Deathbed scenes played an important role in early English and American children's books. In his *Children's Books In England*, F.J. Harvey Darton wrote that children's books did not stand out "as a clear but subordinate branch of English literature until the middle of the eighteenth century" when John Newbery published *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* (1744). For Darton the date of the publication of *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book* was in the small world of children's books "a date comparable to the 1066 of the older histories." Newbery was the first publisher to make a great success out of children's books, and by the end of the century, a score of publishers devoted much of their energies to children's books. Before 1744, however, some children's books had been published. These consisted for the most part of ephemeral chapbooks and ballads, and a few "Godly Books." In godly books the deathbed scene was the most important dramatic element.

Written mostly by divines with Calvinistic leanings, these books relentlessly preached right religion as the one thing necessary for life. The unsaved child was not merely the potential father of a demonic man, but he was also "Satan's Brat" or "the degenerated Bough of the wild Olive tree" whose "grapes" were sure to ripen as "Sodom's pride and lust." Before children's hearts hardened in sin, Hezekiah Woodward (1649) urged "Parents and Tutors" to "look to the preventing of evils, which, while they are but in the seed, may be crushed, as it were, in the egge, before there comes forth a flying Serpent or Cockatrice." At a time when large numbers of children died young, writers of godly books felt duty bound to hurry their readers towards salvation. The cockatrice of original sin lurking within the human breast had to be crushed before the fragile egg cracked and the young soul took flight. Nothing was more important than eternal life, and godly books urged children to concentrate their energies on
attaining salvation. "What are the Toyes, of wanton Boyes," Abraham Chear (1708) asked, "to an immortal Spirit?" Death, John Bunyan (1686) wrote, was "a cold Comforter to Girls and Boys" who were "wedded" to "their Childish Toys." When the "Reckoning" was cast on "Judgment Day," each child would be far better off if his "time and strength" and "every thought" had been devoted to "How Christ may be injoy'd."2

Relying heavily on fear, godly books attempted to shock children into awareness of the parlous state of their souls. When children's emotions had been thoroughly harrowed and they were ready for the gospel seed, godly books tried to lead them through repentance to Grace, Christ, and life everlasting. One of the best and most popular of these books was James Janeway's *A Token For Children: Being An Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of several young Children* (1720).

In a preface containing "Directions to Children," Janeway addressed his young readers, asking them if they were "willing to go to Hell to be burn'd with the devil and his angels?" Did they want, Janeway continued, to "be in the same Condition as naughty Children," for Hell was "a terrible place . . . worse a thousand times than whipping." To avoid this painful fate, Janeway urged children to read *A Token* "over a hundred times." Then when a "pretty Lamb" began to cry, he ought, Janeway taught, retire to his garret, fall upon his knees, "weep and mourn," and beg Christ for "Grace and Pardon," pleading with Him to "make thee his Child." To bring children to this repentant and receptive spiritual condition, *A Token* was filled with the inspirational "biographies" of young Christians, all of whom went to heaven at an early age "in an Extasie of Joy and holy Triumph."

When she was only a little over eight years old, Sarah Howley heard a sermon which convinced her of "her Need of a Christ." From henceforth she was "very much in secret Prayer as," Janeway wrote, "might easily be perceived by those who listened at the Chamber-door, and was usually very importunate, full of Tears." She spent her free time reading the Bible and holy books, until at fourteen, she was stricken with consumption. "Like a continued Sermon," Janeway recounted, "she was full of Divine Sentences, in almost all her Discourse, from the first to the last." Perhaps even more instructive was the life of "A Certain little Child," whose mother dedicated him to the Lord, while he slumbered in her womb. As he grew up, he became "more and more affected with the Things of another World";
while other children played, he prayed. He was so "exceeding importunate with God" that he pled "with God at a strange rate . . . with great Reverence, Tenderness and Groans." Sometimes he wept so that he disturbed those about him, once piercing not merely the rest but the conscience of a neighbor who cried out in agony: "The Prayers and Tears of that Child" will "sink me to Hell" because by his acts he condemns my "Neglect of Prayer."

