedom seem a much less viable alternative to the wage labour economy. Because she has been given training to enter into society and no indication that it is desirable, or even possible, to live outside or on the margins of that society, she latches on to the freedom that society *can* offer her. She will at least have more space than Lowood can provide.

Jane's enclosure within this system is evident in that she takes on exactly the same role as Miss Temple: an educator, first of a decadent French girl, whom Rochester has taken "out of the slime and mud of Paris, and transplanted" to "the wholesome soil of an English country garden" (178), and then of the English working classes. Jane, like Miss Temple, uses education to turn young women into useful workers, both at home and in the larger economic system. At Moor House, Jane becomes a teacher in a school that trains girls to become useful members of society. She takes her "gaping rustics" who at first seem "hopelessly dull" and finds among them those who are "disposed for improvement" (467). She instills in these scholars solid English working-class values: "These soon took a pleasure in doing their work well; in keeping their persons neat; in learning their tasks regularly; in acquiring quiet and orderly manners" (467). Rather than

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 178 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

simply providing a sterile education, Jane develops an affection for, and pride in the accomplishments of, both Adele and her Morton pupils. She becomes what Miss Temple was, an employee of the nation-state who uses compassion to create an industrious and submissive English workforce.

Jane's apparent movement to freedom is, therefore, really a movement from the ascendancy of one form of control to another. Gilbert and Gubar classify *Jane Eyre* not only as a story of the movement to freedom but also as "a story of enclosure and escape" (339).[4] Jane moves from the small, enclosed spaces of the window seat and the red room through progressively more expansive horizons. Just as Jane's apparent freedom from tyranny hides her enclosure in the carceral network, so the larger landscapes and apparently wilder areas obscure the increasing enclosure of the English landscape. Jane's imagination is controlled, in large part, by a re-conceptualization of the wilderness as part of society. If every part of the country is conceived of as part of the carceral network, there is no longer an "outside" to which the rebel can escape. Thus, a progression from hierarchical to panoptic forms of control can be traced by looking at the conflicting constructions of the contained landscape and the wilderness in *Jane Eyre*. The values imparted by institutions, such as Lowood and Jane's school, are supposed to be the same values that construct the outside world, but outside the institutions Jane encounters a world that is configured according to the order of England's feudal past; in such spaces, she can only escape tyranny through flight to unregulated space. What the novel is searching for, ultimately, is a panoptic landscape built according to the structures of the panoptic institution. While at first the wilderness offers an escape from the tyranny of the great house and its master, by the end of the novel even the wilderness has been imaginatively contained.

At Gateshead, the imaginative world of literature allows Jane's mind to escape confinement. She cannot be controlled by the Reeds because her mind is able to wander into alternative spaces. *Bewick's History of British Birds*, with its pictures of "'solitary rocks and promontories'" (4), allows Jane to construct a fantasy world beyond the Reeds' household. Marcell Thiebaux even argues that the book "proposes a shadowy map of the terrain, both interior and physical, that she [Jane] is to traverse" (48). Similarly, Bessie's song, "In the days when we went gipsying" (20), allows Jane to imagine the possibility of physically escaping enclosure and living on the moors. Although she realizes that England is already becoming tamer and

4 Brontë, through Jane, describes the spaces of the novel—both architectural and natural—in great detail. As Karen Chase notes, "Few novels are as spatially *articulate* as *Jane Eyre*" (59, emphasis in original).

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 179 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

that elves and fairies are "all gone out of England to some savage country, where the woods were wilder and thicker, and the population more scant" (20), she still finds it possible to escape through books such as *Gulliver's Travels*, which she assumes is a "narrative of facts" and which allows her imagination to travel. Reading increases Jane's rebellion and gives her the power to oppose tyranny; it shows her that Gateshead Hall is actually a very small place and that to enclose herself within it would be—in Foucault's terms—to "amputate the beautiful totality of the individual."

