

CHESTER HARDING, JAMES OTTO LEWIS,
AND "COL. DANIEL BOON.": A SEARCH FOR THE
TRUE IMAGE OF AMERICA'S FIRST FRONTIER HERO

Ted Franklin Belue

He was much astonished at seeing the likeness. He had a very large progeny; one granddaughter had eighteen children, all at home near the old man's cabin: they were even more astonished at the picture than the old man himself.¹

Chester Harding, 1866

No one has a very good idea of what Dantel Boone looked like. Aside from one painting by John James Audubon, which shows a mild-looking, elderly man with white hair sticking out all over, we have some drawings . . . that wander into fantasy land.²

John Ed Pearce, 1990

What did Daniel Boone look like? The purpose of this essay is to discuss the odd fate of Chester Harding's lost full-length painting of Boone and the creation of the Harding/James Otto Lewis Boone engraving—a rare print which suggests the authentic image of America's archetypal backwoodsman. As Pulitzer prize recipient and columnist John Ed Pearce observes, "heroic" images of Boone drift into fantasy. Audubon reportedly met him in 1810 in Kentucky when Boone was seventy-five years old. Ten

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1 Chester Harding, *A Sketch of Chester Harding, Artist*, edited by Margaret Elliot White and W. P. G. Harding (2nd ed.; New York: Da Capo Press, 1970; originally published in 1866), 28. Harding's autobiography appears in this work.

2 John Ed Pearce, *Courier-Journal Magazine*, 8 April 1990, pp. 20-21.

years after he died in 1820, he painted him from memory as a middle-aged man. Audubon described Boone as "gigantic."³

Hollywood did not help matters with *The Adventures of Dantel Boone*, televised between 1966 and 1970. Michael A. Lofaro, a Boone biographer, observes that the opening line of the show's theme—"Daniel Boone was a man!/Yes a big man . . ." was a bit of a stretch.⁴ Nathan Boone said his father was five feet eight inches tall and weighed one hundred and seventy-five pounds.⁵ Not exactly "tall as a mountain" as the lyrics went on to say.

Hollywood was not the first mythmaker to create Boone in its own image. Nor was it the last. In 1990 an artist produced a "computer enhanced" print touted to be a reconstruction of Boone as a young man "amid his natural surroundings."⁶ Again in 1991, in an advertisement commissioned by the Boone and Crockett Club of Missoula, Montana, the fraternity offered its members a "carefully researched . . . portrait of Daniel Boone." The Boone and Crockett Club's "Boone" is sporting a fringed buckskin outfit akin to a Rocky Mountain beaver trapper, circa 1840, complete with a stereotypical fur cap—just the sort of hairy *chapeau* that the real Boone did not wear.⁷ (Nathan Boone said his father despised fur caps and deemed them uncivilized.)

3 Maria R. Audubon, *Audubon and his Journals* (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; New York: Dover Publications, 1960; originally published in 1897), 2: 241. Whether or not Audubon met Boone after 1799 is debatable. His description and Boone portrait barely resemble the real man, so his writings may be apocryphal. Though details exist of Boone twice returning to Kentucky after his Missouri exodus in 1799, Nathan Boone told Draper that his father never again set foot in Kentucky because of the harsh treatment he had received in land deals. See Nathan Boone to Lyman C. Draper, c. 1851, Lyman C. Draper Collection: (hereafter DC), 6S 231.

4 Michael A. Lofaro, quoted in John Bakeless, *Dantel Boone: Master of the Wilderness* (3rd ed.; Lincoln: University Press of Nebraska, 1989; originally published in 1939), xli.

5 Nathan Boone to Draper, c. 1851, DC, 6S 281.

6 Advertisement, *MUZZLELOADER*, January/February 1991, p. 39.

7 Bob Kuhn. Advertisement. The Boone and Crockett Club, May 1991. The advertisement also hawked a typically iconographic painting of Tennessee bearhunter and Alamo martyr, David Crockett.

This sort of harmless folderol and mythic image-making went on even in Boone's day, prompting the famous frontiersman to remark in 1818:

Many heroic exploits and chivalrous adventures are related to me which exist only in the regions of fancy. With me the world has taken great liberties, and yet I have been but a common man. It is true that I have suffered many hardships and miraculously escaped many perils, but others of my companions have experienced the same.⁸

In 1989 Clifford Amyx compiled the yet unpublished compendium, "The Image of Daniel Boone," held in the archives of the National Portrait Gallery at the Smithsonian Institution.⁹ Most of the one hundred or so representative illustrations Amyx cites are heroic thrillers having little or nothing to do with the image of the real frontiersman. Yet to conclude that history has left no true record of Boone's image is to ignore the artistry of Chester Harding (1792-1866).