Although the intention of writers like Janeway was noble, their methods smacked of the sledgehammer, crushing not merely the cockatrice but the frail egg itself. The vast majority of children probably eagerly swallowed the sensationalism of godly books, enjoying it in the same way they marvelled over those orthopedic boots Little Poucet stole from the hungry Ogre. Some few children, however, must have suffered unpleasant after-effects, for what toned up the soul was not necessarily a tonic for the body. Janeway's book itself lends substance to this view. A "certain beggar boy" seems to have been physically healthy while he roamed the streets "running to Hell" as "a very Monster of Wickedness." Taken into service, however, by a well-meaning Christian, he was happily transformed by "the Glory of God's free Grace." Unfortunately while his spirit thrived, the beams supporting his clayey tenement gave way and he fell into religious melancholia. His "former Sins stared him in his Face, and made him tremble," and the "Poyson of God's Arrows" drank "up his Spirits." His "Self-abhorrency" grew so great that "he could never speak bad enough of himself" and the only "Name he would call himself" was "Toad." Not surprisingly it was not long before Toad hopped "into the Arms of Jesus." That a particular "poor Child's Thoughts were very much busied about the Things of another World" cannot have contributed to his physical health, particularly when he took "heavenly Conference to be sweeter than his appointed Rest." Tabitha Alder's religious enthusiasm probably contributed little to her decline. By the same token, however, her longing for "Robes immortal" did not help her regain her health. On her deathbed her ecstasy was unbounded as she cried out "Anon . . . I shall be with Jesus, I am married to him, he is my Husband, I am his Bride; I have given myself to him, and he hath given himself to me, and I shall live with him forever." "This strange Language," Janeway noted, "made the Hearers even stand astonished."

Newbery did not follow in Janeway's footsteps. Instead of using fear to bring children to an awareness of divine truth, he led children on a merry chase across a landscape pepperminted with laughter to a more
worldly knowledge of letters and manners. Most prominent publishers of children's books in England and the United States followed Newbery's lead. Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts, the most outstanding publisher in the United States at the end of the eighteenth century, wrote to Thomas Evans in London in 1784 asking that he be sent a large shipment of English children's books. Containing Newbery's best books, and those published by his heirs, and their rivals, particularly John Marshall, the shipment duly arrived and was reprinted in Worcester editions over a three-year period. During these years Thomas published some forty-five children's books, the vast majority of which had first appeared in England. In 1786, for example, he published five of Newbery's books; in 1787 he published four more including *A Little Pretty Pocket-Book*. Almost all the children's books Thomas published embodied Newbery's "Be Merry and Wise" approach, and children laughed rather than wept their ways to truth.  

Although it was not an integral part of the narratives published by the most successful British houses, the deathbed scene did not disappear from children's books in the last years of the eighteenth century. It flourished in religious tracts and in religious journals, most importantly the *Arminian*, later *Methodist Magazine* and the *Evangelical Magazine*. In New England, with the shining exception of Thomas's gay editions, the deathbed scene was more important in children's fiction than it was in Britain. Both British and American evangelicals distrusted the imagination, believing that imaginative freedom led first to "unnatural excitation" and "extravagant ideas" and finally to conscious immorality. In Britain, however, evangelical or Calvinistic stress upon literature for the sake of Christianity was not forever reflected in children's books. In the first years of the nineteenth century, Darton and Harvey, and J. Harris both, for example, published few lugubrious narratives for children and maintained long lists of books which blended instruction with light amusement. In contrast contemporaneous publishers in New England often concentrated on uplifting didactic "biographies" of children and reprinted tearful tracts which had enjoyed modest popularity in Britain. Until the Civil War the deathbed scene was one of the most important set pieces in short fiction written for American children. After the War literary energies ran in new channels. Publishers of children's books began to emphasize the moral rather than the religious, and, as the series became the dominant form of book for children, the exotic rather than the homey.
Deathbed scenes in children's books published in the United States in the nineteenth century resembled those in Janeway's *A Token*. In hopes of directing a child's imagination from "the path that leadeth to destruction" to "the Kingdom of God," a deathbed scene was often literally the best part of a narrative. Drawing upon the poetics of sensibility, authors attempted to make a reader sympathetically identify with the suffering hero or heroine. Then by evoking tears and fear, writers tried to soften the reader's "stony heart" and lead him to repentance and Christianity. In *Youthful Religion Exemplified: Or a Brief Narrative of The Life and Happy Death of Eliza Thomas*, John Dodington as a later Janeway urged the "children into whose hands this little book" fell "to seek the Redeemer early." To frighten them into doing so, he painstakingly described Eliza's slow death. Typically Eliza said that her body's being "devoured by worms" did not frighten her because she knew "her precious soul" would be "transplanted to the celestial paradise." Hoping the "affecting scene" would so "deeply impress . . . little readers" that they would become Christians, Dodington asked, "Who of you resembles little Eliza? Who of you, like her, can think of death without fear, because ready for the solemn moment? You perhaps tremble at the thought of entering into the world of spirits. You turn pale at the sight of the coffin—the shroud—the dark and gloomy tomb. You cannot bear to be put in mind of your approaching dissolution. But what is it, my dear young friends, which makes you so afraid of dying? Oh, it is sin!"6

