# Introduction

## *Old Age and American Slavery*

On June 30, 1814, in Botetourt, Virginia, an enslaved woman named Fan was murdered by Ralph, a fellow slave. Ralph sought to cover his tracks by claiming that Fan had accidently drowned, but he failed to convince his enslaver and was quickly taken to jail. Under the threat of torture, and with evidence from Black and white witnesses mounting up, Ralph confessed that "he had struck [Fan] with his Fist, choked her & threw her into the creek." This first assault did not suffice and Ralph determined to finish the job: "observing she was swimming & making to the opposite side of the creek, he got a stick, followed her & struck her on the head & finished her." When asked why he had killed Fan, Ralph claimed that "she was very quarrelsome & told lies on him." The brutality of the assault perhaps speaks to the violence that permeated a slave society, and there may have been motives left unsaid. Ralph's willingness to use extreme force to settle this grudge, however, also reflected the belief that he could get away with it. According to Ralph, Fan was too old to be of any concern to her enslavers: "she was such a trifling old negroe he did not expect he would be hung for killing her."[1] Formerly enslaved people commonly claimed they tried to protect Black elders in slavery; Frederick Douglass, the most famous Black activist of the nineteenth century, insisted that the aged enslaved found solace and support among their own: "there is not to be found, among any people, a more rigid enforcement of the law of respect to elders."[2] Ralph, however, had not received this message.

[1] Executive papers, James Barbour, July 1814, Box 13, Folder 1, Misc. Reel, 5522, 0241–0244, Library of Virginia (LVA). Ralph was mistaken.
[2] Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom: Part* I. – *Life as a Slave. Part* II. – *Life as Freeman* (New York: Miller, Orton & Mulligan, 1855), 69.

White southerners also understood age was a vector of power. Writing to his sister in 1858, North Carolina enslaver William Pettigrew explained how the process of aging inevitably entailed a loss of sorts: "he who has attained 50 must soon expect the inexorable hand of time to soften that vigour which is all important in a ruler and without which he soon permits some stronger spirit than his own to assume the mastery over him."[3] White male enslavers lauded authority and independence and were supposed to exert dominance over "dependents" – whether women, children, or those whom they enslaved, while Stephanie Jones-Rogers shows that white women also sought to "acquire and exercise mastery over enslaved people."[4] But Pettigrew's fear that some "stronger spirit" would "assume the mastery over him" indicates wider fears among antebellum whites that age-related decline did not necessarily inspire collective social or familial support, but could be seized upon by rivals looking to assert themselves.

In *Old Age and American Slavery*, I explore perceptions of old age and attitudes toward "old" people in the US South. I focus on the experiences and identities of enslavers and enslaved alike and reveal the implications of aging on the institutional and ideological structures underpinning the so-called Peculiar Institution. As both a system of economic exploitation and a contested site of personal domination, slavery was shaped by concerns with age. In revealing how enslavers and enslaved people negotiated

[3] Robert Starobin (Ed.), *Blacks in Bondage: Letters of American Slaves* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), 34–5.

[4] Examples of this work include: Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s–1890s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Craig Thompson Friend and Lorri Glover (Eds.), *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004); Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); John Mayfield, *Counterfeit Gentlemen: Manhood and Humor in the Old South* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2009); Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *A Warring Nation: Honor, Race, and Humiliation in America and Abroad* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014); Robert Elder, *The Sacred Mirror: Evangelicalism, Honor, and Identity in the Deep South, 1790–1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Stephanie Jones-Rogers, *They Were Her Property: White Women As Slave Owners in the American South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 62.

pressures associated with aging, and how their communities addressed these issues, this book develops vital and ongoing debates on power, resistance, and survival. In doing so, it deepens our understanding of the structures of American slavery, and of the most personal experiences of those enmeshed in it.

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This book developed out of questions arising from my first monograph, *Contesting Slave Masculinity in the American South*.[5] I could not move past the case of Moses, "a feeble old man," murdered by King, a fellow slave, in Richmond, 1848. During the beating Moses tried to protect himself by making explicit reference to his age: "King I ain't fit to die. I don't want to go to Hell King, don't kill such an old creature as I." Moses even offered King "every cent of money I have got." Neither these pleas nor his advanced age saved him. King taunted and beat his elder before drowning him in a puddle of muddy water.[6]

I was struck by the cruelty of the assault, during which King repeatedly mocked his overmatched opponent, interspersing the beating with the pointed request Moses acknowledge "how come his name was King." The terror and sadness in Moses's cries led me to critically reappraise existing work on old age in enslaved communities. From the revisionist historiography of the 1970s onwards, scholars have overwhelmingly emphasized communal support, even reverence, for Black elders.[7] There has been a wave of important new scholarship on age in slavery which

[5] David Stefan Doddington, *Contesting Slave Masculinity in the American South* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[6] Executive Papers, William Smith, Box 7, Folder 4, March 18, 1848, LVA.