In June 1820 Harding traveled up the Missouri River to Marthasville, Missouri, in the valley of the Femme Osage to paint Boone's portrait.¹⁰ There has been much speculation about who sent Harding to find Boone. Was it William Clark, famed coleader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, then Indian Agent and Governor of the Missouri Territory? Harding wrote in his autobiography, *My Egottsttigraphy*, that Clark helped him secure a studio in St. Louis and then "offered himself as a sitter."¹¹ William, the younger brother of George Rogers Clark, knew Boone well.

8 *Detroit Gazette*, 4 July 1823, "From the New York Statesman: A Visit to Colonel Boon [sic]," DC, 6S 338.

9 Clifford Amyx, personal correspondence, 4 December 1990; Amyx, "The Image of Daniel Boone: The Portraits and the History of Boone," National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1989. My thanks to Prof. Amyx for permission to use his work.

10 Draper, n.d., DC, 6S 277; see Roy T. King, "Portraits of Dantel Boone," *Missouri Historical Review* 33 (1939): 171-83.

11 Harding, *Sketch*, 26.

Business instinct probably prompted Harding's decision. John Filson's *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucke* (1784) contained Boone's ghostwritten "autobiography," *The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone*; an edited version by John Trumbull was republished thirteen times by 1824. Both books went a long way toward making Boone famous. It would be reasonable to think that paintings of him would sell. Harding recalled: "I cannot recollect the names of but one of the gentlemen who sent me in pursuit of the old hero. . . . His name was Graham (Major Graham)."¹²

William S. Bryan, author of *Pioneer Families of Missouri*, notes that, "Harding . . . came to Missouri in 1820, at the request of Revs. James E. Welch and John M. Peck, expressly to paint the picture."¹³ Welch and Peck were Baptist preachers who admired Boone. In his biography, *Life of Boone, The Pioneer of Kentucky*, Peck admitted that he was so moved during his first visit with Boone in 1818 that he could hardly take notes.¹⁴ Sensing Boone's place in history, Peck and Welch may have hired Harding to paint his likeness.

Boone at first was "very much opposed" to the notion, "being governed by feelings of modesty and a strong dislike to do anything approaching display or public attention."¹⁵ But at the insistence of his friends and family, he agreed to sit, and Harding produced "an oil study and perhaps a pencil sketch."¹⁶ Harding's recollection of his visit with Boone, then living with his son-in-law Flanders Callaway and his daughter Jemima, is a well-known part of Boone lore:¹⁷

12 Chester Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C 53(1).

13 William S. Bryan and Robert Rose, *A History of the Pioneer Families of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1876), 2.

14 John Mason Peck, *Life of Daniel Boone, the Pioneer of Kentucky* (Boston, 1847), 187.

15 Bryan and Rose, *History of Pioneer Families*, 2.

16 Leah Lipton, "New Discoveries in American Art," *American Art Journal* 16 (1984): 90-91.

17 Flanders Callaway built his two-story log house in 1811 in the Missouri River bottoms south of Marthasville. Rebecca Boone died there in 1813, and Daniel buried her nearby in a plot at Tuque Creek. Daniel lived at or near Callaway's cabin from 1813 to 1820. The cabin now rests in the Femme Osage on land owned by the estate of the

I found the object of my search engaged in cooking his dinner. He was lying in his bunk, near the fire, and had a long strip of venison wound around his ramrod, and was busy turning it before a brisk blaze, and using salt and pepper to season his meat. I at once told him the object of my visit. I found that he hardly knew what I meant. I explained the matter to him and he agreed to sit. He was ninety [eighty-five] years old, and rather infirm; his memory of passing events was much impaired, yet he would amuse me everyday by his anecdotes of his earlier life. I asked him one day, just after his description of one of his long hunts, if he ever got lost, having no compass. "No," he said, "I can't say as ever I was lost, but I was *bewildered* once for three days."¹⁸

In 1861, in answering the queries of Lyman C. Draper, Harding elaborated, "Boone would relate anecdotes of his early life with the utmost exactness, yet he had forgotten on Tuesday that he had been sitting for his portrait on Monday. He was simple in his life. He took little interest in passing events."¹⁹ The artist told the historian of the hunter's reaction to a well-publicized tale of his death in 1818: "I alluded to the story, you recollect that was published of his death—where he was found [dead] with his old rifle pointed at a deer. He said it was all a lie—no truth in it."²⁰

From Marthasville the artist traveled the Missouri River sixty miles to Franklin where he set up a studio to work on the Boone portraits with a nine-year-old helper, George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879).²¹ Though his fame as an artist would eventually surpass Harding's, Bingham acknowledged Harding as an early mentor.

