In his portrait of Coleridge in *The Spirit of the Age* (1825), William Hazlitt indicated that cultures as well as individuals were subject to ageing: ‘The present is an age of talkers, and not of doers; and the reason is, that the world is growing old. We are so far advanced in the Arts and Sciences, that we live in retrospect, and doat on past achievements’.¹ This weary assessment of the age’s repletion and unoriginality jars with traditional identifications of the Romantic period with youth, vitality, and originality, exemplified by Wordsworth’s recollection of the early stages of the French Revolution in *The Prelude* (1805): ‘Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive, / But to be young was very heaven! … the whole earth, / The beauty wore of promise’ (x, 692-93, 701-2).² Wordsworth’s appreciation of early wonders in *The Prelude* chimes with that of Thomas De Quincey, who associated the experience of understanding the lessons of ‘We Are Seven’ with ‘the precocity of a fourteen-year-old’ and Felicia Hemans who hymned ‘Youth’, ‘When not a cloud of sorrow lowers; / When every moment wings its flight, / To waft new joy and new delight’ (2-4).³ If Goethe gave many male Romantic authors a less optimistic archetype for youth in the sorrows of his ‘young’ Werther, and a writer like Hartley Coleridge discovered that the burdens of being a prodigy far outweighed the delights, it only made youth a more conspicuous theme in Romantic writing.

While the popular construction of Romanticism as a movement typified by young rebellious writers who died tragically young may no longer hold sway among scholars, its effects are persistent. Publications by Alan Richardson, Judith Plotz, Andrew O’Malley, Anja Müller, Anne Wierda Rowland and Laurie Langbauer have enriched our understanding of Romanticism, youth and childhood, yet research into what Katherine Gustafson has called ‘life stage studies’—other periods of the life cycle—has especially old age, lags behind, perhaps reflecting assumptions about literature inherited from the Romantic period itself.⁴ This is certainly the view of Andrea Charise, who identifies an unconscious ‘youth-centric bias’ in ‘early nineteenth-century writing (and unquestionably, its allied scholarly criticism as well)’, which ‘typically posits youth as its default subject and perspective’.⁵ Gustafson reminds us that this is a more general picture and that compared to other ‘identity discourses’ such as gender, race and class, ageing has been comparatively neglected in the study of literature (529). Literature of the Romantic period is conspicuous by its absence in Sarah
Falcus’s recent survey of literary gerontology in the Routledge Handbook of Cultural Gerontology (2015). Yet, the essays presented in this special issue show that the Romantic period holds particular interest for those working at the intersection of literary criticism and the field of age studies, something to which the recent work of Pat Thane, social historian of ageing, points us.

Acknowledging that it is not simply a biological issue, and that ‘people do not all age at the same rate or in the same way’, Thane defines ageing in chronological, functional and cultural terms. Chronological old age is ‘a bureaucratic convenience, suitable for establishing age limits to rights and duties, such as access to pensions or eligibility for public service’; functional old age is reached ‘when an individual cannot perform the tasks expected of him or her, such as paid work’; cultural old age is ‘an expression of the value system of the community’, often associated with appearance, ‘and may define individuals as old according to codes of dress or other commonly accepted signifiers’. Historically, each category, and indeed the need to rethink categorisations of age, owes much to the social and political upheavals of the Romantic period. While it was not unusual at the end of the eighteenth century for discussions of old age to anchor themselves in Cicero’s model of old age as reward for a virtuous life or to take the Bible as a starting point for thinking about ageing – the extreme longevity of the biblical antediluvians and patriarchs was often judged at face value – by the end of the Romantic period, medicine and political economy were firmly entrenched as the primary discourses through which questions of ageing and longevity were publicly discussed.

David Troyansky has rightly proposed that ‘if modern youth was invented in the Romantic culture of the early nineteenth century, then perhaps modern age was invented in the bureaucratic culture of the same period’. Population and demographics became much better understood, with increasingly rigorous data on which to base decision-making and public discussion. The debates stimulated by Richard Price’s actuarial work, especially Observations on Reversionary Payments (1771) for the Society for Equitable Assurance, marked a decisive shift in how ageing could be predicted and calculated. Price called for more precise information which would allow the assurance societies to determine the age profile of their membership and project the state of their finances, enabling them to anticipate members’ longevity and judge whether the scheme was in profit and could meet its liabilities.