[7] Examples here include: John Blassingame, "Status and Social Structure in the Slave Community: Evidence From New Sources," in Harry P. Owens (Ed.), *Perspectives and Irony in American Slavery* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1976), 137–51, 151; Herbert Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (Oxford: Basil Blackwall, 1976), 198–9, 218; Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: First Vintage Books Edition, 1976), 522–3; Leslie Pollard, "Aging and Slavery: A Gerontological Perspective," *Journal of Negro History*, 66.3 (1981), 228–34; Deborah Gray White, *Ar'n't I A Woman? Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: W.W.Norton & Company, 1999 [1985]), 114–18; Brenda Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 227; Stacey Close, *Elderly Slaves of the Plantation South* (London: Routledge, 1997); Sharla Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 26, 55–88; Dorothy Smith Ruiz, *Amazing Grace: African American Grandmothers as Caregivers and Conveyors of Traditional Values* (Westport: Praeger 2004); Daina Ramey Berry, *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh: The Value of the Enslaved from Womb to Grave in the Building of the Nation* (Boston: Beacon

emphasizes the exploitation of slavers, and which argues that in the face of this violence enslaved communities respected their aged and lauded their guidance.[8] As Daina Ramey Berry explains, "despite low external values, their soul values excelled. They carried great wisdom and stability for the community and were respected by younger enslaved family and friends."[9]

I kept encountering material, however, that suggested peers viewed enslaved elders in more complex ways than some of this historiography allows, and that elders themselves did not always believe due reverence had been granted. Moreover, "respect" granted on account of advanced years could seem condescending, being based on a perception of reduced abilities or accommodation on account of age. On Solomon Northup's Louisiana plantation, "Old Abram . . . [was] a sort of patriarch among us." Northup also emphasized, however, that "age and unremitting toil" had "somewhat shattered [Abram's] powerful frame and enfeebled his mental faculties." Northup's respect for Abram was predicated on pity, not parity. Indeed, he later used the trope of aging to reflect his own fear of remaining enslaved and his desire to avoid transitioning into the "patriarch" of the plantation: "The summer of my life was passing away; I felt I was growing prematurely old; that a few years more, and toil, and grief, and the poisonous miasma of the swamps would accomplish their work on me – would consign me to the grave's embrace, to moulder and be forgotten."[10] Associations of old age with physical decline, social isolation, and even submission to bondage shaped personal identities and community dynamics in slavery. Enslaved people perceived as old by others sometimes resented or resisted such reasoning, and this led to tension in enslaved communities.

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Press, 2017), ch. 5; Jason Eden and Naomi Eden, *Age Norms and Intercultural Interaction in Colonial North America* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017), ch. 6.

[8] See, for example: Nathaniel Windon, "Superannuated: Old Age on the Antebellum Plantation," *American Quarterly*, 71.3 (2019), 767–77; Frederick Knight, "Black Women, Eldership, and Communities of Care in the Nineteenth-Century North," *Early American Studies*, 17.4 (2019), 545–61; Corinne T. Field, "Old-Age Justice and Black Feminist History: Sojourner Truth's and Harriet Tubman's Intersectional Legacies," *Radical History Review* 139.1 (2021), 37–51; Jenifer L. Barclay, *The Mark of Slavery: Disability, Race, and Gender in Antebellum America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2021), 41.

[9] Berry, *Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, 131. On page 132, Berry notes that there are generally two positions on enslaved elders. At one end, they "were revered and treated with respect." At the other, "they were isolated and disregarded." Berry's focus is on the former, and I hope to further the debate by emphasizing the latter.

[10] Solomon Northup,*Twelve Years a Slave: Narrative of Solomon Northup, a Citizen of New York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853*(Auburn: Derby & Miller, 1853), 185–6, 235.

