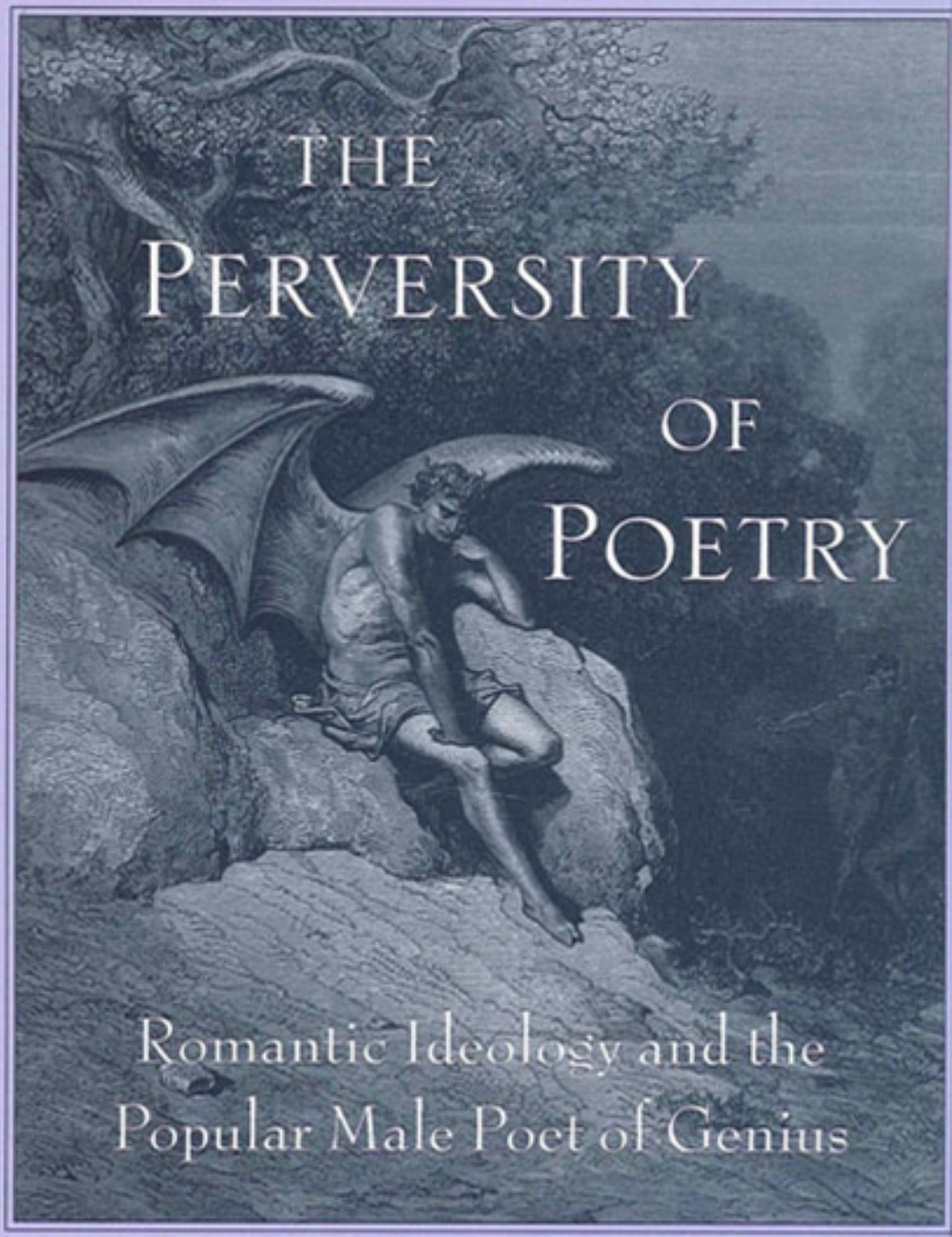

THE PERVERSITY OF POETRY

Romantic Ideology and the Popular Male Poet of Genius

DINO FRANCO FELLUGA

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One thing that this book about the isolated and perverse Romantic poet has taught me is that writing may be somewhat perverse—it may even be slightly melancholic—but it is never truly solitary. This study has been written with and for many wonderful people—the genii of this book on Romantic genius. The book has also partaken of the genii loci of a number of places over the space of its composition, from Santa Barbara to Calgary to Stanford to West Lafayette, Indiana. I will never be able to return the gifts I have received; to name as I do here is but to trace the lineaments of a love and friendship beyond words.