Old age became politicised during the Revolution debate of the 1790s. In Reflections on the Revolution in France (1790), originally a letter to ‘a very young gentleman at Paris’, Edmund Burke asserts that ‘We procure reverence to our civil institutions on the principle
upon which nature teaches us to revere individual men; on account of their age'.

Deference to seniority, the experience of aristocratic rule, and tradition is central to his model of stable government. By contrast, in *Rights of Man* (1791) Thomas Paine argued that if ‘no parent or master’ had a right over ‘the personal freedom of an individual beyond the age of twenty-one years’, then ‘the parliament of 1688, or any other parliament’ had no right to ‘bind all posterity for ever’. Political maturity should confer rights on all men rather than being the preserve of an aged elite. In Part Two (1792), he compared republican America with ‘all the governments of the old world’, in which ‘tyranny and the antiquity of habit’ made their subjects ‘afraid to think’.

But Paine’s arguments also cut across simple divisions between age and youth; he extended revolutionary benevolence to old and young alike. As well as making provision for children and families, his proposals for a proto-welfare state include pensions. The motivation is sympathy across generations: ‘It is painful to see old age working itself to death, in what are called civilized countries, for daily bread’ (127).

Spurred on by Thomas Malthus’s ominous predictions of population outstripping agricultural supply in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798, expanded 1803), the first national census of Great Britain on 10 March 1801 ushered in a new age of ten-yearly censuses and more accurate data on which to assess the extent and age distribution of the British population. Likewise, reforms and more systematic organisation and record-keeping for the Poor Law contributed to greater oversight and administration of the elderly.

In *The Decline of Life: Old Age in Eighteenth-Century England* (2004), Susannah Ottaway makes a compelling case for a shift in definitions of old age over the century, whereby chronological age displaced more fluid definitions of old age based on appearance and activity – a movement from Thane’s functional to chronological categories of ageing. In tandem, Enlightenment philosophy and ‘the growth of bureaucratic record-keeping’ led to the increasing power of quantitative definitions of age categories and by the end of the century ‘an increase in the conviction that to be old was to be dependent, and the parallel belief that to be a certain age was to be old’. While old-fashioned legends and superstitions about age lingered, over the course of the Romantic period, ageing patterns went from being the subject of speculation and conjecture to the focus of the latest forms of bureaucratic administration and quantitative measurement.

The period’s movement towards more quantifiable measurements of ageing based on chronology that Ottaway charts is, however, only half the story. The imperative to bring new attention to ageing in public life sits in tension with Romantic literature’s increased interest in psychological states and the dynamic and uneven processes of individual, phenomenological
experience. Ageing at the turn of the nineteenth century had, as Alice Crossley puts it, an unprecedented impact ‘on consciousness and subjectivity, and the ways in which attitudes about aging are embedded in dominant cultural norms and values’. In fact, Romantic writers seem particularly concerned to raise, but contest, the possibility of assigning numerical and functional calculations, often framed by Thane’s ‘commonly accepted signifiers’, to the experience of ageing, as we might see in two initial examples from Lord Byron and Mary Wollstonecraft, which, whilst seemingly unrelated, contain suggestive points of comparison that register and recognise the deeply subjective experience of ageing.

In *Manfred* (1817), Byron creates a protagonist whose chronological years and physical appearance fail to tell of his subjective feelings of ageing. In response to the Chamois Hunter’s protestation, ‘Why, on thy brow the seal of middle age / Hath scarce been set’ (II, ii, 49-50), Manfred replies,

Think’st thou existence doth depend on time?
It doth; but actions are our epochs: mine
Have made my days and nights imperishable,
Endless, and all alike, as sands on the shore (II, ii, 51-4).16

Manfred’s alleged crimes and subsequent guilt render his experience of age unquantifiable in calendrical terms. Instead, the subjective experience of ageing constitutes what Karen Chase has called a ‘theme of self-understanding’, even if that understanding is inhibited by Manfred’s inability to articulate his own experience.17 Manfred looks to the Alpine scenery about him, attempting to project his nebulous apprehensions of age onto something more solid, though less personal: ‘To be thus— / Grey-hair’d with anguish, like these blasted pines’ (I, i, 65-6). In *Age and Identity in Eighteenth-Century England* (2013), Helen Yallop argues that the formation of norms of ageing emerge from the medical and conduct literature of the period, wherein ageing is an element of embodied identity comparable to social class, gender, or race.18 But, baffled by his body’s inability to speak to the weight of his experience, Manfred’s knowledge of ageing is deeply interiorised and unavailable to public scrutiny.