"Old age" is not a self-evident category, and it is worth outlining the demographic context of the US South. For both enslaved and white people, the US Census of 1850 designated "infancy" as under five, "youth" from five to twenty, and "maturity" as between twenty to fifty. Those aged from fifty to one hundred were in "old age," with "extreme old age" being one hundred plus.[11] Nevertheless, Berry rightly states that "during enslavement, those who reached age forty were considered elderly"; her outstanding work on the declining financial values placed on people in their late thirties underscores the physical depreciation associated with time's onward march, and the violence of slavery itself.[12]

The enslaved population in the antebellum years generally trended young: in 1820, where age ranges encompassed twenty-six to forty-four, and then forty-five plus, the percentage of enslaved people in the latter category was only 10 percent. Seventy percent of the enslaved population were twenty-five or younger. In 1830 and 1840, where classifications encompassed thirty-six to fifty-four, and then fifty-five plus, 16 percent of the overall population were thirty-six or older; only 4 percent were over fifty four. From 1850 age categories were structured by decade, and the percentage of enslaved people aged forty plus was 14 percent in 1850 and 1860. This same cohort made up 17 and 18 percent of the total white population in 1850 and 1860 (see Table I.1).[13]

[11] See Table XXXIII – "Proportion of White Males to Females, for 1850"; Table LXXXV – "Proportion of Male Slaves to Female, for 1850," in United States Census Bureau, *1850 Census: Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, DC: Beverley Tucker, Senate Printer, 1854), 56, 91.

[12] Berry, *Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, 130. Daina Ramey Berry, "Berry Slave Value Database" (Ann Arbor: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [distributor], 2017–10-30). https://doi.org/10.3886/E101113V1. See also Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 521; Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of Negro Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989 [1974]), 72–5.

[13] Categories for 1820 census: 0–13, 14–25, 26–44, 45+. For 1830 and 1840: 0–9, 10–23, 24–35, 36–54, 55–100, 100+. For 1850 and 1860: 0–4, 5–9, 10–14, 15–19, and then by decade until 100+. Data from Michael R. Haines, "Slave Population, by Sex and Age: 1820–1860," Table Aa2093-2140, in Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, et al. (Eds.), *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Census material from 1790 to 1810 does not distinguish enslaved people by age.

For comparison to white population, see Michael R. Haines, "White Population, by Sex and Age: 1790–1990." Table Aa287-364 in Carter, Gartner, Haines, et al. (Eds.), *Historical Statistics of the United States*.

I have not disaggregated by gender as for the white and enslaved population there was c. 1 percent difference between men and women in these age categories. From the ages of twenty to fifty – Black and white – this favored men, while "for very old persons the excess

TABLE I.1 *Slave population by age/sex.*

| 1820 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–13 | 343852 | 324344 | 668196 | 43.44 |
| 14–25 | 203088 | 202336 | 405424 | 26.36 |
| 26–44 | 163723 | 152693 | 316416 | 20.57 |
| 45+ | 77365 | 70637 | 148002 | 9.62 |
| Total | 788028 | 750010 | 1538038 | |
| **% 45+** | **9.82** | **9.42** | **9.62** | |

| 1830 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–9 | 353498 | 347665 | 701163 | 34.90 |
| 10–23 | 312567 | 308770 | 621337 | 30.93 |
| 24–35 | 185585 | 185786 | 371371 | 18.48 |
| 36–54 | 118880 | 111887 | 230767 | 11.49 |
| 55–100 | 41545 | 41436 | 82981 | 4.13 |
| 100+ | 748 | 676 | 1424 | 0.07 |
| Total | 1012823 | 996220 | 2009043 | |
| **% 36+** | **15.91** | **15.46** | **15.69** | |
| **% 55+** | **4.18** | **4.23** | **4.20** | |

| 1840 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–9 | 422584 | 421465 | 844049 | 33.93 |
| 10–23 | 391206 | 390117 | 781323 | 31.41 |
| 24–35 | 235386 | 239825 | 475211 | 19.10 |
| 36–54 | 145260 | 139204 | 284464 | 11.44 |
| 55–100 | 51331 | 49746 | 101077 | 4.06 |
| 100+ | 750 | 581 | 1331 | 0.05 |
| Total | 1246517 | 1240938 | 2487455 | |
| **% 36+** | **15.83** | **15.27** | **15.55** | |
| **% 55+** | **4.18** | **4.06** | **4.12** | |

*For both 1850 and 1860, I have included the n/a in the total population used to calculate the percentages*

| 1850 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–4 | 267088 | 273406 | 540494 | 16.87 |
| 5–9 | 239163 | 239925 | 479088 | 14.95 |
| 10–14 | 221480 | 214712 | 436192 | 13.61 |
| 15–19 | 176169 | 181113 | 357282 | 11.15 |
| 20–29 | 289595 | 282615 | 572210 | 17.86 |
| 30–39 | 175300 | 178355 | 353655 | 11.04 |
| 40–49 | 109152 | 110780 | 219932 | 6.86 |