I . . . daily assisted in Harding's studio, and the wonder and delight with which his works filled my mind impressed them indelibly upon my then unburthened memory. . . . Harding had visited him [Boone] . . . and made a pencil drawing and perhaps a study in oil from life,

late Dr. Robert Thomasson. My thanks to historian Ken Kamper of Hazelwood, Missouri, for this data.

18 Harding, *Sketch*, 27-28.

19 Harding to Draper, 20 August 1861, DC, 16C 52(2).

20 *Ibid.*, 16C 52(3).

21 Lipton, "New Discoveries," 91.

but the portrait was completed in his temporary studio in Franklin, and its completion witnessed by myself.²²

From his "oil study" of Boone, Harding said, he finished three paintings—"I copied the head—I think at three different times."²³ Two of the paintings Harding rendered as half-lengths. But in one he painted Boone standing, leaning on his rifle, with a dog at his feet. Because of its size he painted the full-length on a table-sized oilcloth. His "pencil sketch" has disappeared.²⁴

In 1820 or 1821, Harding left the full-length painting in Frankfort, Kentucky, hoping to sell it to the state for \$200.²⁵ For the next two decades it hung in the capitol. But the state became enamored with a dark, idealized Boone reconstruction painted in 1839 by William C. Allen of Harrodsburg. Influenced by John G. Chapman's romanticized 1832 painting, *Boone in the Costume of a Western Hunter*, Allen's painting, like Chapman's, had little to do with the real woodsman.²⁶ Yet on 20 February 1840, the legislature appropriated \$250 "to W. C. Allen for the portrait of Daniel Boone presented to the State."²⁷

22 George Caleb Bingham to J. Colvin Randall, 25 December 1872, quoted in Lipton, "New Discoveries," 90-91. As a youth, Bingham painted a hotel sign depicting a full-length Boone image. In 1852 he painted his famous work, *Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers Through the Cumberland Gap*, which shows strong Harding influence. See J. Gray Sweeney, *The Columbus of the Woods: Daniel Boone and the Typology of Manifest Destiny* (St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art, 1992), 41-51.

23 Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C:53(2).

24 *Ibid.*, DC, 16C 53(1-3); see also Leah Lipton, *A Truthful Likeness: Chester Harding and His Portraits* (Washington: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1985), 55-56.

25 Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C 53(1).

26 Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Daniel Boone* (2nd ed.; Williamstown, Massachusetts: Corner House, 1977; originally published in 1902), 238; Amyx, "Image of Daniel Boone," 159-61.

27 King, "Portraits of Daniel Boone," 180. Bison Books reproduced Allen's painting on the cover of the third edition of Bakeless's *Daniel Boone*. Harding's original was rolled up and stored in the garret of the State House. Exposed to sun, heat, cold, damp, and gnawed by mice, the painting deteriorated within twenty years. See Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C 53(1-3).

Harding's last attempt to sell the state his full-length was on 10 February 1848 in an anonymous letter to the *Frankfort Daily Commonwealth*:

Mr. Editor: Are the members of the legislature aware that the portrait of Daniel Boone—pioneer of Kentucky—which is now in the Governor's office is about to be removed from the state by Mr. Harding, the painter of it? This is the only painting of the old hunter ever taken from life, and Kentucky should never permit it to go. \$200 will keep it. If the legislature will not vote the money to buy it, will not each member subscribe \$1 towards the object? The balance could be easily raised. Mr. Harding has been offered \$500 for this portrait by a historical society of Boston—but having once offered it to Kentucky for \$200 he still gives her a chance to keep it.²⁸

Kentuckians ignored his plea. Harding returned to Frankfort in 1860 to retrieve his painting. The artist expressed dismay when he unrolled it because it "had been banged about until the greater part of the canvas on which it had been painted was broken to pieces."²⁹ Returning to Massachusetts with the damaged portrait, he began restoring it. Aside from cracks in the varnish, Boone's face was intact, so he commissioned "a skillful artist" to help with the process. Harding cut the head from the rotting cloth and pasted it on a new canvas. Then, under Harding's eye, the unknown female artist he hired brushed in a new bust, drapery, and background, creating a unique hybrid—a Boone half-length composite portrait.³⁰

Draper expressed interest in Harding's restored painting. On 6 October 1861, Harding wrote Draper, telling him that he would "sell the picture for \$200 and if you feel disposed to buy it at that price, I will send it to you by express, and you may, after examining it, decide

28 Quoted in Leah Lipton, "Chester Harding and the Life Portrait of Daniel Boone," *American Art Journal* 16 (1984): 13.

29 Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C 53(1).