When nursing her mother during her final illness, Mary Wollstonecraft wrote to her friend Jane Arden in 1782, advising her to ‘laugh & dance when a fiddle comes in your way’ because ‘For my part—I have already the wrinkles of old age’. Claiming to prefer being an ‘old maid’ because it offers more freedom than marriage, Wollstonecraft, not unlike Byron, plays on the signs of physical age that are at odds with her inner life.19 As Devoney Looser has argued, ‘culture’s fixation on a youthful physical ideal was especially directed towards women’ in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but that ‘it has proven difficult to
determine what to count as old’ when simple correspondences of body and consciousness are problematised. The category of the old maid was a particularly fluid one in the Romantic period and women could inhabit this role from their mid-30s. Here, Wollstonecraft reads her own face, which to her reveals the traces of her recent experience, and in turn leads her into broader reflections on the identities and lives available to women. But Wollstonecraft has her tongue firmly in her cheek, vindicating a usually risible state of premature old age over the greater constraints she perceives in conventional married life.

‘It is the ability’, Falcus argues, ‘to accommodate and even thrive on contradiction, incompleteness and possibility that makes literature such a valuable area of study for gerontology’ (53). With different levels of seriousness, both Byron and Wollstonecraft introduce doubts about the suppositions of ageing based on calendrical cues, utility and the social constructions of physical appearance. They exploit, as David Fallon argues in this special issue, ‘the gap between the social meanings usually ascribed to the visible bodies of the aged and their more complex subjective lived experience’. It is a theme that readers will find recurs in the essays contained herein. Susan Matthews, for example, takes the old maid as an exception to the standard chronological and gendered categories of age. In the absence of settled chronological markers, Matthews explores the role of attitudes towards fertility and the conventional ‘sexual narrative’ in representing an elderly figure who is frequently derided. Focusing on texts by William Hayley, Hannah More, and Joanna Southcott, Matthews reinscribes sexuality into Romantic period discussions of old age, challenging the often sanitised and desexualised images of the elderly in the period. Amy Culley’s work on the journal of the biographer Mary Berry demonstrates another female writer’s frustration at the cultural definitions which adhere to old age: while Berry’s writing may well evince an obsession with numerical precision in ageing, this leads to a ‘metaphorical richness’ in her figurations of age that is deeply personal.

In *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750-1850* (2006), Devoney Looser argues that identity categories, particularly those deriving from gender discourses, ‘that differentiated individuals in early and mid life persisted into old age’ (2); the essays here by Matthews and Culley indicate as much. Looser suggests that male writers were able to take on more ‘enabling’ roles than women as they aged such as that of the revered sage (3). As Jonathon Shears’s essay in this issue suggests, however, male writers were not immune to culturally embedded constructions of ageing that affected their creative practice. Shears shows that the label of ‘sage’ attributed to S.T. Coleridge was a mixed blessing. He analyses the ways in which the ageing voice was interpreted as confirmation of declining mental and
creative capacities in the life and work of Coleridge, whereby ‘glottic insufficiencies’ disclosed the social and cultural impediments inhibiting elderly speakers.

David Fallon applies John Vincent’s phrase ‘the mask of ageing’ – the disjunction between the appearance of ageing and the interiority of the elderly – to the representation of old men in Thomas Holcroft’s *Duplicity* (1781) and Samuel Foote’s *The Maid of Bath* (1771, published 1778). Like Matthews, Fallon explores the social judgements attached to expressions of sexuality, this time in old men and the tempering of ridicule in Holcroft’s play. Fallon shows how writers in this period who address the topic of ageing often seek to elicit sympathy in readers through sentiment. Mark Sandy’s analysis of Wordsworth’s depiction of elderly figures in poems such as ‘Simon Lee’, ‘I know an aged man constrained to dwell’ and ‘The Old Cumberland Beggar’, develops that theme, showing how the question of ageing complicated Wordsworth’s ‘imaginative impulse towards a poetic vision of collective compensation’ for the loss of youth. Sandy makes the affirmation or failure of sympathetic reciprocity that underwrites a number of the essays in this issue his primary focus, using the theme of ageing to provide a new perspective on the problems at the heart of Wordsworth’s motif of compensation.