A second child was usually present at the deathbed as an observer. An emblematic representation of the reader, this child was often converted from his mischievous or evil ways by the striking sight before him. In *Charlie Burton; or The New Year's Gift*, ten year old Johnny Wells had become so sinful that his mother wished he had not lived past "boyhood". Having tormented his cousin Charlie for two years, Johnny was conscience-stricken when scarlet fever struck Charles down. Dying, Charlie forgave Johnny for mutilating the new boots he had received for his seventh birthday and urged him "to remember that there is a seat waiting for you at my side." Repentant, Johnny said that he was "too wicked" to go to heaven. Reminded by Charlie that Jesus died for all sinners, Johnny took heart, promised to reform, and after a long, hard struggle became a Christian boy. Anticipating the good he hoped would result from children's reading *The New Year's Gift*, T.M.L. asked enthusiastically at the story's conclusion: "Who can tell how many little voices now joined in singing the song of the redeemed, would acknowledge the pure life of Charlie Burton, as that which drew them to the dear Saviour?"7
Although written for the young, the beneficial effects of deathbed scenes in children's literature were not limited to children. According to J.B. Waterbury, religion sanctified sorrow, even vicarious sorrow, "by making it the source of good to the sufferer." He believed Elizabeth Osborn's death could inspire people of all ages, for he entitled his work *The Loving Invitation of Christ to the Aged, Middle-Aged, Youth and Children: from the Mouth of Elizabeth Osborn, only Three Years and Nine Months Old*. According to the clergyman who wrote *The Island of Life: An Allegory*, the death of a child often caused the conversion of adults. On the "Island of Life," a young mother idolized her infant and never prayed or read the Bible. After the baby's death, the mother read the Bible, prayed, became a Christian, and eventually joined her child in the land where the "King's Son dwells." Calling at Lucy Cole's house "just in time to witness the last trying conflict, and as they were at the moment of closing her eyes," the narrator said he had never felt "such joy at a sight so solemn." 

Frequently, the dying child became a suffering Christ figure, taking on the sins of those around him, as in *Charlie Burton*, and pointing the way to heaven. In juvenile books, consumption killed more children than any other disease, and a child's illness and suffering often became an emblematic representation of Christ's crucifixion and agony on the Cross. In accordance with their metaphoric seriousness, deathbed scenes were formal, if not ritualistic. Approaching "the eternal happiness of heaven," the dying child symbolically rejected the world. Having asked for and received a looking glass the day before she died, Lucy Cole "gazed upon her deathly countenance and observed: 'Ah! lovely appearance of death.' " A small girl urged her parents not to spend any money on a coffin for her "little bit of clay." Looking forward to death, Rebecca Jane Symonds enjoyed seeing her coffin in the entry outside her bedroom.