Lowood gives Jane more room than the window seat, but she is still enclosed: "The garden was a wide enclosure, surrounded with walls so high as to exclude every glimpse of prospect" (54). Despite the high walls, Jane escapes the discipline of Lowood just as she does at Gateshead. Not only does her imagination roam free, and allow her to paint the romantic pictures that later attract Rochester, but extraordinary circumstances give her a physical freedom as well. During the typhoid outbreak, which is caused by the deplorable conditions created by Brocklehurst, she and the other healthy girls are turned out of doors while the sick are quarantined: "[T]hey let us ramble in the wood, like gipsies, from morning till night" (90). If Jane is beginning to give her imagination over to the school, the typhoid outbreak undermines her conditioning by returning her to the same imaginative state she was in when she read Bewick in the window seat. The connection between landscape and control is marked by the move of Lowood school from one building to another. The original Lowood, run by Brocklehurst, seems at first like "a pleasant site for a dwelling … bosomed in hill and wood, and rising from the verge of a stream" but the "forest dell" is also a "cradle of fog and fog-bred pestilence" (89). The reforms at Lowood are marked by "the erection of a more convenient building in a better situation" (98). With the end of the pestilence caused by the unhealthy location comes the end of the gypsy-like freedom of the healthy girls.

Romantic escape remains, however, even under the ascendancy of Miss Temple. As the eighteen-year-old Jane stands in her window and contemplates leaving Lowood for the world outside, we can see that her imagination has not been completely colonized by the institution. After Miss Temple leaves, Jane recollects her earlier romantic notions: "My world had for some years been in Lowood: my experience had been of its rules and systems; now I remembered that the real world was wide" (100). She imagines climbing to the top of the mountains she sees on the horizon:

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 180 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

> I went to my window, opened it, and looked out. There were the two wings of the building; there was the garden; there were the skirts of Lowood; there was the hilly horizon. My eye passed all other objects to rest on those most remote, the blue peaks: it was those I longed to surmount; all within their boundary of rock and heath seemed prison-ground, exile limits. I traced the white road winding round the base of one mountain, and vanishing in a gorge between two: how I longed to follow it further! (100–01)

Despite the Lowood education that has lead her to view the landscape immediately surrounding her as a prison, Jane's desire to find a place in the world still presents itself as a choice between nature and society. As Jane contemplates leaving, we can see that the school has not completely dislodged alternative landscapes from her imagination or mapped them out of existence. However, having learned a valuable skill in Lowood and having been a teacher for eight years, she chooses society over nature (she will try nature later when she escapes to the moor). She decides that even though the school is too small to form the total of her existence, it has prepared her to enter the world outside. Jane imagines Thornfield as "a neat, orderly spot" and attempts "to conceive a correct plan of the premises" (105). Its location "seventy miles nearer London" than Lowood and near "a large manufacturing town" (105) both appeal to her desire to enter the larger social and economic networks of England. When Jane first reaches Millcote, it meets her expectations: "I felt we were in a different region to Lowood, more populous, less picturesque; more stirring, less romantic" (114). Jane seems, therefore, to be moving into a controlled space.

The problem with Jane's entry into the economy, however, is that her first job does not actually make her part of the modern working class. Instead of becoming a worker for the national economy, Jane becomes a governess, a figure that, as Mary Poovey argues in *Uneven Developments*, occupies a unique position in the Victorian labour force. According to Poovey, Jane embodies the paradox of the governess, who as a Mother figure "epitomize[s] the domestic ideal" and as a working woman "threaten[s] to destroy" that ideal (127). Similarly, Thornfield Hall is not part of England's larger web of commercial activity. As an old-fashioned feudal estate, it is hooked out of the market. She is just as removed from society as she was at Gateshead and just as owned by Rochester as she was by Mrs Reed.

One of the first things Jane does at Thornfield is climb to the roof and survey the world stretched out before her like a map; she longs to be con-

The problem with Jane's entry into the economy, however, is that her first job does not actually make her part of the modern working class.