*(continued)*

*(continued)*

| 1850 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50–59 | 65254 | 61762 | 127016 | 3.96 |
| 60–69 | 38102 | 36569 | 74671 | 2.33 |
| 70–79 | 13166 | 13688 | 26854 | 0.84 |
| 80–89 | 4378 | 4740 | 9118 | 0.28 |
| 90–99 | 1211 | 1473 | 2684 | 0.08 |
| 100+ | 606 | 819 | 1425 | 0.04 |
| Age n/a | 1870 | 1822 | 3692 | 0.12 |
| Total | 1602534 | 1601779 | 3204313 | |
| **% 40+** | **14.47** | **14.35** | **14.41** | |
| **% 50+** | **7.66** | **7.43** | **7.55** | |
| **% 60+** | **3.59** | **3.58** | **3.58** | |
| **% 70+** | **1.21** | **1.29** | **1.25** | |
| **% 80+** | **0.39** | **0.44** | **0.41** | |
| **% 90+** | **0.11** | **0.14** | **0.13** | |

| 1860 | M | F | Total | % of pop |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0–4 | 322156 | 331010 | 653166 | 16.52 |
| 5–9 | 287299 | 288650 | 575949 | 14.57 |
| 10–14 | 276928 | 264320 | 541248 | 13.69 |
| 15–19 | 220365 | 228481 | 448846 | 11.35 |
| 20–29 | 355018 | 343023 | 698041 | 17.66 |
| 30–39 | 218346 | 220520 | 438866 | 11.10 |
| 40–49 | 140791 | 139002 | 279793 | 7.08 |
| 50–59 | 79776 | 75926 | 155702 | 3.94 |
| 60–69 | 46219 | 44124 | 90343 | 2.28 |
| 70–79 | 15433 | 15724 | 31157 | 0.79 |
| 80–89 | 4627 | 5334 | 9961 | 0.25 |
| 90–99 | 1317 | 1714 | 3031 | 0.08 |
| 100+ | 671 | 900 | 1571 | 0.04 |
| Age n/a | 13679 | 12407 | 26086 | 0.66 |
| Total | 1982625 | 1971135 | 3953760 | |
| **% 40+** | **14.57** | **14.34** | **14.46** | |
| **% 50+** | **7.47** | **7.29** | **7.38** | |
| **% 60+** | **3.44** | **3.44** | **3.44** | |
| **% 70+** | **1.11** | **1.20** | **1.16** | |
| **% 80+** | **0.33** | **0.40** | **0.37** | |
| **% 90+** | **0.10** | **0.13** | **0.12** | |

Data drawn from Haines, Michael R., "Slave population, by sex and age: 1820–1860." Table Aa2093-2140 in *Historical Statistics of the United States, Earliest Times to the Present: Millennial Edition*, edited by Susan B. Carter, Scott Sigmund Gartner, Michael R. Haines, Alan L. Olmstead, Richard Sutch, and Gavin Wright. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

There are some points of geographical variation to address. The emerging states and territories in the southwest typically skewed younger than elsewhere. In the 1820 census, 7 percent of enslaved people in Mississippi, and 6 percent in Alabama, were over the age of forty-five, as compared to 11 percent in Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, 10 percent in North Carolina, and 9 percent in Georgia.[14] In the 1840 census, 13 percent of enslaved people in Alabama and Tennessee, 12 percent in Mississippi, 11 percent in Arkansas, and 10 percent in Missouri were aged thirty-six or older. In Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, the proportion of enslaved people aged thirty-six or older ranged from 15 to 19 percent.[15] In both the 1850 and 1860 census, in Texas, the newest slave state, 11 percent of the enslaved population were recorded as forty plus; the oldest slave state, Virginia, had the same cohort at 18 percent in 1850, and 17 percent in 1860.[16] Notwithstanding regional distinctions, a sizable minority of the antebellum enslaved might have been considered by their peers, if not invariably recognizing themselves, as having entered – or as soon to be entering – the chronological boundaries of "old age" in slavery.

For the white population, scholars frequently pinpoint *around* sixty as the beginning of old age. W. A. Achenbaum notes that, "in virtually every historical moment and site, old age was said to commence around age sixty-five, give or take fifteen years on either end."[17] Using this expanded range allows us to address conflicts surrounding the aging process and its

is with the females, the exceptions being chiefly in the new states." United States Census Bureau, *1850 Census: Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 54.