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ABBREVIATIONS

When possible, I have attempted to quote periodical reviews from extant collections in order to make it easier for the reader to locate the original article. In order to avoid the repetition of bibliographical matter, I will follow the following abbreviations for these collections.

BC *Byron: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. Andrew Rutherford. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1970.

BI *Byron: Interviews and Recollections*. Ed. Norman Page. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1985.

RR *The Romantics Reviewed: Contemporary Reviews of British Romantic Writers*. Part B. 5 vols. Ed. Donald H. Reiman. New York: Garland, 1972.

T *Tennyson: The Critical Heritage*. Ed. John Jump. London: Routledge, 1967.

VP *The Victorian Poet: Poetics and Persona*. Ed. Joseph Bristow. London: Croom Helm, 1987.

VS *Victorian Scrutinies: Reviews of Poetry, 1830–1870*. Ed. Isobel Armstrong. London: Athlone, 1972.

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INTRODUCTION

who was ever altered by a poem?

—Byron, *Letters*

Nineteenth-century critics expressed with cries of alarm what was for W. H. Auden by 1939 a mere statement of fact: "poetry makes nothing happen." The lines that follow this statement in Auden's famous poem, "In Memory of W. B. Yeats," speak to a number of the concerns in this book:

> For poetry makes nothing happen: it survives
> In the valley of its making where executives
> Would never want to tamper, flows on south
> From ranches of isolation and the busy griefs. (36–39)

What this study explores is the cultural background, the literary prehistory for what was by Auden's day already cliché—the poet's isolation, poetry's inefficacy, its opposition to political economy, its self-creating and self-involved autonomy, and its association with strong emotion. From the retrospective of poetry's marginalization in the twentieth century, many studies follow Auden's lead and read canonical nineteenth-century poetry as always already ineffective, elitist, self-involved, as caught up in what Jerome McGann has termed "Romantic ideology"; however, as this book illustrates, the slow devolvement of poetry into the cliché of inefficacy was a gradual, uneven, and highly contested development in the period. Poetry did not, in other words, go quietly into high culture's good night.

This book focuses on three things associated with poetry in the Romantic and early Victorian period that complicate the attribution of high-cultural inefficacy to the poetic enterprise: popularity, politics, and pathology. Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron serve as the dialectical foci for such a study precisely because of their unprecedented popularity in the period, and, indeed, one of

the topics I will seek to clarify is the relationship of Scott's and Byron's verse romances to the market and print technologies of their age. This book also argues that both Scott and Byron had an effect on the political fabric of the Romantic period, albeit an effect that was undercut by a medico-moral rhetoric of health and perversity not only applied to both poets but also *invited* by both poets in order to screen or figure their political messages. What is so interesting about these two fantastically popular poets, who were consistently and pervasively juxtaposed as the two opposing possibilities for the future of poetry, is that they not only spoke to an emergent mass market and influenced opposing political groups but also invited their own marginalization by playing into a medical rhetoric about poetical geniuses that would eventually ensure their dismissal by Victorian critics. Following Scott's own lead, Romantic and Victorian critics continually represented Scott's poetry as a panacea for a modern world overtaken by new principles of utilitarianism, capitalism, industrialism, and democracy. Following Byron's lead, those same critics tended to represent Byron's poetry as a disease in the heart of the social order or as a contagious pandemic leading to various pathological symptoms, particularly those arising from the sexual perversity of Byron's body and corpus. Through such "treatment" of these exemplary poet figures, the figuration of poets in general was translated from the register of politics to that of medicine and sexuality. Alfred Lord Tennyson, who is the subject of the book's Coda, represents a Victorian negotiation and sublation of the dialectical opposition represented by Scott and Byron.