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 181 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

nected to the human activity of towns and cities. In this way, the scene is almost identical to the scene in which she looked out at the world from her window at Lowood:

> I climbed the three staircases, raised the trap-door of the attic, and having reached the leads, looked out afar over sequestered field and hill, and along dim skyline: that then I longed for a power of vision which might overpass that limit; which might reach the busy world, towns, regions full of life I had heard of but never seen. (132)

Here, she stands in the feudal past of England and longs to be connected and enclosed within the nation's trade network. But, at the same time, she enjoys the power of vision possessed by the novel's tyrant figures, which allows her to break free of the social order in general. Looking out over the landscape again stirs thoughts of rebellion in Jane, this time over the narrow lot accorded to women. Thornfield Hall is, like her previous two homes, a conflicted space. It encloses Jane as a worker but not as one who is part of the modern workforce. The possibility of ascending the social ladder and escaping labour, as Pamela does in Richardson's novel, may appear attractive, but it will only turn Jane into the woman who marries for money, like Blanche Ingram, rather than the woman like Miss Temple who actively works to construct culture. With such conflicts, it is no wonder that Jane cannot settle at Thornfield.

After fleeing Thornfield, Jane decides to test the other side of the society/nature binary opposition. When her money runs out, the coachman lets her out on the side of the road at a signpost. Here, she stands at the boundary between society and nature. But, as Karen Chase notes, "Jane, out of doors is no closer to stability than Jane confined" (62). Chase identifies Jane's uneasiness on the moors as a fear of exposure (62–63); we would add that this fear of exposure is to some extent a result of her conditioned experience of the world. As she is about to reject society by leaving the network of roads, her mental conditioning kicks in. She does not plunge into the wilderness as a rebel outlaw who curses society for all the misery it has caused; instead she slinks into the moor as a product of Lowood institution, who feels that her actions are being monitored, that she is under surveillance:

> The population here must be thin, and I see no passengers on these roads: they stretch out east, west, north and south—white, broad, lonely; they are all cut in the moor, and

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 182 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

> the heather grows deep and wild to their very verge. Yet a chance traveller might pass by; and I wish no eye to see me now: strangers would wonder what I am doing, lingering here at the sign-post, evidently objectless and lost. I might be questioned: I could give no answer but what would sound incredible and excite suspicion. (412)

Jane realizes that she is slipping the bonds of the carceral network, here represented by the roads that stretch out in all directions, and feels subconsciously that she deserves punishment. The regular structure of the roads makes her feel that all eyes are on her, even though there is little chance of encountering another human being. Jane feels the abstract gaze of the nation-state playing upon her as she leaves the web of enclosure for the unenclosed wilderness. She feels her own delinquency as she transgresses the boundaries of society, and the reader witnesses the disciplinary effect of panopticism.

As Jane violates the panoptic landscape, she makes it clear that she still sees nature as romantic, feminine, and opposed to the masculine capitalist system. She specifically rejects commercial society. She wants to return to a pre-commercial time when people enjoyed a subsistence living on the wastelands of England. She imagines nature as both a mother and an inn where money is unnecessary: "To-night, at least, I would be her guest—as I was her child: my mother would lodge me without money and without price" (413). When she wakes up the next day cold and hungry, however, she realizes that the moor is no longer a place to live: "But I was a human being, and had a human being's wants: I must not linger where there was nothing to supply them" (415). For Jane, women are no longer representatives of nature and opposed to society but a part of the human world, and thus the social system. The harsh conditions of the moor send her back into society where she will "strive to live and bend to toil like the rest" (416). The network of roads—the physical stamp of social control on the natural world—reminds her that her escape is not just unfeasible; it is also transgressive.