30 *Ibid.*, DC, 16C 53(2). A photograph of the composite by Louisville photographer William Strode appears in Elizabeth A. Molze, "Daniel Boone: First Hero of the Frontier," *National Geographic*, December 1985, p. 813.



"COL. DANIEL BOON."

In June 1820 Chester Harding painted a bust of Boone from life and made three copies, one being a full-length. That October, Harding collaborated with engraver James O. Lewis to release this stipple engraving—sold as a hand-watercolored limited-edition—two weeks after Boone's death on 26 September 1820. In 1851 Harding destroyed his full-length painting, saving only the head. This rare engraving suggests Boone's true image and how Harding's original oil may have appeared.

Courtesy of the Missouri Historical Society, Neg. POR-B-11D (CT).



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whether to take it or not. . . ."³¹ But after haggling over the price, Draper did not buy the portrait.

Harding discarded his mutilated full-length oilcloth and gave the composite painting to John Lord King, the husband of his oldest daughter, Caroline.³² Historians may shudder at Harding's destruction of his full-length Boone, yet as an artist he had the right to define his own work.³³ But, happily, there is an odd sequel to this tale, one that Harding never mentioned.

In the fall of 1820, James Otto Lewis—then an actor in a traveling theater, Samuel Drake's "Kentucky Company"—carved himself a unique, historically important niche when he engraved Harding's full-length portrait of Boone. Noah M. Ludlow, an actor and friend who helped Lewis in the task, described Lewis as "a jolly, devil-may-care, but good-hearted fellow, always willing to serve a friend as far as he was able."³⁴ Ludlow recalled that Lewis had met "a clever artist" (Harding) in St. Louis and received permission to engrave the likeness of the Boone full-length. To help the unemployed Ludlow, Lewis suggested he learn how to gild the frames in which the engraved portraits were to be mounted. Lewis would provide the pictures; Ludlow would do the framing, and both would split the profits.

31 Harding to Draper, 6 October 1861, DC, 16C 53(3).

32 Lipton, "Harding," 4-19; Lipton, personal correspondence, 30 May 1991; Lipton, interview, April 1991; see P. S. H., "Frontiersman Daniel Boone, by Chester Harding," *The J. B. Speed Art Museum Bulletin*, 29 (1958): 1-7. Harding's "oil study" of Boone is at the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston; a second Boone bust by Harding is at the J. B. Art Speed Museum, in Louisville; the most refined bust is in the Herbert L. Pratt Collection, in Glen Cove, Long Island; the composite Boone is owned by a Harding descendant living in San Francisco. Four or five other Boone portraits credited to Harding, Lipton theorizes, are "copies of the Harding originals by several other hands. None has a firm provenance back to Harding, and none is stylistically convincing as his work. They are all contemporary copies, however, dating to the period of the original." Lipton, "Harding," 18-19.

33 Amyx, "Image of Daniel Boone," 162

34 Noah M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life As I Found It* (2nd ed.; St. Louis: Benjamin Blom, 1966; originally published in 1880), 193-94.

A carpenter tacked together one hundred and fifty frames, and Ludlow got an "encyclopedia of the arts" to learn how to gild them. After a few attempts, he succeeded in producing "a tolerably fair piece of work." Harding assisted Ludlow, and the actor found Harding "a very pleasant and kind-hearted man." Harding's full-length, Ludlow said, "was pronounced an admirable likeness by all who knew the brave pioneer . . . probably the truest likeness of Daniel Boone, the pioneer of the West, that can be found."³⁵

Lewis engraved the portrait on a copper-plate.³⁶ Advertisements for orders appeared in the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette*, the *St. Louis Public Advertiser*, and the *St. Louis Enquirer* in September and October 1820, and in the *St. Louis Missouri Republican* until 3 January 1821.³⁷ On 11 October 1820, two weeks after the death of Boone on 26 September, the *St. Louis Missouri Gazette* published their first notice:

PROPOSALS
BY
HARDING AND LEWIS
For Publishing by Subscription, an
Engraving of the venerable

Col. DANIEL BOONE

It is perhaps unnecessary for the Publishers to advance anything for the purpose of enhancing the value of a work that must be duly appreciated by every American . . . To transmit to the posterity of a country, the actions and features of those who fought and bled in her cause, is a duty too sacred and useful to neglect. While the memory of the heroic deeds of the early adventurers is passing away, this work will be the means of rescuing from oblivion the features of ONE who took the most active part in sustaining the early settlements of the Western Country; whose fortitude and patriotism is so well worthy of imitation and calculated to call forth the finest feelings of the heart.