This book posits that the two positions figured for poetry in Scott and Byron are, in fact, strictly homologous: both serve, in the end, to push the poetic enterprise to the margins of the social body, be it as cure or as curse, thus opening the way for the eventual dominance of the realist novel; however, both of these fantasized possibilities for poetry obscure the fact that Scott and Byron not only facilitated the emergence of a mass market through the unprecedented dissemination of their work but also participated actively in the political struggles of their time period, much more so than is usually acknowledged: Scott through his counterrevolutionary opposition to radicalism and his orchestration of a new legitimating ideology of medievalism for George IV; Byron through his positing of a principle of justice and revolutionary opposition in his poetry, a principle that inspired a host of disparate radical groups. The shift to a rhetoric of health served, one might say, to cure Romantic poetry of its earlier association with both the mass market and revolutionary politics, leaving us with nothing but the purified figure of McGann's Romantic ideology.

Of particular interest in this shift is that we can also witness the self-legitimization of the literary critic, who used the very medical rhetoric formerly applied to the bodily constitution of the scholar and the man of letters—who in the eighteenth century were believed to suffer from all sorts of bodily and mental ills—in order to reconstitute the critic as medic. This new

physician of culture borrowed the increasingly specialized terminology of the doctor, the alienist, and the scientist, in order to exculpate himself from the charge of disease and to charge himself with maintaining the mental and bodily health of a new reading public. By examining such rhetorical strategies, this book contributes to a growing body of work on the relation between Romantic literature and medicine, filling in the still largely unexplored issue of poetry's pathologization in the period.[1] The notions of genius, the melancholic, and the Satanic hero will occupy me throughout since the interrelated concepts illustrate how closely intertwined were the notions of the revolutionary and the valetudinary for the nineteenth-century poet. As we will see, the melancholic Satanic hero of revolutionary opposition quickly devolved over the course of the nineteenth century into patient zero: the source, according to the criticism, of various ills threatening both the social body of Britain and the individual body of the private reader.

To be more precise, the literary "specialist" reduced the ideological power of Romantic poetry in two related ways: he posited the notion of an ideal or pure or, in Scott's case, uncorrupted because archaic poetry outside or at a temporal remove from the concerns of the quotidian, a characterization that was often connected to a rhetoric of panacea, or he recast poetry as variously perverse, leading to a host of diseases threatening the body politic. The response to Scott's poetry is exemplary of the first strategy; the response to Byron's poetry of the latter. In either case, poetry was reimagined as on the margins of the social body, be it as injected cure or infecting disease. It is a position from which poetry has sought to extricate itself ever since.

One symptom of poetry's marginalization is that criticism no longer takes seriously the poetic form that throughout the nineteenth century captured the ear of a mass audience: the verse romance. The prose romance has recently begun to garner a great deal of interest in literary scholarship; a number of notable studies have now explored the important influence of the romance on the rise of the novel, especially Michael McKeon's *The Origins of the English Novel*, Ian Duncan's *Modern Romance and the Transformations of the Novel*, and Miranda Burgess's *British Fiction and the Production of Social Order*. However, the role of the *metrical* romance in these debates has been largely ignored, despite the centrality of such poems in the market dynamics of the Romantic period and despite the crucial role of Romantic ideology as counterdiscourse to the definition and formation of the Victorian bourgeois subject.

Today, the romance as form is popularly associated with the emotional escapism of what Gillian Beer calls "sub-literature": adolescent fantasy stories, Hallmark sentimentalism, and Harlequin soft-core pornography; however, the fact is that in the nineteenth century the romance was able to run the ideological gamut from the nostalgic conservatism of Scott to the melancholic radicalism of Byron to what has been termed the subversive reactionary position of Tennyson. The romance succeeded in introducing "romantic" poetry to an emergent mass market, speaking to readers across class lines and ideological perspectives; it

inspired revolutionaries in some manifestations, quieted the masses in others. Indeed, the romance appeared to speak directly to the age even when it did so through the anachronisms of medievalism and, as a result, the form concerned itself with a number of issues that seem to have little to do with our contemporary notions of "romance": fantasies of empire, allegories of textual production, forms of ideological critique, theories of justice, and the threat of revolution.

Scott, Byron, and Tennyson are central figures for this study precisely because of the popularity of their romances and, hence, the influence of these poets on the age, an influence that far surpassed that of the other now-canonical poets that critics generally associate with Romanticism and the Victorian period. Indeed, as far as the *Romantic* public was concerned, Scott and Byron *were* the main poets of the period and the romance form was the dominant genre, just as for the Victorians Tennyson was the representative poet of the age and his *Idylls of the King* one of his greatest accomplishments. And yet, the romance poetry of Byron, Scott, and Tennyson is not as well represented in contemporary scholarship as the lyric poetry of William Wordsworth, Samuel Coleridge, John Keats, and Percy Shelley or the dramatic monologues and short lyrics of the Victorian period. Although Scott scholarship has been driven by numerous superb studies of Scott's novels, the poetical romances, which were so fantastically influential in the period, are still largely ignored. Byron scholarship has been picking up steam over the last few years, thanks to a new willingness to take Byron's philosophy and aesthetics seriously; however, it is also true that, as James Chandler recently put it in his *England in 1819*, "We are still early in the Byron revival," and criticism has still to explore some of the more difficult aesthetic and ideological questions raised by Byron's poetry (388). Tennyson scholarship has also been less than vigorous over the last decade, largely due to the publishing industry's tendency to prefer books on the Victorian novel rather than Victorian poetry (with the exception, perhaps, of the Decadents).

This book not only focuses on the most popular poetical romances of the nineteenth century, thus seeking to clarify their relation to an emergent mass market and mass readership, but it also helps to explain how it was that the romance was gradually dismissed as a serious generic form over the course of that century. How was it that the romantic and particularly the romance came to be associated with impotent, adolescent fantasy rather than with the revolutionary ideals posited by Byron or, as David Duff has recently argued, by Shelley? What this book attempts to trace, in other words, is a *semantic* transformation of the *romantic*—from the adult pursuit of revolutionaries often inspired by the romance form into the adolescent pursuit of the voluptuary concerned only with romance.

That transformation is exemplified in my very title, *The Perversity of Poetry*. Semantically, "perversity" suggests the rhetorical as well as historical shift I examine: from the nineteenth-century definition, which is akin to "subver-

sion" ("turning aside from truth or right" [OED]) to the more common contemporary usage ("a disorder of sexual behavior in which satisfaction is sought through channels other than those of normal heterosexual intercourse" [OED]). On the one hand, this book explores the subversive potential of Lord Byron's poetry, its threatening effectiveness among disparate groups dissatisfied with the emergent ideologies of mass-market capitalism and bourgeois domesticity (those hegemonic versions of "truth or right"). On the other hand, the book illustrates how various late Romantic and Victorian critics sought to neutralize the most radical Romantic poets by associating verse in general with adolescent sexual perversity, which in turn tied poetry to the pathologies that were believed to arise from onanistic desire. The book explores, in other words, how Romantic subversion quickly came to be read by the Victorians as somatic perversion (in the modern sense).

This book is interested, then, in disentangling what was in the nineteenth century a vibrant, heterogeneous, widely read, and serious form from that form's eventual degeneration into adolescent fantasy. That degeneration can perhaps best be understood in terms of Karl Marx's notion of "simple abstraction" as Michael McKeon reemploys that term for "a dialectical theory of genre." As McKeon argues, "'The Novel' must be understood as what Marx calls a 'simple abstraction,' a deceptively monolithic category that encloses a complex historical process" (20). Rather than explore the novel, I will concern myself with the term that McKeon himself sometimes reduces into an overly simple abstraction in his study, what he dubs "romance idealism."[2] As I will show, a considerable ideological complexity is hidden by our tendency to read "romance idealism" as a monolithic rather than properly dialectical category. That complexity is exemplified in the opposing uses for the romance adopted by Scott and Byron, the two poles of my dialectic, as well as in the conflicted, subversive reactionary form of romance later adopted by Tennyson in the *Idylls of the King*.

At the same time, I distinguish my analysis of generic change from certain branches of Marxist theory by contesting McKeon's claim that "[i]t is first of all not method but history that is dialectical" (420). My point will be, on the contrary, that the dialectic is very much a methodological tool employed by the poets and critics of the period themselves for the purpose of reducing generic complexity to the more easily perceived playing field of an agonistic battle. In other words, the dialectical model served an ideological function for nineteenth-century poets and critics, who manipulated the complex cultural field of the age in both self-conscious and self-mystifying ways. The ultimate goal of positing a dialectical opposition between Scott and Byron, especially when critics rethought that dialectic in terms of a rhetoric of health and pathology, was precisely the obfuscation of these poets' means of production and their political influence on their age, two issues that this book seeks to take seriously once again.