A clear understanding of the ways in which the imagination and the natural world are both enclosed by the carceral network allows us to understand the conflicted ending of *Jane Eyre*. Many scholars propose the idea that the ending reconciles the binary oppositions of the text. Terry Eagleton writes, for example, "By the device of an ending, bourgeois initiative and genteel settlement, sober rationality and Romantic passion, spiritual equality and social distinction, the actively affirmative and the

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 183 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

patiently deferential self, can be merged into mythical unity" (32). Similarly, Penny Boumelha notes,

> female power is continually tethered and troubled by the realist narrative of social determination and patriarchal imbrication. It is the tension between the two—sometimes seen as an opposition between Gothic and realist elements, or Romantic and realist, or fairy-tale and novel—that gives this novel its peculiar intensity and force, acting out as it does at the very level of form the mutual dependencies and incompatibilities of desire and restraint. (143)

As well, Carol T. Christ suggests that "The narrative ultimately satisfies both the claims of desire and the claims of control" (65). Even the setting itself elides the difference between nature and civilization. Parma Roy agues that, at Ferndean, "[T]he opposition between Architecture and Nature, between the corrupt great house and the pleasantness of the natural world, that has continued throughout the novel is dissolved" (725). On the other hand, Jerome Beaty, in *Misreading Jane Eyre*, warns that the ending cannot, as one narrative moment among many others, tie together all the tensions that come before. The key to understanding the ending is to see how Jane's imagination has been reformed by the time she settles at Ferndean. At the end of the novel, her imaginative experience of romantic settings and unenclosed wilderness is not the same as at the novel's outset. At Ferndean, she can no longer conceive of alternative spaces and liminal existences. In other words, she is imaginatively enclosed in the carceral network.

It must be acknowledged that there is much that is aristocratic about Ferndean cottage. It is a romantic retreat and not a working-class home. When Jane settles here at the novel's close, it would appear that, despite the novel's interest in discipline and punishment, a hierarchical social model triumphs over a panoptic model and the heroine is granted a fairy-tale ending. It is difficult to argue against this view of the ending given the description of Ferndean. It is positioned on the outskirts of society, it is set back in the woods and is invisible from the road, and it allows Jane to satisfy her lifelong urge to be connected to the natural world and to lead a romantic life. Gilbert and Gubar argue that "[T]he physical isolation of the lovers suggests their spiritual isolation in a world where such egalitarian marriages as theirs are rare, if not impossible" (369). At the same time, there are more sinister undertones to this happy ending. The house itself is first mentioned as a possible dungeon for Bertha; it would have become one if Rochester had not had a "scruple about the unhealthiness of the

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 184 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

situation, in the heart of a wood" which he assumes would have lead to his wife's death (383). When Rochester tries to rent it, he "could find no tenant, in consequence of its ineligible and insalubrious site" (550). Such a home, reminiscent of the original Lowood, hardly seems a fit place for a happily ever after ending. Unlike Lowood, which has to be rebuilt on a different site, the problems with Ferndean's situation seem to disappear without structural renovation or relocation of the building. Jane tidies the living room and takes Rochester for a walk: "I led him out of the wet and wild wood into some cheerful fields" (562). Jane's leading of Rochester from the wilderness into a cultivated landscape signifies the way Jane, through little more than force of will, makes Ferndean into a healthy setting. There is no indication that anyone is made ill from the damp setting of the cottage in the ten years between the ending of the events of the novel and the time of narration. The couple's settling of the cottage, in itself, makes it habitable. Roy claims the regeneration offered by the setting is a product of nature: "Ferndean is more an outgrowth of the woods than a manmade architectural construct" (725); we would argue instead that the natural world has been co-opted into the larger social sphere.