Descriptions of dead children were usually poetic. While "a smile of angelic sweetness" was on his lips and "a glory from the other world" illuminated his eyes and brow, the child slept "upon a bed of roses" or "among the cowslips and violets." At the moment of death, heavenly music was often heard. Describing the death of Elizabeth Osborn, the author wrote, "When we were come all around her, she said, 'fare you well, father and mother, I am going to Christ.' She lay a few moments and then opened her eyes and sang, and there was heard a melodious singing it seemed at a little distance, and there appeared a remarkable bright light over her head, which continued till
her death.” Attempting to make such scenes poetically apocalyptic, writers relied on lush description. The author of *The Mountain Cottager* prepared readers for the revelatory moment of Charlotte’s death by describing the luxuriant wilderness around her home. “The frowning pines,” he wrote, “sighed on the tops of the mountain—the rocks reared their eternal breast-works—the savage stream dashed along in its pride—and all around was solitude. Besides this, it was just sunset; and there is an indescribable stillness attending the setting of a summer’s sun, which every feeling bosom notices. He threw a veil of gold over the heads of the aged pines at my left, and sank with a stillness that seemed like a stop of the wheels of nature. It seemed as if the wild flood murmured with a less hoarse voice at this moment, and the heron on its banks forgot its screaming.”¹⁰

Deathbed scenes often betrayed authors’ romantic and theological envy of children. Early death prevented the child from being corrupted by the world. Like Wordsworth, the author of *The Amaranth* believed that “childhood’s soul hath lights enkindled from another world.” Consequently physical death became metaphoric birth while long life became metaphoric death. Evoking Matthew 18:3, “Verily I say unto you, Except ye become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,” authors envied the happy fate of young Christians who died before the world, the flesh, and the devil fettered their souls. In *Christmas Holidays at Chestnut Hill*, Cousin Mary looked longingly back at “the hallowed ground” of her childhood in Rockdale, New Hampshire. Wistfully she remembered her schooldays when she played near “a little grave” in which “a child of three summers had slept many a year.” In her reminiscence Cousin Mary described the grave as being another Eden. What was buried there now, however, was not a nameless child but Cousin Mary’s childhood. Although she wanted to return to her youthful Christian innocence, Cousin Mary knew that she could not go to that home again; and like the authors of children’s books, she sentimentalized childhood and the death of a child. “And now,” she wrote nostalgically, “though my childhood has long since passed, yet I doubt not that the little grave is still green and beautiful, and the violets bloom with as sweet profusion as when in childhood I watched beside it. Should the happiness be allowed me again to visit the scenes of my early home, and again to wander over those once familiar paths, I trust to find that the robin and the sparrow still have there a secure retreat, and that the roses still shower their fragrant blossoms around.”¹¹
In nineteenth-century American children’s books, this romantic nostalgia often combined with a Matthew-like celebration of youthful innocence. The resulting books frequently implied that it was better for children to die young than to grow to maturity. On the simplest interpretative level, death was not an enemy but a friend conveying “the opening bud to heaven” before it could be blighted by sin. According to The Juvenile Scrap-Book, death was the means by which “the Almighty power” turned “a withered worm” into a butterfly. After robin red-breasts spread leaves over the bodies of the two friendless orphans who died in The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood, the author declared, “I call it comfort when the Almighty calls good children out of this world, to be infinitely more happy in another.” In Angel Whispers, Daniel Eddy told mourning parents that a child’s death was “a benevolent event.” “Would you who have lost children,” he asked, “bring them back again, to share this sinful, sorrowing life with us? Would you have them give up their harps of glory for the hammer, the anvil, and the spindle? Would you have them lay down their crowns of honor and brightness to wear again the robes of earth, and to be sheltered from the chills and blasts by the poor coverings of man’s device?” In describing the benefits of an early death, Eddy included a chapter on the “Advantages of Consumption,” a disease to which heroes of children’s books were particularly susceptible. Not only was consumption, Eddy wrote, “the best calculated” of all diseases “to bring out the better traits of human character and develop the graces of Christian life,” but it also lent itself to extended sentimental moral tales and memorable deathbed scenes.\(^1\)

Behind Eddy’s platitudinous statements that children’s deaths were not only “benevolent” but also “wise,” “righteous,” and “glorious” lay more than the simple desire to console mourning parents. The descriptions of the deaths of young Christians in many American children’s books, like those described by Janeway, were celebratory. Instead of teaching the benefits of repentance and Christian living, as they ostensibly set out to do, many books taught the benefits of dying. Dying was not an individual but a communal matter and the dying child became the focus of extraordinary adult concern. Children’s egos were flattered as adults attached significance to feverish or incoherent speeches. Believing Jane Evans’s last words, the words of a soul in bliss, rather than the wanderings of a dying child, the author of the Memoir of Jane Evans faithfully recorded statements like: “O that these poor weary arms were at rest! O that the arms of my
spiritual body were playing upon that harp which is prepared for me above! 'tis strung and tuned for endless years, and it will never sound any other name but the name of Jesus" and "Shout! Shout! why don't you all shout! Let me hear you shout aloud. Victory! Victory!"

Numerous books depicted parents as happy Abrahams, celebrating their child's death. As Lonnie, Our Little Lamb died, his parents stood ritualistically by his bed singing "Happy Land," "I want to be an angel," and "There is land of pure delight." Addressing the reader at the conclusion of the book, Lonnie's parents said proudly, "And so he (God) came for our Lonnie. Was he not a favored one, to be chosen of God to fill that vacant place in heaven? Were we not favored too, that God should have selected the one he wanted from out our home?"

In analyzing the effects of early reading, Anna Seward, Dr. Johnson's friend, wrote, "It cannot be doubted that the understanding, and virtue, the safety, and happiness of those branches of society which are raised above the necessity of mechanic toil depend much upon the early impressions they receive from books which captivate the imagination and interest the heart." How influential early reading actually is in shaping adults is certainly more speculative than Anna Seward believed. But if we accept the premise that books make the man, then paradoxically reading kept numerous children in nineteenth century New England from becoming men. If children absorbed the implicit didacticism of many of the books with deathbed scenes which captivated imaginations and interested hearts, they would have risen from reading with inexorable death-wishes. Indeed many of the books described children, like "Toad," with just such a death-wish. Usually this resulted from hearing a sermon rather than reading. However, since moral tales were narrative sermons, the implication was clear that the reader should imitate the life and, more importantly, the death of the hero or heroine.

Florence Kidder was a healthy girl until she heard a sermon in June 1831. Convinced by the sermon that she was a sinner, soon afterwards she put a note on her teacher's desk asking, "My dear teacher, I am a lost sinner, can you tell me what I shall do to be saved?" For the author of the Memoir of Florence Kidder, there was but one answer. Florence died within the year. Similarly Jane Symonds became ill only after she was converted to Christianity. "About this time," the author wrote, "a friend presented her several pictures, some of which were representations of lively, and beautiful scenes and objects, such as would naturally be very pleasing to a person of her age. She selected
but one, and that was a mourning piece. This little circumstance surprised her mother, as it seemed to indicate where her thoughts were, and as no one had as yet supposed her beyond recovery, or that she might not still enjoy many years of earthly happiness.” Addressing Ellen’s school at the end of the year, a preacher warned students that some of them might die before school met again. Eternity, not the world, was their “place of rest”; and “how deplorable” it would be, the preacher urged, if they died “without hope and without God.” After hearing the sermon, five-year-old Ellen went home weeping and told her mother that she had “but a little while to live, and that she feared she was not prepared for death.” Nor surprisingly, “in the course of a few days, little Ellen was indeed taken ill, and both she and her mother thought of what she had said on the day school closed. Every day she grew more and more unwell.” After her mother described Christ’s suffering on the cross to her, “his mangled hands, his wounded side, his bleeding temples, and his painful death, Ellen grew spiritually better but physically worse. Her death, however, was glorious, for she saw “the Saviour upon the Cross, wounded, bleeding, dying, to save her soul from death.”