METHODOLOGY AND IDEOLOGY

To argue that "poetry makes nothing happen" is to subscribe to the aestheticization and consequent marginalization of the cultural realm that the nineteenth century invents and that I propose as one of the objects of this study's investigation.[3] This book argues, then, for the materiality of ideological formation, which is to say that I reject the separation between a discursive realm of thought and the material realm of social existence. Following the Marx-inflected psychoanalysis of Slavoj Žižek, this book contends that "reality" itself can only be conceived discursively. "Ideology is not an illusionary, false representation of reality," Žižek has argued, "but (social) *reality it-self* [*sic*] based upon an illusion, structured by an illusion" ("Truth" 211). By the same token, discursive formulations cannot be understood outside of material effects. The analysis of the criticism of the period is a perfect example since we see in the effort to establish the genre of literary criticism a questioning of existing, material social relations and the establishment of foundations for emergent social formations (the periodical review system, the modern university system, a new system of scholarly book production and distribution) that made possible the very materiality of the book you are reading right now, not to mention material aspects of the world in which we live: the fragmentation of the work force into specialized spheres of production; the institutional mechanisms that instantiate a separation between "high" and "pop" cultural productions; the cordoning off of the university intellectual and a concomitant anti-intellectualism in culture at large; and so on. The ways that nineteenth-century critics came to make sense of the social and cultural world would lead—necessarily lead—to material effects. In this, I also follow Ernesto Laclau and Chantalle Mouffe, who argue that

> [s]ynonymy, metonymy, metaphor are not forms of thought that add a second sense to a primary, constitutive literality of social relations; instead, they are part of the primary terrain itself in which the social is constituted. Rejection of the thought/reality dichotomy must go together with a rethinking and interpenetration of the categories which have until now been considered exclusive of one or the other. (110)

In the chapters that follow, I propose to analyze this interpenetration by examining the material effects of "master-tropes," the dominant fantasy constructions that allowed nineteenth-century critics to make sense of not only poetry and the romance but also their own historical reality. An analysis of the master-tropes of the period can help us to understand better the subtle changes occurring in the material-discursive reality that was nineteenth-century Britain.

My argument will therefore at times proceed by analogy. In particular, the book will concern itself with the creation of a particular and pervasive

trope: the "nervous temperament." The effect of this medical commonplace on the construction and policing of the female subject has been thoroughly explored in recent years, particularly in terms of the rise of the novel.[4] What has been often overlooked is the application of this same medical discourse to the nervous bodies of men—especially those men most commonly identified as suffering from the "nervous temperament": men of letters, men of genius, melancholics, minstrels, and masturbators.[5] This book examines the effect of this analogical alignment of nervous temperaments, an alignment that led to a conflation among the figures and, at times, to the explicit association of male poets with not only melancholic men of genius but also the newly pathologized masturbator.

The pervasive rhetoric about nerves was also used by critics to make sense of the circulatory systems of Britain as a whole, thus allowing critics to translate complex political issues into sexual and medical ones. Great Britain was reconceived in such formulations as a determinable figure analogous to the circulatory rhythms of the healthy body and mind, be it an all-inclusive English social body or the endlessly replicated, disciplined body of the solitary reader and writer. The very impossibility of this imagined consistency only drove the effort to make that body perfectly and purely representative. Even the most cursory reading of nineteenth-century reviews of novels and poetry cannot help but come across this sexualization and medicalization. The language of these periodical reviews is fraught with anxieties about desire and pathology: What is the healthy discharge of emotion in literature? How can one disseminate one's thoughts without contagion in the circulatory systems of the market? What is the proper relationship between the private reader and the public text or between the private poet and his public? The complexities of a growing literary market were thus translated into different registers than the economic, those of medicine and sexuality, with the double effect of naturalizing (as desire or bodily need) and of idealizing (into determinable figures) the demands of the consuming reader. By conceiving of the market as itself a self-contained system of energies, Romantic and early Victorian fears about the sudden proliferation of indeterminate texts and readers—about Wordsworth's "pestilential masses of ignorant population" (*Letters* 21) or Arthur Hallam's "hydra, the Reading Public" (849)—were transmuted into a hegemonic discourse about not the voracious multitude but the nineteenth-century social body.[6]

Such anxieties betrayed themselves in a language brimming with metaphor, as if the critic could, through the power of language, make his public wholesome and whole. The use of habitual, and to a large extent unnoticed, tropes thus served both to reflect and affect the period's habitus, Pierre Bourdieu's term for the prejudices a group acquires by internalizing the objective conditions of a given society.[7] An integral connection, I would argue, exists between the habitus of a hegemonic group and the detritus of language: those innocuous tropes that one normally passes over in the act of reading. Both can

be said to represent the worn-down bedrock of ideological construction, that which supports one's ideological world without being noticed, that which is taken for granted although it is, in fact, produced with each performative utterance of the cliché: a "peculiar kind of nervous susceptibility seems to be the distinctive character of the poetic temperment" (John Stuart Mill 67); "pushpin is of equal value with . . . poetry" (Jeremy Bentham 843); "poetry makes nothing happen."

CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter 1 begins by setting up the major transformations that we can find in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century medicine, suggesting that we can witness a coincidence between changes in medicine and changes in literature. Both changes were being driven by an emergent mass market, against which medicine and literature sought to establish their own cultural capital. The chapter concentrates on the ways that the emergent science of "nerves" at first contributed to the general pathologization of all scholarly activity in the period (including that of the medical scientist), seeing such activities as symptomatic of civilization's unhealthy if necessary reliance on market circulation. As the eighteenth century proceeded, however, the medic increasingly sought to distinguish medical science and the genius of the outstanding scientist from both the market and the market's preferred textual product: imaginative literature, especially novels and romances. Despite the difficulties of establishing medicine as a non-market-driven institution before the Victorian rise of the hospital and the modern university, the physician thus tried to establish himself as a healthy professional scientist in a position to diagnose both the social body and its literally nerve-wracking market pursuits. As we will see, it was this earlier model of specialization that inspired the literary specialist to adopt a similar model of professionalization, including the adoption of a medical rhetoric of nerves, in order to define certain literary endeavors and a certain kind of genius as healthful while diagnosing others as inherently pathological, masturbatory, or otherwise perverse.

The second chapter turns to the extremely popular romances of Sir Walter Scott to see how Scott played to the market while safeguarding from criticism his early poetic experiments in the romance, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), *Marmion* (1808), and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810). How, I ask, did Scott establish his poetic productions as healthy, masculine, and pure while both narrativizing poetic form and securing profits on the market? To answer that question, the chapter explores the ideological function and malleability of the romance form, illustrating how Scott employed the temporal logic of the psychoanalytical (by way of the anthropological) fetish in order to preserve the virility of the barbarous past while simultaneously acknowledging that past as forever lost. That maneuver was very much a political one, for Scott provided the British monarchy and the British government with a new ideology of self-

legitimation through the fetish-logic of medievalism, an ideology that would sustain the government throughout the Victorian period. In particular, the chapter examines Scott's orchestration of King George IV's visit to Scotland, illustrating how Scott used the romance to defend the status quo and to imagine a contemporary Britain reinvigorated by the virility of its own superseded past. The periodical reviewers responded to Scott's strategies by employing a pervasive rhetoric of health, seeing Scott's genius as the masculine antidote to the effeminizing influences of the age and seeing Scott's medievalist romances as panacea for the ills of the industrial age. However, Scott's romances represent an especially telling contradiction, for Scott's fetishization of the book in his metrical romances—especially in his first, the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*—was also a defense against that other fetishization that enabled his popularity but was already threatening to spell the end of poetry's cultural supremacy: the exchangeable abstraction of the commodity form. Even while he illustrated poetry's political power and influence in the period, Scott's rhetorical maneuvers set the stage for poetry's eventual marginalization into the cultic object of the high-cultural specialist. The chapter explores, in other words, the transition Scott himself figured (and resisted) in his romances: the supplanting of what I term the Cult of the Book by the mass market's Culture of the Text.

In chapter 3, I turn to the Satanic figure who was most often contrasted to Scott's purportedly healthy form of genius: Byron. The chapter illustrates how *Childe Harold* undid Scott's fetishizing maneuvers by refusing to recreate the past, instead discussing the present as if it were already dead and buried. Byron thus countered the nostalgic mourning of Scott's romances with his own ethical stance of moral melancholia. In so doing, Byron provided a position from which people from different classes could question the values and ideological fantasies propagated by the dominant ideologies of his time. The political ramifications of this maneuver were felt throughout the nineteenth century, illustrating the ability of Romantic poetry and of Romantic ideology to "make something happen." Byron's contemporizing of the medieval also drew attention to the Culture of the Text that Scott worked so hard to resist. Through a thoroughgoing textualization of culture, Byron's romance form underscored the performative nature of all ideologies, of all claims to truth, a strategy that reworked Scott's Romantic ideology from within the very form of romance. *Childe Harold* also attempted to go beyond a mere deconstruction of existing ideologies and posited an undeconstructible idea of justice that was inextricably tied to the "textual phenomenon" and that escaped economy's fantasy of a perfect circulation without loss and without excess. Byron's critique thus opened up the possibility of an alternate way of understanding one's relation to the market, as well as an alternate vision for both the romance form and the spirit of poetry generally.

Chapter 4 illustrates how, in reaction to Byron's radicalism, the critical rhetoric that incorporated social problems as sexualized, unhealthy bodies began

to characterize poets in general as effeminate, melancholy, and sickly geniuses. Complementing while departing from Andrew Elfenbein's *Romantic Genius: The Prehistory of a Homosexual Role*, the chapter explores how it was, in fact, the masturbator rather than the homosexual that served as the master-trope for the poetic sensibility of the Romantic genius, establishing a rhetoric of pathology that would, after the Oscar Wilde trials, be redirected to the homosexual. Byron's romance form and his moral melancholia, both of which were read for a time as inspiring potential and potent subversion, were thus recast as but romantic delusions and impotent perversions, respectively. The chapter also explains why after Byron the rhetoric of pathology was applied as successfully to the male poet as to the female novel reader, who, at the end of the eighteenth century, was the more common object of such sexualizing rhetoric. Much in the same way that Eve Sedgwick in *Between Men* pinpoints how homophobia serves to screen society's actual homosocial organization, I here examine how the nineteenth-century's application of masturbatory rhetoric to the Romantic poet of genius screened the masturbatory nature of what contemporary critics theorized as the bourgeois subject's and the capitalist market's supposedly balanced circulation of desires and energies.[8] Playing into and supporting the ideological strategies of the bourgeois subject, the "high" Victorian novel adopted the same fetish strategies proposed by Scott in order to define itself against what was now characterized as the adolescent diversions of romance and the convalescent perversions of the Romantic poet of genius.

The Coda addresses the paradoxical critical demands made on poetry after mid-century. Responding to the critical backlash against Byronic and hyper-Romantic, not to mention market-oriented poetry, critics called for poetry that would "tell a plain tale" yet remain distinct from the effeminizing "pulp fiction" of the popular presses. Analyzing the often ambivalent reviews of Tennyson's poems in light of criticism's double agenda, the chapter reads Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* as a response to the ensuing dialectical injunction: realize (be like the novel) but idealize (be "poetic"). The *Idylls* attempted to reconcile the contradictions inherent in the dialectic by translating fears of the literary market into an allegorical tale about gender and sexuality, but in such a way as to undercut the generic exigencies of the romance in favor of domestic and novelistic concerns. As himself a latter-day "Romantic" and the person who took over the poet laureateship from Wordsworth, Tennyson found himself in an important position with regard to the legacy of Romanticism and the romance form. The *Idylls* represents a canny Victorian negotiation of that legacy. The work became such a phenomenal success in the 1860s because it attempted to address the conflicting cultural demands of the time; indeed, for this reason the periodical reviews represented the *Idylls* as a purifying tonic for a prosaic age, thus reprising the rhetoric formerly applied to Scott. However, Tennyson's effort to obey opposing injunctions led to an exaggerated conspicuousness about his ideological project, which helps to explain why the