At Ferndean, Jane and Rochester also transform from master and servant into a middle-class couple. Before returning to Rochester, Jane gives over any aristocratic pretensions and realizes that she belongs in the middle class. When she finds she has inherited twenty thousand pounds—money which is the product of commercial endeavours of her uncle in the colonies—she divides it with her new-found cousins: "'It would please and benefit me to have five thousand pounds; it would torment and oppress me to have twenty thousand'" (493). Her whole life Jane has been enclosed in other people's houses, and now that she can circulate freely in the English economy as a skilled worker she does not want to be tied to an estate which only corrupts the individual, as Rochester's case proves. While some Marxist critics, such as Jina Politi, argue that Jane's inheritance makes her "join the leisure class" (66), it can be read as a modern inheritance; it is shared equally amongst various members of the family, including the women, and does not allow the recipient to escape labour for the decadence of aristocratic life. Parma Roy notes that Ferndean's isolation means that "money is unlikely to be the agent of differences between individuals that it was a Gateshead or Thornfield" (724); Eagleton writes, "In the end, the outcast bourgeoisie achieves more than a humble place at the fireside: she also gains independence vis-à-vis the upper class, and the right to engage in the process of taming it" (32). Ferndean may not be

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 185 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

a working-class home, but inside it Jane becomes an agent of change for the middle class inside an aristocratic space.

When Jane returns to Rochester, he lives on the outskirts of society and is in the process of returning to nature. Jane's reaction to his wild hair is similar in content—though not in tone—to Brocklehurst's reaction to Julia Severn's red curls: "'It is time some one undertook to re-humanize you,' said I, parting his thick and long-uncut locks; 'for I see you are being metamorphosed into a lion, or something of that sort. [...] your hair reminds me of eagles' feathers; whether your nails are grown like birds' claws or not, I have not yet noticed'" (558). Although critics have argued that this scene is a re-enactment of the story of Samson and Delilah (Fjagesund 450), the scene seems not so much a symbolic castration as an act of civilization. Jane will rescue Rochester from the wilds and reclaim him for society. Having paid the price for his tyrannical behaviour and his profligate ways, Rochester will have his hair cut and his nails clipped so that he can settle down to a quiet, middle-class existence. This haircut recalls the haircut Brocklehurst ordered for Julia Severn. Brocklehurst wants to make Julia fit for society, and Jane's haircut will do the same for Rochester. The scene reverses the gendered power structures, and Jane the female is now charged with humanizing the male, making him conform to society. The difference is that Jane wields the scissors with compassion just as she teaches her students to be neat and orderly with compassion. Jane becomes an active participant in society; she becomes an improver; she becomes a creator of culture, a role that traditionally has been denied to women as they are placed on the margins and associated with the natural world. Just like Miss Temple before her, she shows that when women wield the tools of mechanical culture, society becomes humanized and feminized. Whereas Brocklehurst dehumanizes Julia Severn, Jane rehumanizes Rochester, saving him from the wilderness.

Only as long as her imagination is inside the carceral network can she live in a romantic location.

What is most striking about the haircut is that it makes Jane resemble Brocklehurst. Why should the ending want to make her the double of her worst oppressor? The reason is that at Ferndean she is a product of Lowood. The haircut operates as ritual proof that she works for the state, and not against it. Only as long as her imagination is inside the carceral network can she live in a romantic location. Brontë's heroine might have learned her lesson by settling down inside a bustling economic centre and joining the English working class, but by having her settle inside a romantic landscape we are able to see much more how her experience of the romantic settings she once longed for has changed. The ending declares that the modern nation-state of England need not worry about its moors

Leggatt_Parkes.indd 186 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

and wastes when its citizens can no longer experience them as an escape from, and rejection of, society. Once the concept of "outside" is erased, the natural world is no longer opposed to society. The wilderness becomes part of the social order. For women, this new kind of middle-class society is better than aristocratic patriarchy. It is less hierarchical as it creates the sense that every citizen is contained within the nation-state as a labourer and that no individual runs the social order. But this process cannot take place without everyone being implicated in discipline and mind control.

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Leggatt_Parkes.indd 187 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM

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Leggatt_Parkes.indd 188 4/27/2008, 11:16 AM