In her exploration of the complex interpersonal reasons for Robert Southey’s consciousness of ageing when in mid-life, Lynda Pratt asks the question central to anxieties about the movement towards quantifiable measurements of ageing found in the Romantic period: ‘Exactly how “old” is “old”?’ It is a question that Charles Lamb poses in Elia’s essay ‘The Superannuated Man’ (1825), a satire on the increasingly prevalent sense in the period that ageing could be quantified numerically. Recalling how, like many a reader, he had wasted ‘the golden years’ of his life ‘in the irksome confinement of an office’, his ‘prison days prolonged through middle age down to decrepitude and silver hairs’, upon reaching 50, Elia recalls, ‘I had grown to my desk, as it were; and the wood had entered into my soul’. For Lamb, the offer and acceptance of a generous retirement settlement unleashes the power of the fluid subjective and psychological dimensions of ageing, as Elia recalls the transformation of his consciousness of time:

I was in the condition of a prisoner in the old Bastile, suddenly let loose after a forty years’ confinement. I could scarce trust myself with myself. It was like passing out of Time into Eternity—for it is a sort of Eternity for a man to have his Time all to himself … From a poor man, poor in Time, I was suddenly lifted up into a vast revenue; I could see no end of my possessions (222).
Wonder, so often associated with youth in the Romantic period as Louise Economides has shown, is, for the giddy Elia, a feature of his later years. In fact, the shift into a time of freedom brings Elia a second youth and a reevaluation of the time that has come before. The relatively short span expected for retirement is qualitatively denser than the preceding life:

I have indeed lived nominally fifty years, but deduct out of them the hours which I have lived to other people, and not to myself, and you will find me still a young fellow. For that is the only true Time, which a man can properly call his own. The remnant of my poor days, long or short, is at least multiplied for me three-fold. My ten next years, if I stretch so far, will be as long as any preceding thirty. ’Tis a fair rule-of-three sum. (223)

Superannuation enables Elia to use the skills of calculation that characterised his previous office work to open up the future – paradoxically the end of work is its true beginning – wittily undermining the notion that arbitrary numerical and functional distinctions determine the life course, regardless of qualitative experience. (It is worth noting, however, that such a joyous transformation of the ageing process is predicated upon privilege: he is a professional man with a comfortable pension.)

Lamb also, notably, contests the pervasive assumption that ageing is a period of inevitable decline, separated from earlier parts of the life course. Constance Rooke terms this the experience of ‘winding up’ and Devoney Looser the ‘epilogue’ (6), a theme that has particular pertinence for studies of writers in late life and which is a preoccupation of a number of the essays collected in this issue. Many assumptions are made about waning powers of creativity by those who have considered ‘late style’, a phrase popularised by Edward Said’s *On Late Style* (2006), a response to Theodor Adorno, wherein he argues that the ‘work and thought’ of ‘great artists’ at the end of their careers ‘acquires a new idiom’, a ‘late style’ which can be characterised as ‘a special maturity, a new spirit of reconciliation and serenity’ or, Said’s preferred focus, a period of ‘intransigence, difficulty, and unresolved contradictions’. As Linda and Michael Hutcheon have argued, however, there is a tendency in such models to homogenise the output of creative artists in late life, and in this issue we showcase research that engages more substantively with the subject as part of the ‘ageist undercurrents’ (Looser, 2) – cultural productions akin to those of Thane’s third category of ageing – which Devoney Looser has identified as framing the later productions of Romantic-period writers.
In her contribution to the present issue, Looser therefore extends her focus from those writers discussed in *Women Writers and Old Age in Great Britain, 1750-1850* to include the nineteenth-century novelist Jane West. She demonstrates how West strategically framed the publication of *Ringrove; Or, Old Fashioned Notions* (1827) – published in her late 60s – in order to try and anticipate objections to authorship in late life. Ageist undercurrents similarly find expression in the journal of Mary Berry discussed by Culley, Coleridge’s verse that occupies Shears and Pratt’s assessment of Southey. Southey is a particularly intriguing example of authorly self-consciousness in late life, and Pratt’s essay makes a significant contribution to the way that concerns for ‘textual posterity’ influence publishing practices. In each case attending to previously neglected writing – usually neglected precisely because it belongs to the period of old age – demonstrates the degree to which Romantic writers developed what Shears, in another context, calls ‘compensatory behaviours’ in response to the ‘complicated prejudices’ experienced by elderly writers.

The essays gathered in this special issue examine a range of different themes, authors, and texts engaged with ageing. But while the emphasis is on later life stages traditionally neglected in critical treatments of Romanticism, these essays all reflect on ways in which ageing in the Romantic period was a complex and relational issue. Representations of old age were always entangled with and usually shaped by their relationship to other life stages, as exemplified by William Hazlitt’s essay for *The Morning Post*, ‘On the Feeling of Immortality in Youth’ (1827), where he replays themes from Wordsworth’s immortality ode in a more tentative key, retrospectively describing personal experience in ways that overlap with the self-deceptions of Romanticism. In the individual, youth is a time during which ‘There is a feeling of Eternity’: ‘To be young is to be as one of the Immortal Gods … Death, old age, are words without a meaning, that pass by us like the idle air which we regard not’. Yet imperceptibly, ‘the full, pulpy feeling of youth’ gives way to a disappointing familiarity: ‘every thing is flat and insipid’. Hazlitt elaborates the same dynamic playing out across the Romantic period. Recalling the ‘considerable influence’ of the French Revolution on his ‘early feelings’, he recalls how ‘Youth was then doubly such’:

At that time, while the fairest aspirations of the human mind seemed about to be realised, ere the image of man was defaced and his breast mangled in scorn, philosophy took a higher, poetry could afford a deeper range.26
Hazlitt concedes the wreck of this high tide of youthful hope against the treacherous rocks of experience. His abundant recompense, however, is tied up with the condition of age: retrospection and its textual embodiment testify to the truth of youthful feelings as they were experienced, preserving their promise for more favourable times: ‘Since the future was barred to my progress, I have turned for consolation to the past, gathering up the fragments of my early recollections, and putting them into a form that might live’ (197).

This issue seeks to chart some of the ways in which literature of the Romantic period represents, interrogates, interprets, and shapes notions of ageing. Previously marginalised writers and texts take centre stage when age, rather than youth, is the lens through which we read, while the well-known work of some writers begins to yield up hitherto unnoticed or under-appreciated aspects. Naturally, we cannot claim to be comprehensive in our treatment of such a diverse and relatively uncharted field. There are numerous areas worthy of investigation, for example: intersections between literature, ageing, and race; the role of ageing in the nineteenth-century institutionalisation of literature; comparative studies of literary treatments of ageing across national literatures; the role of writing in the medicalisation of old age. We hope, however, that this issue will provide a reference point in this exciting field of study, helping to encourage the consideration of ageing in discussions of Romantic literature and to stimulate debate and further research.

3 See: Margaret Russett, De Quincey’s Romanticism: Canonical Minority and the Forms of Transmission (Cambridge, 1997), 14; Felicia Dorothea Browne, Poems (Liverpool, 1808), 24. As Louise Economides remarks, ‘It is no accident that children and youths are the most prominent figures of wonder in Wordsworth’s texts. Arguably, the poet’s great theme is wonder lost and sublimity found, though the latter never quite accomplishes an unqualified restoration’, The Ecology of Wonder in Romantic and Postmodern Literature (New York, 2016), 43.


8 See, for example, *A View of Human Nature: Select Histories* (London, 1750), 57-65. Sir Thomas Bernard was one moralist who popularised the notion of a good old age as reward for a well-spent youth in *On the Comforts of Old Age*, 2nd edn. (London, 1817).


13 See Pat Thane, *Old Age in English History: Past Experiences, Present Issues* (Oxford, 2000), 147-59 (although Thane introduces a cautionary note in using records of poor relief to trace accurate data about the social make-up of ageing populations in ‘Social Histories of Old Age and Aging’, 103).


19 Mary Wollstonecraft to Jane Arden, c. mid-late 1782, and c. late 1782, in Janet Todd (ed.), *The Collected Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft* (New York, 2003), 37-8.


22 See Economides, *The Ecology of Wonder in Romantic and Postmodern Literature*.


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