In some children’s books, good health was an outward sign of inward corruption, while illness was a sign of virtue. Suffering less than usual from consumption, Lucy Cole thought she might get well and wrote penitently in her journal, “O that I may not get back into this wicked world and wound the cause of the blessed Redeemer.” If pietistic children survived childhood, authors often killed them before they became mature, and corrupt, adults. While a small child, saintly Edith Sullivan, an orphan, convinced two families to give up destructive alcoholic beverages. As she grew up, Edith inevitably became less saintly; Mrs. Phillips wrote, “Several years passed, years of peace and prosperity to the reformed families; then, just as the roses of early womanhood were brightest in her cheeks, and life seemed most desirable, Edith Sullivan bade all her earthly friends goodbye.” Despite Mrs. Phillip’s statement, life past childhood was not desirable. Dying before she was enslaved by the fleshly passions of womanhood, Edith was a virginal Christ-figure, beckoning young readers to heaven. Death was the ultimate mortification of the flesh, insuring perpetual innocence. Indicating inner virtue, ill health was a blessing. When she was six years old, Jane Evans received “a gracious dispensation.” She had an accident which caused her to lose the use of “her hand.” Her back was so injured “that she became quite deformed, attended with extreme delicacy of constitution and great
bodily suffering.” According to the author, however, this accident prevented her from associating with companions who would “corrupt and vitiate her mind.” As a result she passed the early part of life in habits of retirement and strict morality,” devoting her time “to prayer, meditation and study of the Scripture.” When she died, she, of course, went to heaven, while those enjoying “more constitutional health and vigor” ran the risk of damnation.17

Many arguments were used to show that early death was “a benevolent event.” In The Young Man’s Guide, William Alcott was unable to square business ethics with Christian morality. Consequently he dissociated “trading” from religion. In the first part of his conduct book, Alcott wrote as a shrewd Yankee, advising young men how to get the best of misers, “the covetous,” and “those ruled by their wives.” In the second part, Alcott was a serious Christian, urging young men to avoid such things as gaming, lotteries, and the theatre. In contrast, “a Christian mother” was able easily to resolve the differences between business success and religious success. Although a Christian Mother’s child might “be destitute of those talents” which would insure “distinction and applause” and be “humble and obscure” in “origin and rank,” he would be both a Christian and successful if he died young. Then he would have “an acknowledged union” with God and share “the Throne of universal empire.” In comparison to this success with such unlimited power and dominion, all other success was mean.18

What effects deathbed scenes in children’s literature had upon readers in nineteenth century New England must remain speculative. To the modern reader it seems unhealthy for a three year old to say ecstatically to his parents, “How I long to have my work done, that I may go home and live in heaven with God and Christ, and all the holy angels, and the spirits of the just made perfect.” The literary and emotional spirits of our age, however, differ from those of nineteenth century New England. According to the Guardian of Education, childhood was the best time for laying the “only true foundation of morals.” Moreover “under the direction of Religion,” much could “be done in education, by means of sympathy and sensibility.” In “Poem to the Western World,” Louis Simpson wrote: “In this America, this wilderness/Where the axe echoes with a lonely sound,/The generations labor to possess/And grave by grave we civilize the ground.” Perhaps deathbed scenes did make children, and their adult offspring, better. Grave by grave children’s books just may have civilized the ground. How many weeping readers, I wonder, became
abolitionists at the deathbed of Little Eva, Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Little Evangelist"?\textsuperscript{19}

NOTES

4. For a list of the books published by Thomas, see Charles Lemuel Nichols Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Writer & Collector (Boston, 1912), "Be Merry and Wise" is from the title of one of Newbery's books. The title reads: "Be Merry and Wise": Or, The Cream of the Jests and the Marrow of Maxims for the Conduct of Life: published for the Use of all little good Boys and Girls, by T. Trapway, Esq. Be Merry and Wise was probably first published in 1758.
5. Christian Observer, 4 (1805), 45. Many of the books containing deathbed scenes like those in A Token were purported to be true. Such truth as there was, however, was shaped, so much so that these biographies must be treated as fiction. The heroes and heroines of these biographies were, incidentally, the narrative ancestors of Dickens' Little Nell and Paul Dombey.
6. In The Young Man's Assistant, in Efforts at Self-Cultivation (Portland: S.H. Colesworthy, 1838), Jason Whitman declared, "Were I speaking to parents or guardians or teachers, I should say, childhood is to you the most important period in the lives of those placed under your care, because the formation of their characters is more under your control at that than at any other period in their lives" (p. 15). J.B. Syme, ed., The Mourner's Friend; or Sighs of Sympathy For Those who Sorrow (Worcester: S.A. Holland, 1852), p. 17. A Catechism of the Life of Christ, for the use of young children (Jaffrey, N.H.: Salmon Wilder, 1813), pp. 13-14. John Dodington, Youthful Religion Exemplified (Hardford: G. Goodwin, 1821), pp. 3, 6, 12-14.