CONDITIONS

35 *Ibid.*, 194.

36 *Ibid.*, 195.

37 Lipton, *Truthful Likeness*, 57.

The size of the print will be 15 inches by 10, engraved full-length from a characteristic and correct painting, and printed on paper of the first quality. The price to subscribers will be \$3 payable on delivery. Subscriptions will be received by

JAMES O. LEWIS
Engraver S. Louis³⁸

Eventually the Boone prints sold out. Lewis left for the Great Lakes on three treaty-making trips, painting Indians for Andrew Jackson's future secretary of war, Lewis Cass.³⁹ But he received only \$609 and little recognition for the nearly two hundred and fifty portraits of "celebrated Indian chiefs and warriors" he painted between 1825 and 1827. In 1835 he marketed seventy-two lithographs of his watercolors in *The Aborigntal Port-Folio*, a paperbound work intended to preempt publication of Thomas McKenney and James Hall's three-volume classic, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America*, richly illustrated by Charles Bird King.⁴⁰

Michigan Indian agent Henry Schoolcraft saw merit in Lewis's paintings: "Few artists have had his means of observation of the aboriginal man, in the great panorama of the West, where [Lewis] has carried his easel. We should cherish all such efforts."⁴¹ King based more than one-third of his paintings done for McKenney's War Department Gallery in Washington, D.C., on Lewis's drawings done during his trips with Cass. But art aficionados received *The Aborigntal Port-Folio* with harsh words. It was "unfortunate," one critic chided, "that James Otto Lewis did not devote more time to writing, particularly when we consider the art work he

38 "Advertisements in The Pioneer Press," *Missouri Historical Review* 26 (1932): 395.

39 Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), 55.

40 *Ibid.*, 55, 76.

41 *Ibid.*, 76, 79, 118. Volume one of *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* was first published in 1836. The firm of Daniel Rice and James G. Clark published the work from the 1840s to the 1860s.

accomplished."⁴² Lewis died embittered in 1857, his work eclipsed by that of King and George Catlin.

Noah Ludlow continued as an actor. In 1822 he popularized the ballad, "The Hunters of Kentucky," which made the term "Kentucky Rifle" an enduring part of Americana. For the performance of the song, Ludlow approximated Boone's outfit depicted in Harding's full-length, donning a "buckskin hunting-shirt and leggings, which I borrowed off a river man . . . with moccasins on my feet . . . and a rifle on my shoulder." The dramatist was unable to duplicate Boone's high-crowned hunting hat, settling instead for "an old slouched hat on my head."⁴³

For well over a century, the Harding/Lewis Boone engravings were lost to history. But in 1943, art historian Charles Van Ravenswaay discovered a hand-tinted version of one of these rare curios stored at the Missouri Historical Society. There is another copy at the St. Louis Art Museum.⁴⁴

What does the engraving reveal? J. Gray Sweeney interprets the work metaphorically. Boone's knife, contends Sweeney, symbolizes that he "is the offspring of the American wilderness" but willing to exploit it; Boone's rifle "is a master symbol. . . . because of [the long rifle's] part in the conquest of Kentucky"; Boone's dog—"alert . . . on guard"—symbolizes the importance of dogs to westering pioneers; the ax-hewn log under the broken limb is a symbol too, Sweeney declares, "reinforcing the idea that where Boone goes nature must yield."⁴⁵

A more literal eye will observe that Boone is cloaked in a caped and pleated high-collar leather hunting coat, without the otter-fur border shown in two of Harding's three copies.⁴⁶ His hat is typical of

42 Amyx, "Image of Daniel Boone," 163.

43 For the lyrics of the ballad "The Hunters of Kentucky," see Elliot Wigginton, ed., *Foxfire 5* (New York: Anchor Press, 1979), 211-12.

44 Charles Van Ravenswaay, "A Rare Midwestern Print," *Antiques* 43 (1943): 77; Amyx, "Image of Daniel Boone," 157.

45 Sweeney, *Columbus of the Woods*, 16-17.

46 Amyx, "Image of Daniel Boone," 163. William S. Bryan notes that Boone wore a "buckskin hunting shirt trimmed with otter's fur" when he sat for Harding. Whether

tall hunting hats which were introduced by 1803.⁴⁷ The moccasins appear to be of center-seam pucker toe construction. Under Boone's right arm may be a powder flask. The knife is nondescript—not at all like the antler-handled hunting knife Boone reputedly owned.⁴⁸ Boone's build is reminiscent of James E. Welch's description of him in 1818: "He was rather low of stature, broad shouldered, [with] high cheek bones, very mild countenance [and] fair complexion."⁴⁹

The engraving suggests a true likeness of Boone. But Boone—Harding called him "feeble"—reportedly did not stand for his picture. While Harding worked, Boone sat for three days, enduring the tedious hours "supported in his chair by Rev.[James E.] Welch." On 16 May 1876, Welch attested: "I stood by and held the Colonel's head while the artist was painting it, and my impressions at the time were, that it was an excellent likeness of the old pioneer."⁵⁰

Boone may have been ill during these sessions. Nathan Boone told Lyman Draper that his father "was sick off and on" the summer of 1820.⁵¹ But Boone, who in 1817 retired from hunting, was no invalid. His last days were spent taking his grandchildren and great-grandchildren on wagon rides and riding horses when he felt up to it. In 1891 Eviza Coshow, Boone's great-granddaughter, said: "He would pick cotton and rock the cradle and sing . . . to his great-grandchildren."⁵² Even on the night of 25 September 1820, as death neared and he called for his black-walnut coffin to be placed by his bed, old Boone was strong enough to sit up and get out of bed and walk over to his casket to thump it a few times with his cane and inspect it for worm holes. He died at dawn.⁵³

this is accurate or not is unclear. See Bryan and Rose, *History of Pioneer Families*, 3.

47 R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode of Hats and Headdress* (New York, 1948), 197.

48 Bryan and Rose, *History of Pioneer Families*, 3.

49 *Ibid.*; James E. Welch, c. 1818, DC, 16C 47-47(1).

50 Bryan and Rose, *History of Pioneer Families*, 3.

51 *Ibid.*; Draper, n.d., DC, 6S 277.

52 Eviza Coshow to Draper, 11 May 1891, DC, 21C 63ff; for Eviza Coshow, see Lillian Hays Oliver, *Some Boone Descendants and Kindred of the St. Charles District* (Rancho Cordova, CA: Dean Publications, 1984), 96, 97, 138, 149, 344, 349.

53 Stephen Hempstead to Draper, 23 December 1862, DC, 16C 75(0-3).

While sitting for his portrait that June in 1820, did Boone, worn from hours of trying to sit motionless for three days, gather his energies and stand, propping himself up with his rifle as Harding hastily sketched his form, maybe in pencil, which was lost? Perhaps. Welch supported Boone sitting. He could have supported him standing.

Noah Ludlow called the Harding/Lewis engraving "a tolerably good copy of the painted likeness." Whether Boone's attire reflects what he wore or is Harding's interpretation is unclear. Yet that Harding desired to portray "a truthful likeness" suggests that it is how Boone looked. John Francis McDermott contends that engravers were expected to fix the artist's image faithfully; details might be omitted but not added.⁵⁴ Regardless, Boone biographer John Mack Faragher contends that the Harding/Lewis engraving and Ludlow's backwoodsmen's dress that he wore during his theatrical performance of "The Hunters of Kentucky" had a "reverberating influence" in helping to shape the Leatherstocking image of the American frontiersman.⁵⁵

Since Harding destroyed his Boone full-length, the engraving and the composite portrait are only clues in reconstructing the original likeness. Charles Van Ravenswaay contends that the loss of the full-length, coupled with Boone's mythic stature, makes the Harding/Lewis engraving—"the earliest known print made west of the Mississippi River" and the only surviving contemporary full-length portrait of Boone—one of the rarest and most significant works of art of the American frontier.⁵⁶

54 See John Francis McDermott, "How Goes the Harding Fever?," *Missouri Historical Society Bulletin* 8 (1951): 53-59.

55 John Mack Faragher, *Daniel Boone: The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992), 334-35; compare with Ludlow, *Dramatic Life*, 237-38.

56 Ludlow, *Dramatic Life*, 195; Ravenswaay, "Rare Midwestern Print," 93.