[14] "Aggregate Amount of Each Description of Persons in the United States and their Territories, according to the Census . . .," in United States Census Bureau, *Census for 1820* (Washington, DC: Gales & Seaton, 1821), 18.

[15] Data drawn from individual state returns in United States Census Bureau, *1840 Census: Compendium of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, as Obtained at the Department of State, from the Returns of the Sixth Census* (Washington, DC: Thomas Allen, 1841), 24–100.

[16] Data drawn from Table LXXXII – Ratio of Ages of the Slaves in 1850," in United States Census Bureau, *1850 Census: Compendium of the Seventh Census*, 89–90; "Slave Population by Age and Sex," United States Census Bureau, *1860 Census: Recapitulation of the Tables of Population, Nativity, and Occupation* (Washington, DC: Beverley Tucker, Senate Printer, 1864), 594–5.

[17] W. Andrew Achenbaum, "Delineating Old Age: From Functional Status to Bureaucratic Criteria," in Corinne T. Field and Nicholas L. Syrett (Eds.), *Age in America: The Colonial Era to the Present* (New York: New York University Press, 2015), 301–20, 301. See also Stephen Katz, Kavita Sivaramakrishnan, and Pat Thane, "'To Understand All Life as Fragile, Valuable, and Interdependent': A Roundtable on Old Age and History," *Radical History Review*, 139 (2021), 13–36, 17–18; Susannah Ottaway, "Medicine and Old

attendant social impacts. Fifty not only designated "old age" in census material, but was commonly portrayed as a transition point in cultural representations of the life-course. James Baillie's 1848 prints – *The Life and Age of Man* and *The Life and Age of Woman* – used long-standing metaphors of the life-course as a rising and falling staircase, and presented both men and women as atop the steps aged fifty.[18] Yet while the fifty-year-old woman was described as a "blessing to the earth," there was a clear sense of shifting powers for men: "strength fails at Fifty, but with wit/fox like he helps to manage it."[19] Nonetheless, even managed decline could only delay the inevitable. In an 1846 lecture to the University of Louisville Medical Department, Charles Caldwell explained that the period from twenty-five to forty-five constituted a (white) man's "chief season of business, enterprise, and action." After this "commences his period of decline. Having reached the mid-day of his life, and basked for a time in the enjoyment of its sunlight, he must now descend, through its afternoon and evening, to its night in the grave."[20]

Pat Thane argues that old age has commonly been divided into "'green' old age, a time of fitness and activity with some failing powers, and the last phase of sad decrepitude," and Corinne T. Field notes that nineteenth-century Americans believed (or hoped) only "the very last steps of life are full of suffering."[21] Such attitudes and demarcations clearly existed among antebellum whites. However, so too did the understanding that aging brought losses – both physical and mental – that came faster than one hoped for, and which occasioned no little strife. Nathanael Emmons, an influential antebellum theologian, lamented that "old age begins so soon

Age," in Mark Jackson (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Medicine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 338–55, 341.

[18] Corinne T. Field, *The Struggle for Equal Adulthood: Gender, Race, Age, and the Fight for Equal Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 99–102. For wider discussion on temporal metaphors associated with the life cycle, see Mark Schweda, "The Autumn of My Years: Aging and the Temporal Structure of Human Life," in Mark Schweda, Michael Coors, and Claudia Bozzaro (Eds.), *Aging and Human Nature: Perspectives from Philosophical, Theological, and Historical Anthropology* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2020), 143–59.

[19] James Baillie, *The Life and Age of Woman, Stages of Woman's Life from the Cradle to the Grave* (New York, ca. 1848); James Baillie, *The Life and Age of Man, Stages of Man's Life from the Cradle to the Grave* (New York, ca. 1848). Consulted at www.loc.gov/item/2006686266/ and www.loc.gov/item/2006686267/.

[20] Charles Caldwell, *Thoughts on the Effects of Old Age on the Human Constitution: A Special Introductory* (Louisville: John C. Noble Printer, 1846), 14.

[21] Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4; Field, *The Struggle for Equal Adulthood*, 102.


FIGURE 1.1 James Baillie, *The Life and Age of Man. Stages of Man's Life from the Cradle to the Grave* (New York, c. 1848). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.


FIGURE 1.2 James Baillie, *The Life and Age of Woman. Stages of Woman's Life from the Cradle to the Grave* (New York, c. 1848). Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC.