James Daugherty's *Daniel Boone*: A Boon for Children?

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For Tora (1991-2009), with love and gratitude

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1. The Boone Boom

Daniel Boone (1734-1820) was an eighteenth-century frontiersman of the colonies and young United States of America. He is known for blazing the Wilderness Road west from Virginia through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky, for inspiring hundreds of thousands of settlers to follow his trails "in the first great westward migration" [Hunt 722]), and for fighting Indians, becoming in the process the "uncrowned king" of the pioneers (Axelrod 114). Boone became a living legend when John Filson interviewed him and published in 1784 the *Life and Adventures of Colonel Daniel Boon* purporting to be his autobiography and embellishing his Kentucky exploits (Faragher 336). The "autobiography" soon became popular, making Boone famous in the United States and Europe as the prototypical American frontier hero (Faragher 4-7). Ever since Filson's book was published, Boone has held a special place in America's idealized history as the quintessential American man: rugged, brave, honest, resourceful, independent, Christian, righteously violent, at home in nature and uneasy in cities, and ever looking west for new challenges. According to Richard Slotkin, "It was the figure of Daniel Boone, the solitary, Indian-like hunter of the deep woods, that became the most significant, most emotionally compelling myth-hero of the early republic" (21). And as Annette Kolodny asserts, "The figure who most enduringly embodies the myth of America's westward expansion is Daniel Boone" (28). His name graces national parks, high schools, and counties. He dominates numerous paintings, like George Caleb Bingham's *Daniel Boone Escorting Settlers Through the Cumberland Gap* (1851-52), movies, like *Daniel Boone, Trail Blazer* (1956), books (a September 7, 2009 Amazon.com search for "Daniel Boone" returned 11,295 hits), and websites, like that of The Boone Society. Boone even appears in Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1822) as "the child of nature," "the happiest of mortals," because he was living in "wilds of deepest maze" (332-33), and James Fenimore Cooper modeled Natty Bumppo, the hero of his Leather-stocking novels like *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), on Boone (Morgan 447). A September 19, 2009 search for "Daniel Boone" in Google Images produced 1,080,000 results, including drawings, comic books, TV stills, and even photographs of boys dressing up like Boone.

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Not surprisingly, Boone has also appeared in many books for children, like *Daniel Boone: Young Hunter and Tracker* (1943) by Augusta Stevenson, *Who Was Daniel Boone?* (2006) by Sydelle Kramer, and *Daniel Boone's Great Escape* (2008) by Michael P. Spradlin. In this paper I would like to focus on the only Newbery Medal winning book on Boone, *Daniel Boone* (1939), written and illustrated by James Daugherty. The Newbery Medal, the first and "best known and most discussed children's book award" in the United States, has been given since 1922 by the Association for Library Service to Children (ALSC) "to the author of the most distinguished contribution to American literature for children published in the United States during the preceding year" (ALSC 3-4). Winning the Newbery Medal is prestigious and assures that librarians and parents will introduce the book to children; of the eighty-seven Newbery winning books, all but four are still in print. Interestingly, whereas others of Daugherty's books remain in print, *Daniel Boone* is one of the four out of print Medalists. One possible reason is that it may seem to be a racist hagiography casting the generic Indian "savage" as the antagonist of American frontier hero Boone as he leads America towards its date with Manifest Destiny. But the book is more complex than that. In this paper I will analyze *Daniel Boone*, comparing it with adult biographies of the American icon, so as to answer the following questions. Why did *Daniel Boone* win the Newbery Medal and why did it go out of print? What does Daugherty foreground and background from the historical record of Daniel Boone? What do his choices reveal about his agenda, about the era in which the book was published (the end of the Great Depression and the beginning of World War II), and about America's image of itself, Daniel Boone, Native Americans, and the needs of the child reader?

James Daugherty (1889-1974) was an American artist whose paintings hang in the Museum of Modern Art, the Whitney, and the Smithsonian. For the Works Project Administration (WPA) in the 1920s and 1930s during the Great Depression, he painted murals featuring monumental human figures and American themes like striking workers and Revolutionary War heroes. Kathleen Long Bostrom explains that "Daugherty became known for his beautiful murals, which were highly regarded for their quality," but which were also occasionally controversial for their "garish" colors or "offensive" subject matter (61). In 2006 when one of his murals in a school in Connecticut was sent away for renovation, some parents tried to block its return because of its sensational scenes of Israel Putnam fighting Indians and almost being burnt at the stake by them (Stowe). Daugherty's art is dynamic, and its sinuous, muscular human bodies, densely packed compositions, and positive and provocative quality all seem oddly appealing and very American. After his mural period, Daugherty turned to children's literature, writing and illustrating books of fiction, poetry, history, and biography, as well as editing and illustrating books of Biblical and frontier tales and work by Thoreau, Emerson, and Whitman (Pendergast 298-99). Painting murals and making children's books "imply ... saying something to an audience that shall be both articulate and meaningful. This is precisely what Daugherty does, and his work in each form gains sustenance from his experience in the other" (Bostrom 61). Examples of books that he wrote and illustrated in addition to *Daniel Boone* are *Andy and the Lion*

(1938), a playful adaptation of "Androcles and the Lion," and *Poor Richard* (1941), an engaging and informative biography of Benjamin Franklin. In all of his work Daugherty was "inspired by the writings of Walt Whitman and by Whitman's vision of America" (Bostrom 61). In his work for children he depicts independent Americans who live positively for freedom and democracy, and his "mastery of language and humor, his appeal to the senses, his celebration of life, understanding of mankind, and his love of all things fill each book" (Pendergast 300). In his Newbery Medal acceptance speech, Daugherty said, "Somewhere between sappiness and sourness children's books can go along courageously and frankly and gaily with the forward-marching masses of young people to tackle with imagination and good cheer the tough problems they may have ahead" (Bostrom 61).

2. Wilderness Boone

Even before his biography proper begins, Daugherty depicts "forward-marching masses of young people" in "Pioneer Babies," a poem celebrating the youthful vigor of frontier pioneer culture and by extension of Boone and America. The poem is almost repulsive, with its "Torrents of fat naked babies overflow[ing] from bulging cradles" and "waddl[ing] West as soon as they could stagger," greedily grabbing at the setting sun as if it were a piece of pumpkin pie, bullying wild animals, "raft[ing]" West down rivers "in their cradles," settling into "fat bottom lands" where they "grow up tall and lean and towheaded" like their "greenwaving tasseled Indian corn," all enfevered by Daugherty's enthusiastic consonance (e.g., "tackled tall turkey," "rolled in rapture down the Rappahannock"). The only Native American presence is in the "Indian corn" grown by the babies, as if the

West is their exclusive farm-playground. And yet there is also something appealing about Daugherty's tall-tale conceit and expansive Whitmanesque lines. In the accompanying illustration fourteen babies amusingly spiral westward, performing some of the activities mentioned in the poem (e.g., "pull[ing] the panthers by their tails"), as well as new ones (e.g., playing a fiddle). Because the first twelve babies wear diapers while the last two, who are planting corn, wear farmer's overalls, the illustration complements the suggestion of the poem that growing up involves settling down and farming. Interestingly, as we shall see, Daugherty's Boone does not exactly adhere to the movement of the poem and picture from immature exploring to more mature farming.

Daugherty's story of Boone's life begins with his birth to Quaker parents living on the Pennsylvania frontier. Young Boone learns the male frontier skills of swinging an ax, plowing, and firing a rifle in a beautiful and sensual pastoral setting of changing seasons.

> He watched the little corn blades thrust up, grow tall, and wave great arching green banners and tasseled plumes to the fierce sun, until the long full ears turned hard and yellow as gold. Then the reaping and mowing and gathering into barns with the sharp frosty nights turning the oak and maples into red and yellow glory. The hickory, walnut, and butternut trees rained down meaty plunder on frolicsome young gatherers. After that there was time for hunting in the leaf-bare woods and jollifications and feasting when the hunters brought in a fat turkey, deer, or b'ar. (12)

Boone's Quaker family reads daily out of the Bible, "striving to walk with a wise and gentle God in love and truth" (14). As young Boone is growing "with his toes in the good black dirt ... strong and sure-handed with tools and guns, and his head as clear and cool as the hillside spring above his cabin home" (14), his family decides to move south and west to the greater "elbow room" of North Carolina (14). There, "like the stories in the Bible ... of the wanderings of God's chosen people and of Abraham in the land of Canaan," the Boone patriarch claims "an ample slice of this earthly paradise" for the family home, a place of rich nature and "Friendly Indians" who occasionally visit for trade before conveniently departing "into the unknown forest world" (15). Indeed, although boys in that time and place learned "The quick and deadly manual of loading, sighting, and firing a rifle" because "The lives of every one of them might depend on it in those perilous moments that came so suddenly in the violent life of the border" (12), apart from hunting "Bear, buffalo, deer, and all the rest of four-footed America" (15), Boone's youth is peaceful. In that "earthly paradise," he enters "the kingdom of man in a world almost as new as Genesis" (15).

Given the Boones' Christian orientation, it is remarkable that Daugherty does not explain how the pacifist Pennsylvania Quakers produced a Boone who will wage war against the French, Indians, and British. According to adult biographies of Boone, the Quaker factor was integral to Boone's life. In *Boone: A Biography* (2008) Robert Morgan tells of young Boone's sister marrying a non-Quaker, which required his father Squire Boone to make a humiliating public confession of guilt. When Boone's brother also married a non-Quaker and Squire Boone "refused to submit to public humiliation and confess his fault," the Quaker investigating committee excommunicated him (Morgan 26). Meredith Baxter Brown says in *Frontiersman: Daniel Boone and the Making of America* (2008) that the Quakers in that time and place "condemned 'mongrel marriages,'" but that his father wanted his children to marry for love (6). Morgan suggests that the unpleasant feeling between Boone senior and his fellow "Friends" led the family to move to North Carolina at least as much as the need for "elbow room" cited by Daugherty. The episode influenced Boone, for "Though he showed a reverent spirit, treated others with respect and kindness, demonstrated an inner calm, and developed the habit of daily Bible reading, he never belonged to any church nor ever confessed to any established creed" (Morgan 27). As Brown says, however, before the excommunication the Quakers "would have taught Boone to think of Indians not as devils incarnate but, rather, as children of God" (5). By avoiding complex topics like the Boone family's relationship with the Quaker community, Daugherty deprives his readers of moving human drama and of historical details that shaped Boone's life.

Another important aspect of Boone's life that Daugherty stints is his role as a husband and father. For Morgan,

> The meeting of Rebecca Bryan and Daniel Boone is the beginning of one of the great romantic tales of the frontier and eighteenth-century America. Celebrated in film and television, folklore and history, Rebecca has been portrayed as the ideal wife, patient, resourceful, a great beauty, a crack shot with a rifle, moving again and again with Daniel and their family. (48-49)

Morgan recounts romantic frontier tales of young Boone and Bryan, like the apocryphal fire-hunt incident, in which Boone was out hunting deer at night with a flaming torch to attract them while Bryan was looking for a strayed cow, and when he happened to see her eyes flashing, due to some instinct refrained from shooting her, and after realizing the truth wanted to marry her (49-50), and the more likely cherry-picking excursion, in which the couple were talking alone when, to gauge Bryan's reaction, Boone cut her fine apron in three places with his knife, and when she did not flinch decided to marry her (50-51). But Daugherty spends only a single paragraph on Boone's courting, marrying, farm-making, and family-raising with Bryan. He says only that Boone returned to his family's farm, "up and married his Irish sweetheart," mentions the "house-raising" and the "hilarious shindig with the Carolina fiddles shaking down the moon," and then in a single sentence summarizes years of life together: "The young Boones moved in, happy and hard-working, and in a few years had a going farm and two fine boys, all busy with crops and cattle and snake fences" (21). It is as if Daugherty believed that Boone's courting and married life would bore his boy readers.

While other biographers credit Boone's wife with bearing six boys and four girls (Faragher 47), Daugherty never says how many children she has and only shows Boone interacting with them briefly without dialogue three times. He tells his "wide-eyed boys" about his adventures fighting Indians in Tennessee (24), takes his nine-year-old son hunting to "teach him the secret ways of the deep woods" (26), and towards the end of his life imagines telling stories of his adventures to his grandchildren before the fire (93-94). Of the forty-four illustrations in the book, only four depict Boone with Bryan and or their children: in one a couple, perhaps Boone and Bryan, dances at their wedding, in one the couple hear that Indians are on the warpath, in one Boone's wife and two of his daughters make sure he is dressed properly to represent Kentucky at the Virginia Assembly, and in one Boone, Bryan, and two of their sons sit at the dinner table while a friend of Boone's regales them with tales of the "settler's and hunter's paradise" in Kentucky (28). The four male figures are seated excitedly at the table, Boone looking at his seductive friend, not at his sons or despondent wife. She tries and fails to persuade her husband not to explore Kentucky: "It will be a hard long time for me, Daniel Boone, not knowing if your bones are rotting in the black woods in the winter night with the snow piled high and your empty chair every night by the fire" (28).

The wilderness is more compelling to Daugherty's Boone than his family, and soon he leaves for Kentucky. At one point during his two years there exploring, hunting, and avoiding Indians, "a terrible loneliness [comes] over him—a longing for home, Rebecca and the children, friends, and the sound of human voices" (34), but the longing is immediately eclipsed: "A new sense of freedom and power possessed him as he ranged over the long hills and followed shrewdly the secret waterways. He was the only freeman in all the western world, like Man himself in the Beginning of Things," before, that is, families were created (34). Alone in the Kentucky paradise, Boone is more free, happy, and in his element than at any other time in the book. When after the two years he is returning to his family, "voices out of the sunset [begin] calling: 'Come back soon, come back to Kentucky, Daniel Boone'" (36). At Boone's homecoming Bryan affirms her love for him: "Any other woman would have taken a man twice over but me, with the aching love for you in my heart and never closing my eyes of a winter's night without a tear and a prayer that the good Lord would be sending his angels to keep watch and ward over you day and night in the cold and the rain" (36-37). Boone utters no thank you or loving word to her and "patiently" works on their farm, as if such work requires his patience while wilderness adventuring commands his love (37). John Mack Faragher's *Daniel Boone* (1992) depicts the reunion differently, Bryan presenting Boone with a new baby, probably fathered by his brother, explaining that they had thought he was dead and that if he had come home earlier, the baby would have been his, and Boone replying, "So much the better, it's all in the family" (58). This is another example of Daugherty avoiding "adult" parts of Boone's life to protect his child reader's sensibilities or to maintain his ideal image of Boone.

As Daugherty plays down Boone's role as a husband and father, so he downplays his career as a businessman. Were Daugherty to show Boone to be deeply involved in business, which the historical Boone often was, he would complicate his frontier icon's image with civilized materialism and irritate his Great Depression-era negative view of big business. And were Daugherty to depict Boone buying and selling slaves, which the historical Boone did, he would tarnish his freedom icon's image. Disgusted by the State of Virginia giving Boone nothing and Richard Henderson, the owner of the Transylvania Company, 200,000 acres of land for opening up Kentucky (45), Daugherty writes a paragraph contrasting the different Americas of the eastern colonies and western frontier: "One [the East] was to be a nation of money-counters and machines, the other a barefooted rail-splitting, haranguing, horse-racing democracy of lean mule-drivers and land-poor, camp-meeting corn-huskers" (46). Writing towards the end of the Great Depression, Daugherty wonders which of the two ways of life will prevail in America, that of "the big Company, the big Profits, industrial Empires and Billionaires" or that of Daniel Boone and his spiritual descendants (46). We taste here the flavor of Daugherty's WPA murals featuring worker-boss and family-banker conflicts, as well as his approval of Boone's lack of business drive and resultant moral superiority to the Hendersons of America.

Daugherty adheres somewhat to the historical record in mentioning a few of Boone's business dealings. When Boone and his settler friends want "to get legal title to their land" in Kentucky, for example, due to "Boone's great fame, his honesty and intelligence" and because he himself claims up to five thousand acres, he is chosen to travel to Virginia with $20,000 of their money—all their savings—to pay for their claims. En route, Boone is robbed of everything. The departure in high hopes, the loss, and the return in humiliation mark a central episode in Boone's life, one that Daugherty covers in four detailed paragraphs. Exactly what happened to the money remains a mystery, but Daugherty absolves Boone of blame: "it was not strange that in those lawless times on backwoods trails a man traveling hundreds of miles alone with twenty thousand dollars in cash should be held up and robbed" (70). Daugherty reassures us that Boone is "entirely exonerated by many of those involved," for, after all, "His whole life and the blood of his sons had been spent opening up a promised land of untold wealth—for others" (71).

Although Daugherty briefly describes a period after the Revolutionary War in which Boone worked as a businessman in Kentucky, running "a tavern and store" and dealing with the "furs, tobacco molasses, bacon, and ginseng" and horses moving up and down the Ohio river (82), other historians are much more detailed about it. In *Daniel Boone: Master of the*

Wilderness (1939), John Bakeless speaks of Boone's "period of prosperity" as a surveyor, slave-owner, land-owner, and "general business" man in Kentucky, buying and selling slaves called Easter and Loos and Rose and dealing with fur-traders, as in one order recorded in his books "of 1,790 deerskins, 729 bearskins, four otter, five black fox, and two barrels of ginseng. The account books show charges for cloth, groceries, buttons, hardware, ammunition, and a vast deal of rum and whiskey" (Bakeless 329). Bakeless writes that "Sometimes he was rich enough to lend [money] to his friends. . . . Daniel Boone belonged to the creditor class now" (325). In fact, by the late 1780s, "Daniel Boone was now one of the richest men in Kentucky" and his "land claims reached at least fifty thousand acres and probably a hundred thousand" (Bakeless 324), more than Daugherty's five thousand.

After the American Revolution ends, Daugherty's Boone begins "guiding settlers to new homes," becoming "so busy helping them to fat farm lands that he neglect[s] to protect his own claims by the necessary legal formalities," so that "Finally he [does] not own a foot of the Kentucky that he had helped to build" (80). While Daugherty again favorably relates Boone's business failures, other biographers are more critical. According to Morgan, Boone lost his land and became embroiled in legal troubles because he "was a careless businessman" who hurt his own cause "by his disdain for the details of business and legal matters" (290). Bakeless sympathetically writes that "Indians with knives, rifles, war clubs, and tomahawks held no terror for Daniel Boone. Lawyers with calf-bound books, writs, summonses, and suits, conquered him easily enough" (340). But for Bakeless Boone was not innocent, because he often "sold title to land that he did not really own" (341-42).

According to Bakeless and Morgan, Boone was a careless businessman most at home in the woods. Daugherty gives a similar impression, but emphasizes Boone's altruism. Wanting to cast Boone as a suitable Great Depression era hero whose goal was to help others, Daugherty ignores how the historical Boone's business career turned public opinion against him. Bakeless, whose biography was published in the same year as Daugherty's but who has no such compunctions, recounts Boone's fall from grace: "He, who had been hero and leader for twenty years, now suddenly became the most hated man in Kentucky. . . . His honesty as a surveyor was questioned. . . . He was accused of perjury. He was accused of bribery. Even his life was threatened" (344). As a result of his legal troubles, in the mid-1790s "bitter" Boone "withdrew more and more from the world . . . and turned to the sure comfort of the wilderness, [living with] Rebecca and two of their daughters with their husbands . . . deep in the woods" hunting bear (Bakeless 345-46), and towards the end of the eighteenth century removing from Kentucky to a new wilderness in Missouri. Daugherty does not end his account of Boone as businessman on such a negative note. Instead, he recounts Boone's apocryphal farewell tour of Kentucky as an old man (most scholars believing that his age and the distance would have rendered it impossible), bringing bales of beaver skins to sell to pay his debts: "He was square with Kentucky, Kentucky for which he had given so much and taken so little, and he still had four bits. He felt rather rich. The rambunctious American eagle on the half-dollar gleamed in the late sunlight as he tossed it in the air" (93). Daugherty makes a virtue of Boone's lack of business success, leaving him "poor as Job's turkey" (90) and "rich" in wild freedom (like the coin eagle flying in the sunlit air).

Rather than on his Quaker history, family life, and business career, Daugherty focuses on Boone's connection to the western wilderness. After the Cherokees are pacified, the increasing number of settlers moving into the North Carolina frontier encourages the Boone family to move farther west. Soon Boone persuades Bryan to let him explore Kentucky, "a garden of Eden unknown to man, teeming with a fabulous abundance of fat land, of fish and game" (27). Boone is captured by some of the Indians lurking in the paradise, though after a week he easily escapes, and when Boone's brother finds him, they build a cabin base from which to go hunting and trapping. After his brother returns to their families laden with furs, Boone has an epiphany validating his choice to remain alone in Kentucky: "the clear-shining sun rose over the vast land like high-calling trumpets of glory. The splendor and the brightness came upon his spirit like the rushing of mighty wings, and the voice of mighty thunderings: 'Enter into a promised land such as no man has known, a new born creation all your own; drink deep, O Daniel, of the mysterious wine of the wilderness" (34). After two glorious years in Kentucky, Boone is "robbed of everything" by Indians, but he returns to North Carolina with the compelling vision of the "promised land." Back home Boone entices his neighbors with visions of the "golden West" where there is "freedom and good fortune," until he is leading a group of eager families to Kentucky (37). The West is not safe, though, and Boone's son Jamie is killed and scalped by Indians: "the wilderness had taken its terrible vengeance on the hunters who had pried into its secrets. It was as though the ancient gods of the forest had taken for sacrifice the eldest sons of its violators" (37-38). Daugherty couches the tragedy in

Biblical terms of transgression and sacrifice rather than in practical ones of Indians protecting their land and removes it from the familial realm to the mythical, emphasizing Boone's connection to the wilderness at the expense of his role as a father.

The other biographies of Boone feel most in sync with Daugherty's in their treatment of Boone's love of the wilderness. According to Brown, even as a boy Boone preferred hunting birds and small game in the woods to tending the family cattle (6). Campaigning for the British in the French and Indian war introduced young Boone to the idea that, as Morgan puts it, "the West was a place of mystery and shadow also, a stage on which to act a larger, more dramatic role, to play parts written on a different scale, in meadows and forests, along rivers and canebrakes, with buffalo far as the eye could reach, with flocks of passenger pigeons that filled the sky for days" (48). Bakeless says that even during Boone's most successful business period, he continued hunting in the wilderness, his true love (328). Even as an old man living in Missouri, Daugherty's Boone goes on beaver trapping trips, continuing to find fulfillment in his beloved wilderness (87-89).

Daugherty, aware that Boone's wilderness paradise is in the West, waxes lyrically enthusiastic about Boone's role as enabler of Manifest Destiny. The phrase first appeared in the *Democratic Review* in 1845, in an article in which the editor, John L. O'Sullivan, spoke of "our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions" (*American History* 597). Robert Hughes calls Manifest Destiny "A rhetorical figure that became an ideology, and transfused itself through all policies" (189). He quotes "the quintessential utterance" of the phrase in 1846 by journalist William Gilpin:

"'*Divine task! Immortal mission!* Let us tread fast and joyfully the open trail before us! Let every American heart open wide for patriotism to glow undimmed, and confide with religious faith in the sublime and prodigious destiny of his well-loved country'" (190). And Joy Hakim writes that President Polk (1845-49) "believed that America had the right and duty to spread democracy across the continent" and that "Manifest destiny made it sound like a noble thing to do" (49).

The ringing tones of the mid-nineteenth-century proponents of Manifest Destiny echo throughout *Daniel Boone*. Daugherty opens his biography by writing in Boone's voice a morale-raising poem-challenge "to young America."

> Rise up, you lanky sons of democracy. . . .
> Pray to the God of your Fathers that their spirit be upon you.
> That you may have the enduring courage to cut a clean straight path for a free people through the wilderness against oppression and aggression,
> For generations marching on to higher freedoms . . .
> Chanting: Democracy, here we come.
> Millions of cantankerous laughing sons and strong daughters
> Shouting to the bullies, the tyrannies, the hosts of Darkness . . .
> Shouting with a seven-times-mighty shout of Jericho:
> NO SURRENDER. (7)

Daugherty follows that holy patriotic poem with "Pioneer Babies," in which masses of American toddlers waddle west (9), and then writes his account of Boone's life, including the following paean to pioneer Manifest Destiny while Boone tries to develop Boonesborough.

> [It] rang with the roaring laugher and boisterous fun; it was dark with the unfathomable silent anguishes by new-made graves; it was full of lost hopes and dreams of grandeur. . . . Of the generations springing up from the bottom lands, the fat corn lands, saying: "We are the nation of the valley, the tall corn-fed, hog-fed sons of the West. We make our own destiny and we like it. We make our own glories and shames and we've just begun. Our songs and our dreams are made of the new moon over the dry corn shocks, of the wind in the maple groves, of the silver-weathered rails in the fence along a prairie road." (52)

Boone's loss of his Kentucky land in 1789 adds a bittersweet flavor to the proud and optimistic ideology of *Daniel Boone*, but Daugherty confirms his role as agent of Manifest Destiny in blazing the Wilderness Road to Kentucky and then moves the goal of his personal destiny farther west. When the aging Boone travels down the Ohio by flatboat as on "an amiable Noah's Ark" (84), cheered on by the adoring people of the river towns to a new wilderness in Missouri, Boone feels that he is "entering upon the happiest time of his life . . . going west again . . . following the American dream" (85). Daugherty links figures like Noah and places like Eden with westward expansion to the American Dream so that Boone and his achievements and those of America attain a righteous grandeur. In the last section of Daugherty's biography, after President Jefferson completes the Louisiana Purchase and sends Lewis and Clark off to "blaze the path of empire to the Pacific," an aging Boone and his family move to the Femme Osage wilderness in Missouri, where Boone is living happily when St. Louis finds itself in the path of Manifest Destiny. "The nineteenth century was a husky pioneer baby that had climbed out of its cradle and was wading across the Mississippi" (88). In 1820, just as the formerly wild Missouri is being made a new state of the union, Boone dies, and the Constitutional Convention recesses to remember "Boone—Trail-breaker for destiny for a free people marching on" (95).

As Morgan says, "Cultures find in a few individuals the symbols of their ideals. Thanks to Filson and then many other biographers, Boone's story was repeated and embellished, magnified and extended to illustrate everything from temperance to Manifest Destiny" (447). According to Hughes, "The emblematic hero of Manifest Destiny," Daniel Boone, had died over twenty years before the phrase became popular (190), so that in a sense Daugherty's Manifest Destiny theme is anachronistic, because although (according to Filson's 1784 "autobiography") Boone and the people of his era believed that they were acting with providence in settling the western wilderness, they did not envision the coherent and inevitable coast to coast destiny of the mid-nineteenth century. Hughes analyzes paintings that reflect Boone's changing image from the independent, solitary man of the wilderness early in the nineteenth century, as in *Daniel Boone and His Cabin on the Great Osage Lake* (c. 1826) by Thomas Cole, in which Boone sits alone by his cabin in a wild landscape, to "Moses, leading his people to the Promised Land" (Hughes 191) in the second half of the nineteenth century, as in *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* (1861) by Emanuel Leutze, in which Boone guides pioneers to the glorious west. Daugherty, like Leutze, depicts an earlier American past through the lens of a later ideology.

Contemporary writers, unlike Daugherty, explain the dark side of

Manifest Destiny. For Hughes it meant, "Whatever you found was yours by absolute right. To see was to discover; to discover was to conquer. If the Indians fought back, they weren't just resisting invaders – they were up against History itself; and to see yourself as a force of History is to be freed from pity and from guilt" (190). Hakim critically analyzes *American Progress* (c. 1872), the painting by John Gast in which the giant goddess Columbia (like Daugherty's pioneer baby) strides west across the Mississippi carrying a school book and a telegraph line, lighting the way for civilization and pushing the hapless Indians and buffalo to their destined doom off the western edge of the painting (49). Daugherty also ignores the irony of Boone's role as guiding spirit of Manifest Destiny. In 1776, working for Richard Henderson's Translyvania Company, Boone trailblazes the Wilderness Road into Kentucky and persuades some Cherokee chiefs to sell two million acres of land in return for "ten wagonloads of ribbons and mirrors, red shirts and discarded muskets" (43). Boone begins surveying land in Kentucky and to attract settlers builds a fortified settlement there, Boonesborough. Boone's activities stem from his love of the wilderness but lead to its loss. And Daugherty tries to remove that responsibility from Boone, writing that he "*again found himself* at the head of an expedition ready to ride through the Gap and over the rough Wilderness Road," as if he is caught up almost against his will in "riding in the van of a procession of thousands of westward marchers . . . for years to come" (68; emphasis added). Boone becomes a living legend and the wilderness ever more popular largely due to Filson's "autobiography," and as more and more people move to Kentucky, Boone's beloved wild animals and woods vanish. Unaware of the irony, Daugherty enthuses that "Boone was delighted with such an elegant book about his adventures" (80). Morgan, on the contrary, writes that "The irony was probably not entirely lost on Boone at this time that his exploration, his organizing, his opening of Boone's Trace [the Wilderness Road], had helped bring on this flood of greed and contention and pretension. . . . The canebrakes were cut down as the land was cleared, and soon the whispering cane where panthers and bears and Shawnees and turkeys hid was just a memory" (292). According to Morgan, "no man sought and loved the wilderness with more passion and dedication [than Boone]. Yet none did more to lead settlers and developers to destroy that wilderness in a few short decades" (429-30).

3. Indian Fighter Boone

Given Daugherty's emphasis on Boone's love of the western wilderness, it is ironic that the part of his life about which Daugherty writes the most is his violent conflict with Native Americans, avatars of the wild for whom Boone never expresses any feelings, whether of hatred or of liking. Daugherty does not explain this, ignoring the Quaker influence on the historical Boone and downplaying his affinity for Indians. Perhaps he wants to relate the aspects of Boone's life that would be most compelling to his ideal boy readers, exploring and Indian fighting. Or perhaps he is unconsciously following the paradoxical American tradition explained by Richard Slotkin: "The figure and the myth-narrative that emerged from the early Boone literature became archetypal for the American literature which followed: an American hero is the lover of the spirit of the wilderness, and his acts of love and sacred affirmation are acts of violence against that spirit and her avatars" (22). In any case, Daugherty's book most often depicts relations between Boone and Native Americans like that found in Enrico Causici's *Daniel Boone Struggling with an Indian* (1826-27), a sandstone sculptural relief gracing the rotunda of the United States Capitol in Washington, D.C., in which a "cool and calm" Boone grapples with an Indian, "an ogre, savagery incarnate, with bulging eyes and a bloodcurdling snarl on his face" (Hughes 185).

Daugherty's illustrations for *Daniel Boone* appeal to his child readers' ethnocentrism by setting violent and destructive Indians against peaceful and hard working settlers. For the wrap-around cover Daugherty might have chosen any number of peaceful scenes: Boone leading settlers to Kentucky, working on his farm, or building a camp lodge. Instead, on the front of the book Boone coolly runs to the right while holding a rifle and looking back to the left at, we learn when we turn over the book, two snarling loincloth clad Indian warriors who rise stealthily out of the foliage from ambush to brain Boone with their war-clubs. On the endpapers of *Daniel Boone*, a map highlighting the locations of key events in the book, Daugherty draws small figures that demonstrate Indian violence and white productivity: a white man poling a flat boat down a river, a settler wife giving water to her hard-working husband, a pioneer family laboriously moving west, an Indian warrior striking with his tomahawk, two Indians locked in mortal combat, and a trio of Indians running on the warpath. There are two exceptions to the map's vision: on the left endpaper smoke rising from a small wigwam implies Indian home life, while on the right an ill-favored backwoodsman shaking hands with a warrior while offering him a bottle of alcohol in return for a peace-pipe implies white treachery. But these are overwhelmed by the many negative depictions of Indians on the map and in the book. Of the forty-four brown, green, black, and white illustrations in *Daniel Boone*, sixteen feature scenes of conflict between whites and Indians, in all but one of which Indians are the aggressors. Eleven pictures depict thirty-five children, all but one of which are white. Only six feature pioneer agriculture. Not one shows Indians making or farming or relating to whites in friendship. The pictures visualize Daugherty's downplaying of pioneer farm life and Indian peace life in favor of exciting white-Indian conflict.

The Indian fighting in the text of *Daniel Boone* begins when, while still a young man during the French and Indian War, Boone joins a British force that is routed by the French and their Indian allies and rides back home "remembering horrible pictures of men dying in agony by the dark forest trail" (20). In the illustration a demonic Indian strikes with his knife at a fallen British soldier. After his first taste of war, Boone marries Rebecca Bryan and makes with her a family and farm, until one night Indians "on the warpath" drive them to the area fort, for "the fierce red warriors would surround the cabins just before dawn, terrible in the ghastly white and black war paint, fearsome images of violent death that haunted the dreams of every border family" (22). The Boones hear "stories of frightful Indian vengeance," exemplified by a pioneer wife killing five "savages" with an ax as they try to enter her house (22). It seems more like frightful white vengeance, but the illustration of two devilish looking Indians crawling towards Boone's cabin implies that the family is in danger. This contradictory image of Indians as "fearsome images of violent death" who receive more violence from white people than they give runs through the biography.

Boone soon joins an army of backwoods militiamen "looking for a hand-to-hand sniping fight with the red varmints [Cherokees]" (24), and when he returns to his family he recounts "burning towns and destroying whole tribes" (24). To demonstrate the heroics of the militiamen, Daugherty quotes the destruction of an Indian village as described in the autobiography of another, later, American backwoodsman hero, Davy Crockett.

> I saw some warriors run into a house, until I counted forty-six of them. We pursued them until we got near the house, when we saw a squaw sitting in the door, and she placed her feet against the bow she had in her hand, and then took an arrow, and raising her feet she drew with all her might and let fly at us and she killed a man, whose name I believe was Moore. He was a lieutenant and his death so enraged us all that she was fired on, and had at least twenty balls blown through her. This was the first man I ever saw killed with a bow and arrow. We now shot them like dogs, and then set the house on fire, and burned it up with the forty-six warriors in it. I recollect seeing a boy who was shot down near the house. His arm and thigh were broken, and he was so near the burning house that the grease was stewing out of him. In this situation he was still trying to crawl along, but not a murmur escaped him though he was only about twelve years old. So sullen is the Indian when his dander is up that he had sooner die than make a noise, or ask for quarter. (25)

Because Crockett says that Moore is the first man he has seen killed by an arrow, the Indian woman must not be the first one he has seen shot to death. One of their number falling so enrages the white men that they kill forty-seven Indians, a disproportionate retaliation echoed by the white militiamen with Boone "burning towns and destroying whole tribes" in response to Cherokees attacking individual cabins. Daugherty describes the Cherokees as "red varmints" (vermin) and depicts their annihilation as necessary, blaming them for the "Indian-infested" (27) Ohio River valley bursting from "violence and murder" into "a general war" (38). Boone is "famous all through the mountains for his cool courage and skill as an Indian fighter" (38). Daugherty writes of demonic savages to give the reader suspense and excitement, and then shows the white hero and his people to be superior fighters to the Indians.

Boone's later efforts to make the Wilderness Road to Kentucky and to fortify Boonesborough there encourage more families to come "make homes in this little island of civilization in the empty vastness of the forests," including Boone's own family, the settlers living in fear of the "prowling Indian varmints," never knowing when the "redskins" will attack (46). The Indians kidnap Boone's daughter Jemima and two girls, and when the rescue party led by Boone approaches the captors and their victims, he knows "that at the least suspicious sound the savages would instantly tomahawk the captives" (50). Nevertheless, Boone and company shoot and kill two Indians, sending the others running off, and rescue the girls unharmed. If two rifle shots are not suspicious sounds that would lead Indians to kill their captives, perhaps the Indians were not intending to harm them. Daugherty's illustration of the capture (not described by his text) is also dubious, because in it a warrior raises his war club to strike the girls, who are soon recovered unharmed. In scenes like this Daugherty irrationally exaggerates the innocence of the settlers and the brutality of the Indians.

The famous Shawnee siege of Boonesborough is the longest scene in *Daniel Boone*, the climax of the book. The action is filled with suspenseful twists and turns, beginning with a parley during which the Indians promise to let the whites go to Detroit if they surrender. Despite being outnumbered ten to one, after two days of debate, the pioneers reject the offer: "stubborn survivors of a rough, tough, restless race who lived and died in their own independent way by the rifle, the ax, the Bible, and the plow. . . . they sent back the eagle's answer. . . . The answer of Man the Unconquerable to the hosts of darkness – 'No surrender'" (59). After hearing that answer, the Shawnees, "the hosts of darkness," permit the settlers to exit the fort to fetch their cows, corn, and water, only to play "an Indian trick" by launching a surprise attack during another parley (60). Treacherous Indians would hardly let settlers leave their fort to gather supplies unmolested, so it seems more likely that during the parley something unexpected provoked hostile action. In any case, the siege begins as the Shawnees surround the fort and fire at it, while the settlers shoot at Indians and pray to God. The Indians dig a tunnel to undermine the walls of the fort and shoot flaming arrows into them, when "God-sent rain" extinguishes the fires. On the ninth night the settlers are waiting in dread for "the savage demons" to charge the gate, but in the morning they learn that miraculously "the Indians had gone. The white medicine was too strong. The spirits of the forest were beaten and the white gods prevailed" (66). Daugherty celebrates Boone's victory by co-opting Native American rhetoric.

How does Daugherty's depiction of Boone's Indian fighting compare to that of other biographies of Boone? First, other scholars make clearer that Boone was not an Indian hater and preferred peaceful coexistence with Native Americans. Bakeless writes, "there was always a faintly chivalrous note in Daniel Boone's warfare with the Indians. He hated killing. He was never cruel himself, there is no record that he ever took a scalp, and he was never the victim of cruelty" (162-63). Even about the battle of Boonesborough, "From start to finish there was an odd good nature about this curious siege" (Bakeless 223). Second, unlike other scholars, Daugherty plays down white violence towards Indians. He mentions some things like Boone and company burning villages and destroying whole tribes, but he casts Indian violence as horrific and evil and white violence as defensive and righteous. As with Daugherty's biography, Filson's "autobiography" is mostly devoted to violent conflict between aggressive Indians and defensive pioneers, describing an Indian force giving women and children "savage treatment" that is "shocking to humanity" and showing Boone participate in a retaliatory campaign during which whites take twenty-four Indian scalps, with no white scalps being taken by Indians. Significantly, Daugherty mentions no white scalping of Indians and leaves in the opposite case. Perhaps by the 1930s Americans had learned enough cultural objectivity to sense that one cannot condemn Indians for scalping whites and then show more whites scalping Indians than the other way around, so that Daugherty felt compelled to depict scalping as an exclusively Indian action.

Other works of history depict white atrocities committed against Native Americans. Faragher mentions an officer known for "hacking squaws" (254) and the brutality of the white Virginians' attacks on

Cherokee towns, "killing and burning. . . . With much slaughter of women and children as well as warriors. 'We have now the pleasure, Sir,' one soldier wrote after one battle, 'to fatten our dogs with their carcasses and to display their scalps neatly ornamented on the top of our bastions'" (53). According to Alan Axelrod in *Chronicle of the Indian Wars* (1993), "Fighting Indians on the frontier was a matter of long marches, hunger, and cold punctuated by 'battles' more closely akin to murder and wanton vandalism than to military operations" (118). He recounts how, during a negotiation at a peaceful village, an American soldier named Hugh McGary grabbed the hatchet of an old Shawnee leader "and brained and scalped him with it, and then the American force burned the village" (124). Indians tortured some whites, but the invasive violence of the white forces against Indians in their own land was of another magnitude, wiping out entire villages and tribes, a discrepancy on which Daugherty never remarks. His book implies that the Indians are unreasonably inimical and violent to the white settlers, who have every right to be moving west and defending their settlements.

Slotkin explains why the colonies and young United States waged war against Indians and wrote about the wars: to "define their cultural identity ... through attacking or condemning alien elements in their society. . . . The Indian wars, in which culture was pitted against culture, afforded a perfect opportunity for this sort of definition by repudiation" (Slotkin 22). Because Daugherty was "Born in the same century as the Civil War, later living through both world wars, [he] often agonized over the destruction and violence of war, feeling empathy not only for his fellow Americans but for people all over the globe" (Bostrom 61). Why, then, in 1939, when the

Indians had been relegated to reservations, did Daugherty need to engage in so much "definition by repudiation" through white-Indian conflict in his biography? Perhaps he found in Indians ideal antagonists for Boone, being potent villains in popular culture, as in the classic western film *Stagecoach*, released the same year as *Daniel Boone*, and being unable in the 1930s to correct the mainstream view of history with their own. Perhaps, on the eve of America's entry into World War II against Japan and Germany, Daugherty believed that boys should confirm their American-ness via Boone's fights against "the hosts of darkness" in Kentucky.

Other biographies and histories, unlike *Daniel Boone*, set the historical context to explain why Indians attacked the settlers and their forts. Daugherty never says that to the Indians native to Kentucky and other places where Boone explored and settled and led tens of thousands of other whites to do likewise, the whites were invading and the Indians defending their land. When Daugherty says that Indians "rob" Boone of his furs after a long stay in Kentucky, he does not mention that Boone was poaching. Unlike Daugherty, Faragher explains the Shawnee motives for besieging Boonesborough: while some of the Indians wanted "to take scalps and avenge their dead, to burn Boonesborough and drive the Americans from the country. . . . for most, war was designed not to annihilate, for it was clear to them that they would have to deal with the Americans again, but rather was necessary in order to force an accommodation in which both sides accepted the Ohio as a boundary" (188). Daugherty ignores things like the complex conflict in North America between France and England and their colonies and the Indian allies they co-opted to fight for them or pressured into ceding land to them in their struggle for fur lands from 1689 until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763 (Hart 230). Axelrod explains that in 1760 the Cherokees had a treaty with South Carolina, "but soon Virginia frontiersmen killed twelve Cherokees and took their scalps for bounties, so that the southern frontier boiled over in a two-year uprising (93). Axelrod also notes the colonies or the United States taking land ceded in treaties agreed to by the wrong tribes or by only some chiefs of the right tribes.

For fairness and accuracy, Daugherty could have mentioned some of the above facts to counter the impression his biography gives that Indians attack white settlers because that is their raison d'être. As Brown indicates, the historical Boone understood the situation:

> Indians killed his two oldest children, his brother, and many of his friends. . . . Despite these experiences, Boone did not become an Indian hater like McGary or Clark. . . . It is likely that Boone . . . was influenced by his Quaker upbringing and in the Quaker teaching that all men carry within them some spark of the spirit of God. It is also true that Boone was a realist and a pragmatist. He recognized that the Indians who attacked him and his family and friends were fighting to defend their lands. (199)

Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie*, published four years before *Daniel Boone*, provides a view equivalent to that explained in Brown's biography when her family moves in the 1870s to Indian Territory in today's Kansas, and Laura asks her Ma and Pa, "This is Indian country, isn't it?" and "Won't it make the Indians mad to have to [move west]?" (237)

As Daugherty mostly avoids giving Native American perspectives, he also mostly ignores Native American culture. Although he illustrates different types of white men, including soldiers, settlers, and backwoodsmen, old, middle-aged, and young, curly-haired, straight-haired, and bald, in coonskin caps, top hats, and helmets, and in buckskin clothes, eastern suits, and military uniforms, all his illustrated Indians look like the same man in body (lean and muscular), face (hawk-nosed and fierce), hair (roached), clothes (loincloths), and tribe (generic). Similarly, although Daugherty gives some details about settler life (including gender roles, marriage, and agriculture) and backwoodsman life (including trapping, trailblazing, and camp building), he never describes Indian life. *Little House on the Prairie*, by contrast, describes Osage women cooking rabbits and Osage men wearing skunk pelt loincloths and speaking French. Over a dozen Indian tribes were involved in the conflicts on the eighteenth-century frontier, each with its own culture and agenda (Axelrod 116-17), but Daugherty mostly refers to them as Indians or savages, only sometimes mentioning Shawnees or Cherokees, who were themselves acting in alliances with other tribes and the French or the British. The impression is of a violent generic uniformity of Native American cultures.

Unlike Daugherty, Morgan describes aspects of Shawnee culture, including ceremonial hoops "with packets of seeds and animal hair attached . . . symbolizing the male and female division of labor, and used especially in the Spring Bread Dance to 'function as a prayer to Our Grandmother, the Creator, for good crops and abundant game,'" and the purification rituals for warriors who had shed human blood (246). Frederick E. Hoxie's *Encyclopedia of Native Americans* (1996) explains the high status of Shawnee women.

> In the eighteenth century female war and civil chiefs (one of them

> Tecumapease, Tecumseh's sister) were recognized, while the Creator (Waashaa Monetoo) was held to have been aided by an old Shawnee woman and her grandson. Sometime after 1824 Shawnees raised their Grandmother (Kokomthena) to the position of their supreme deity, and it is from her that it is now believed the tribe received its skills, laws, and ceremonies. (583)

Morgan and Hoxie give a wealth of fascinating details with which to compare eighteenth century and modern white culture, were Daugherty to incorporate even some of them.

At the point in *Daniel Boone* when the Indians are being forced to cede their land along the Ohio valley, however, Daugherty writes and illustrates a remarkable interlude in his hitherto one-sided account of the violent relations between Indians and whites on the frontier. For the first and last time he describes the Native Americans so that we may envision them with details other than ones gleaned from his generic illustrations.

> The splendid copper-gleaming images of the dreaded Indian chieftains emerged suddenly out of the dark green forest background. In their white buffalo robes they stand tall and glittering in claw necklaces and wampum and copper armlets. From their high crests and roached scalp-locks dangle eagle feathers. They come to the solemn councils with their war axes, turkey-feather fans, hatchet pipes; and they barter away the forests for corn whisky and a red shirt, or striking their war hatchets into the ground hurl death and defiance to the treacherous pale faces. (39)

At first, even here Daugherty seems to be describing generic Indian "images." Towards the end of the paragraph, however, he shifts to a nearly sympathetic white point of view aware that the Indians are being tricked into too cheaply trading their land away and ends by assuming the outraged Indian point of view. And yet Daugherty then invokes the comfortable melancholy white view of Indians as doomed losers in the clash of cultures.

> The wise old prophet-chiefs saw their destiny in the sky; they knew their fate was the doom of the buffalo. They saw the last tribes driven like mists down the mountain valleys before the brightness of the pale-face gods. The axes and arrows of the stone age were useless against the deadly guns and fiery poisons of the white man. Amid their burning villages and the awful butcheries and sickening betrayals of friends and foes, they met the personal tragedy of violent death with a serene indifference. (39)

Daugherty understands that the Indians experienced tragedy at the hands of white people but also condescends to their "serene indifference" with which they met their doom, as if they do not feel pain or loss and did not try hard enough to avert their destiny. The text of the interlude closes with an excerpt from "Reply to a Missionary Agent," a speech by Red Jacket, introduced by Daugherty as having "the pathos and solemn grandeur of the last testament of a doomed race" (40), in which the historical Seneca chief points out that when white people first came to North America, Indians gave "corn and meat" to them and were given "poison" (alcohol) in return. When more white people came, still the Indians saw them as brothers, but

> They wanted more land. They wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians

> were hired to fight against Indians and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor among us. It was strong and powerful and has slain thousands. You have now become a great people and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. (40)

For the only time in the biography a Native American expresses his view of white-Indian relations.

The accompanying illustration, when carefully examined, sympathizes with the Native American plight. In the center of the page an Indian warrior stands protectively over an Indian woman and child, presumably his wife and son. The woman swoons as she holds her dying son in her arms. The warrior is holding a tomahawk, but Daugherty draws only its handle, the elision emphasizing the warrior's defensive attitude, as does the shield he also holds, the only picture in the book of an Indian wielding a shield. From what is the warrior trying to protect himself and his family? Behind him a pair of hands offers him a book and a bottle, while behind them a rifle shoots him in the back. From reading the text, we know that the hands are white hands, the book a Bible, the bottle whisky, and the invisible shooter a white man or an Indian hired by white men. The irony is devastating, as the muscular warrior is powerless to resist book, bottle, and rifle. Although at first glance his face is that of Daugherty's generic snarling Indian, upon consideration it expresses a tragic pride, as his family and culture are destroyed by white invaders.

A pastel on paper mural study called *Pioneers & Indians* that Daugherty drew from 1933 to 1939, about the time he was working on *Daniel Boone*, casts light on the "Indian Interlude." The study depicts no pioneer women or children, only in the foreground two gray men, one holding a rifle and looking east, the other holding a pick axe and looking west, and a fatigued gray mule, all three figures dour and uninspiring. Our eyes and sympathies are drawn to the bright red Indians in white clothes riding magnificent red and white horses as they ascend behind the pioneers towards a blue patch of sky. One Indian, a mother, has two babies in cradleboards, one on her back, one on the side of her horse, which is pulling a travois. The Indians are moving. Two warriors ride above the woman into the sky, one looking west, the other looking east and raising his spear in defiance. The hills and Indians and horses share the same colors, identifying them with the land and alienating the pioneers. The white feathers on the headdress of one Indian look like angel's wings, and his round white shield haloes the woman's head. The pioneers and the Indians ignore each other. As in *Daniel Boone*, in the study Indians and whites do not live in harmony, and the westward course of the United States banishes the former. But nothing suggests the heroic America of the book, for the Indians are angelic and the pioneers dark. It is regrettable that Daugherty did not develop the perspective of his Indian Interlude in *Daniel Boone* to balance his American destiny focus. But because *Pioneers and Indians* questions westward expansion, marks the lack of communication between the two cultures, evokes grief for the implied vanishing of the Indians, and invokes Renaissance Biblical paintings through its elegant composition and luminous beauty, it suggests that the Indian Interlude is an interruption into *Daniel Boone* of a brief though genuine feeling for the loss of Indians.

4. Indian Boone

Towards the end of *Daniel Boone*, Boone feels well disposed to and even identifies with the Native Americans he has spent most of his biography fighting. Daugherty describes Boone captured by British soldiers as remaining "impassive" as "an Indian councilor" (73), alludes to Boone's relationships with "friendly Indians" in Missouri (87), mentions him going on hunting trips in Missouri "with a Negro or Indian for a companion" (89), and has him fondly remember fighting "the solemn chieftains. . . . They had been great enemies and he, too, was a disinherited son of Kentucky" (93). At one point Boone even tells his grandchildren "about Black Fish, his Indian father, and how he lived when he was captured by the Shawnees and they made him into an Indian and washed his white blood away in the smoky huts of Chillicothe. They would laugh and say that he was still an Indian" (94). It is as if, once Boone is old and the Indians are no longer his rivals, Daugherty can show some appreciation for them. But such moments are brief and dwarfed by the violence of savage "varmints," and though Boone's grandchildren tease him about being an Indian, for Daugherty he is not one. Moreover, most of Daugherty's brief nods to Boone's identification with Native Americans reveal racial and cultural bias. To call Indians "friendly" implies that their default behavior is "unfriendly" and that the criteria is whether or not they try to prevent whites from hunting and settling in their land. And when Daugherty has Boone see himself and the Indians as both having been "disinherited" from their Kentucky land, it is disingenuous because Boone earlier took and helped others to take the Native American land there, and because he can go anywhere else he chooses, as when he moves to Missouri, whereas the

Native Americans were forced to move to distant reservations.

So focused is Daugherty on violent conflict between righteous pioneers and savage Indians that he downplays the degree to which the historical Boone liked, understood, and identified with Native Americans. Popular, historical, and biographical works featuring Boone tend to emphasize his Indian connection. On the reverse side of the commemorative fifty-cent coin issued to celebrate the bicentennial of Boone's birth in 1934 and minted until 1938 (about the time Daugherty wrote and illustrated his biography), for example, Boone stands beside a Native American man, and although the men are holding a rifle and a tomahawk respectively, they hold them companionably and look each other in the eye, a completely different impression from Causici's violent sandstone relief channeled by Daugherty. And in the popular *Daniel Boone* TV show, which ran from 1964 (the year of the Civil Rights Act) to 1970, Boone had a Native American sidekick called Mingo. Morgan says that Boone never resented Native Americans who took the furs he trapped in their lands because he understood that to them he was poaching and that he "sometimes hunted *with* the Cherokees" (72). According to Brown, although Boone "fought Indians . . . he remained friends with Shawnees for over forty years" (xv). And when describing the great attraction Native American culture had for the numerous whites who left their "civilized" homes to live among "savages," James W. Loewen says that Daniel Boone became an American hero because he had lived like an Indian (109). Morgan writes that

> [As an old man] Boone liked to stress that over the years his best and most reliable friends had been Indians. . . . He had always identified with Indian culture, since his youth in Pennsylvania. . . .

> Boone's affections for Indians, especially the Shawnee family that had adopted him, many of whom now came to visit him in Missouri, revealed the part of himself that truly was more in sympathy with the Indian ways than with the white culture. It showed the doubleness in his nature, which had been part of his special character, his difference, from the beginning. (428-429)

Stephen Aron explains that the members of the eighteenth-century elite were dismayed by the democratizing and "Indianizing" of frontier settlers and hunters via their close proximity to Native Americans, and that "Emissaries for church and king recoiled from the near-savage 'white Indians' who peopled the backcountry" (13-14).

Although in many ways Daniel Boone was one of those "white Indians," Daugherty rarely hints at his "doubleness," even when, just before the siege of Boonesborough, he recounts the famous episode when Boone at forty-four was captured by Shawnees led by Black Fish. Revealingly, while Daugherty spends seven paragraphs and one illustration on Boone's capture, three paragraphs on his escape to Boonesborough, and fifteen paragraphs and six illustrations on the Shawnee siege of the outpost, he spends but a single pictureless paragraph on Boone's adoption and life as an Indian. In that paragraph, for the only time in the book Daugherty reveals interesting details of Shawnee culture, as Boone is made into a Shawnee via a ritual to wash away his white blood in the river, including pulling out half his hair and painting "him with strange symbols that meant he was the adopted son of the chief Black Fish" (56). According to Daugherty, however, Boone is always "thinking his white man's thoughts" even while hunting with the men, watching "the bronze squaws grinding corn, scraping the skins, kneading the buffalo robes to make them soft," learning "by heart the strange rhythms of the mysterious ceremonial songs and dances," and sharing "in the red laughter or laments" (56). Daugherty makes clear that throughout his captivity Boone is only "pretending" to be "happy and satisfied" as an Indian, while he is always waiting for a chance to "dash for freedom," which occurs when Boone learns of the tribe's impending attack on Boonesborough (56). Daugherty avoids any friendship or identification between Boone and the Shawnees and remains silent about the duration of the "captivity," seeming to telescope it into a few days, when actually it lasted from about February to June in 1778.

Comparing Daugherty's account of Boone's experience with the Shawnees to those of other biographers reveals his subordination of the captivity to his biographical agenda (to depict Boone as a white, wilderness-loving hunter, Indian fighter, and leader of westward expansion). According to Bakeless, "Blackfish and his squaw treated [Boone] with invariable affection, addressed him as 'son,' made no distinction between him and their two real children," and called him Sheltowee, or Big Turtle (178). Boone "was, in fact, living the life he liked best," to the point that "Some of his fellow prisoners were amazed and disgusted" (Bakeless 178). Bakeless relates a fascinating wintertime experience:

> the food supply of the Shawnee camp ran so low that they had to kill and eat their dogs, and when these were gone existed for ten days on a decoction of the inner bark of white oak. . . . When at length they killed a deer, no one ate, but all partook first of a jelly made of the entrails. Boone swallowed his share of the vile mess but 'his stomach refused it.' Finally, he was able to keep down half

> a pint 'with wry face and disagreeable retchings,' which greatly amused the still starving Shawnees. They told Boone he might eat now [and] a venison feast followed. (181)

Such "sharing [of] the hardships of the tribe's nomadic existence" deepened Boone's ties to the Shawnees. Morgan implies that Boone, who had already escaped from Indians various times, could escape from the Shawnees whenever he wanted and that he was enjoying life with them and only thought to "escape" when he learned that they were planning to attack Boonesborough. When Boone realized that he would have to warn the outpost, he waited for the men to go hunting turkeys and then rode off, but not before explaining to his Shawnee mother (who pleaded with him to stay), saying that "he wanted to go and see his squaw [Bryan] and children," and telling a Shawnee nephew that "he really felt sorry" (Morgan 249). As Brown says, Boone probably never thought to live permanently with the Shawnees, believing "that the whites, thanks to their greater weaponry and ever greater numbers, would ultimately prevail," but she also asserts that "it is doubtless true that there was much in the Shawnees' way of living that Boone would have found congenial and attractive" (139). For example, "it is . . . likely that Boone found the Shawnees' ethical principles in line to a considerable extent with what he had learned as a child from the Quakers. . . . 'Do not wrong or hate your neighbor, for it is not him that you wrong, you wrong yourself. But love him, for Moneto loves him also as He loves you'" (Brown 138-39). Brown even suggests that Boone had a Shawnee wife, quoting a Boone granddaughter: "'Grandfather Boone said he had a squaw that Claimed him as her Buck. He said she mended and dried his leggings [and] patched his mocksins'" and made him "stand in a tub of hot hominy corn, tramping the husks off the corn with his bare feet. When Boone 'hallooed and ran away to give the hot water time to cool down, she would laugh, take a club & beat him back'" (139). The frank intimacy and humor of the tub scene humanize Boone and his Shawnee wife.

In describing Boone's captivity Daugherty includes none of the above savory details. Instead, he seems intent on convincing the reader that Boone is no traitor to his own true (white) people. Daugherty thus introduces an anti-Boone, Simon Girty, the "renegade" white villain of the War of Independence and subsequent years: "He was known throughout the Ohio valley for the fury and cruelty of his hatred of the whites. In every fort and cabin his name was loathed and despised. He hated and fought his own race with a cunning and brutality that surpassed the fiercest savage," being a "murderous beast seeking the scalps of the white men" (75). Daugherty, who calls Boone "Daniel," establishing a friendly relationship between narrator, reader, and hero, calls Girty "Girty" as he depicts the "white wolf of the border" leading one thousand Indians to besiege Bryan's Station at night. The fifty men and women and children inside the fort are caught without water, so in the morning they send out the women to fetch it from a spring, gambling that the Indians will not attack them "in order not to spoil a surprise attack," and the women safely complete their mission (75). But could not their success be due to Girty's reluctance to harm unarmed women? When reinforcements reach the fort, Girty and his "savages" leave. Daugherty is uninterested in how Girty came to be a "renegade" fighting with the Indians and the British against the colonies and later with the Indians against the United States, while Axelrod explains that Girty was captured by Indians as a boy and raised as a Seneca, for whom he fought through Little Turtle's War (1790-94), at the end of which he unsuccessfully tried to convince his people not to sign a treaty ceding vast tracts of land to the Americans (117). Girty was a "renegade" because he preferred Indian culture and wanted to help his people keep their land. Rather than his savagery (of which Daugherty shows nothing), Girty's crime is his un-Boone-like double betrayal of fighting against his white race and the United States.

5. Assessing *Daniel Boone*

In *Daniel Boone*, then, Daugherty downplays or ignores such meaningful aspects of Boone's life as his Quaker upbringing, role as a husband and father, attempts at being a businessman, and identification and friendship with Native Americans, and focuses instead on Boone's roles as wilderness explorer, Indian fighter, and leader of Manifest Destiny. Perhaps the fate of *Daniel Boone*, last in print in 1971, is due to its depiction of Native Americans being so dated and uncompensated for by other aspects of Boone's life. Beginning roughly with the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, more and more children's books have sympathetically depicted Native Americans, as in the Newbery Medal winning *Island of the Blue Dolphins* (1960) by Scott O'Dell, *Julie of the Wolves* (1972) by Jean Craighead George, and *Walk Two Moons* (1994) by Sharon Creech. If *Daniel Boone* is a misleading and racially offensive biography that fails to introduce children to the complexity of frontier history and to the value of other cultures, one may wonder whether it has other virtues that make it a good book for children to read.

It is helpful at this point to compare the treatment of Native Americans in *Daniel Boone* to that of other children's books of its era. Daugherty's book, for example, by briefly mentioning Boone's affinity for Indians and offering the Native American view of their victimization by white people, is more sympathetic to Indians than another Newbery Medal winning book for children published two years later, Walter D. Edmonds' *The Matchlock Gun* (1941). In that book Indians remain from start to finish savage "dogs" (48) seemingly without the power of speech, and the ten-year-old protagonist Edward is feted for killing three of them and crippling a fourth with a matchlock rifle's charge of pellets, nails, brass buttons, and pebbles (62). Why, if Edmond's book is more anti-Indian than Daugherty's, is it still in print while *Daniel Boone* is not? Perhaps Americans are more able to accept politically incorrect behavior from fictional heroes like Edward than from "real" ones like Boone. Contrasting with both Daugherty and Edmond's books is *Waterless Mountain* (1931) by Laura Adams Armer, published eight years before *Daniel Boone.* Armer's novel, also a Newbery winner, is a beautiful look at the life of Younger Brother, a Navajo boy who learns that everything in the world is part of a never-ending dance. *Waterless Mountain* brims with Navajo life, religion, songs, and tales. It affirms white and red friendship even as it criticizes the more materialistic and narrowly spiritual ways of white people and deplores their unfair treatment of the Navajo in the past. Armer's novel is one of the four Newbery winners out of print, perhaps because its story is more spiritual than suspenseful.

Laura Ingalls Wilder's *Little House on the Prairie* (1935), published four years before *Daniel Boone*, is also helpful to compare with Daugherty's book. Wilder's novel is her fictionalized account of living as a little girl with her pioneer family in the 1870s on the prairie of Kansas Indian Territory. Because Wilder wrote a wealth of vivid details of prairie pioneer life, her book feels more authentic than Daugherty's, which lyrically relates the attractions of the western wilderness but offers few details of daily life there. Her novel is more a "girls' book," focusing on the relationships between Laura and her sister and Ma and Pa. Wilder imagines various views of Indians, ranging from Pa's respect and Laura's fascination to their neighbors' hatred. Her novel depicts rumors of massacres and threats of uprisings but no violence, partly due to Pa's efforts to calm his white neighbors. It also shows non-violent and even friendly interactions between whites and Indians as when, for example, Pa and an Osage communicate about a panther via sign language. Unlike Daugherty's Boone, Laura is interested in Indians, longing to see a papoose and to be a free Osage child. Whereas Laura questions Pa's pioneer project, Daugherty never questions Boone's. And when the Osage ride away into the west, the sight of their forced departure depresses Laura and her family, a reaction absent from Daugherty's book. If we arranged the children's books from the era of *Daniel Boone* on a spectrum ranging from less to more racially tolerant and culturally interested and historically accurate, then, *The Matchlock Gun* would lie at the far left, *Daniel Boone* a touch to its right, *Little House on the Prairie* in the middle, and *Waterless Mountain* at the far right.

If Daugherty's agenda for *Daniel Boone* did not include expressing a Native American view of the settling of the frontier or a white view of Native American cultures, why, in addition to extolling Boone for his role as a wilderness explorer, Indian fighter, and frontier opener, did he write the book? Creating it towards the end of the Great Depression (1929-1939) and the beginning of World War II (1939-1945), Daugherty must have wanted to excite and entertain children and to help them grow up into healthy, patriotic, freedom-loving adults who would say "No surrender" to tyranny. Daugherty's WPA murals featuring conflict between wealthy elite and poor people and his Boone's lack of financial success indicate that he also wanted to teach children to live for other things than money. We may find anther reason in what George B. Tindall and David E. Shi describe as the "cultural revolution" of 1930s America (677).

> Americans learned that . . . they had a culture and had had one all along—it had simply been overlooked. Now Americans tried to make up for lost time by tracking the culture down, recording, restoring, and celebrating it. . . . And so the two decades of the 1920s and 1930s, times of unusually creative vitality, began with disillusionment and flight to Europe [by Stein, Pound, Hemingway, et al.], but ended with the rediscovery of America. (677-78)

Daugherty is surely "recording, restoring, and celebrating" American culture with *Daniel Boone*. For all its warts, his book attains a Whitmanesque energy, beauty, enthusiasm, and humor that could awaken children to the richness and pleasure of American language and culture and partly validate its Newbery Medal. In his 1940 Newbery acceptance speech, Daugherty described the vital role of books for children: "It is the function of the arts to delight and heal us as children, of the dullness and bitterness of materialistic systems, of the weariness of meaningless routines.

Children's books are a part of that art of joy and joy in art that is the certain inalienable right of a free people" (Bostrom 61).

Because *Daniel Boone* has been out of print for nearly forty years, not many recent reader responses to it are available, but it may be useful to survey the few that are. The website called The Newbery Project, devoted to reviewing the Newbery Medal books, has a detailed critique of *Daniel Boone* by Sandy D., who is glad that the book is out of print because its racism is repugnant, it "rests very lightly on historical facts," the passage from Davy Crockett's autobiography is too violent for children, most readers "would be bored by Daugherty's ode to Manifest Destiny," and she cannot believe it won the Newbery. Amazon.com features five reader reviews of *Daniel Boone*, one of which, posted in 2004 by E. R. Bird, is as negative as Sandy D.'s. Bird, one of Amazon's "Top 50 Reviewers," calls the book "a sad, sorry case" because it is "racist" and "cruel," filled with "anti-Indian sentiment" and lacks interesting details of homestead life. Bird finds the Indian Interlude "utterly out of place in a book that celebrates the genocide of an entire race" and concludes that the only reason the "woefully out of date" book "is even remembered today is because of its unfortunate Newbery Award." The other Amazon.com reviews are positive. In 2000, for example, D. Phillips, a librarian, wrote that *Daniel Boone* is "a fine Newbery winning biography" that "provides an authentic picture of pioneer life at the beginning of the great Westward movement." In 2006 in the only "Kid's Review," a child said,

> It has deserved a great honor by winning the Newbery Medal. This biography is about Daniel Boone's life during his Indian wars in Fort Boonesborough and Transylvania, his meeting John Finley,

> his long hunting trips, his more terrible migrations and his inspiration for opening the Cumberland Gap. I thoroughly loved it.

The review reveals how a child might love Daugherty's depiction of Boone as Indian-fighter, hunter, explorer, and trailblazer, finding nothing wrong with his treatment of Indians. In 2008 Elizabeth Conley took issue with Bird's "malicious" review, which "revealed more about his own prejudices and the modern shame of unbridled political correctness than he did about the work in question," arguing that because *Daniel Boone* "and its author were both products of their times" we should not criticize its depiction of Native Americans.

The reviews by Sandy D. and E. R. Bird, reflecting liberal contemporary views of American history, are convincing, while the other reviews remind us that not all American readers have embraced political correctness. Unlike Sandy D., I believe that *Daniel Boone's* ode to Manifest Destiny attains a lyrical poetry, and I appreciate its brief Indian Interlude in the middle and identification of Boone with Indians near the end. Bird is correct that Daugherty depicts homestead pioneer life without enough vivid details, but overstates his celebration of genocide. Personal taste plays a role in evaluating *Daniel Boone*, for some readers find the illustrations "fugly" (Sandy D.), while others find them enhancing its "epic proportions" (D. Phillips), and some readers find the writing overdone and boring (Sandy D.), while others find it "vigorous and simple" (D. Phillips). Readers either love or hate *Daniel Boone*. I find it flawed in its history, themes, and treatment of Native Americans and *almost* redeemed by its energy, personality, and brief depiction of the white role via bottle, Bible, and rifle in destroying Native American culture.

Is *Daniel Boone*, then, a boon to children? It could be one with some provisos. First, it must be understood that rather than writing a detailed account of pioneer life, let alone of Quakerism or of familial relationships, Daugherty wrote from the white point of view an exciting account of white-Indian conflict and a lyrical account of the attraction of the western wilderness. Second, it must be understood that Daugherty's depiction of Native Americans is out-dated and one-sided. If adults explained those things to children, as well as the historical context of Indian Removal and Manifest Destiny and the irony of Boone's wilderness loving and civilizing career, children could get good things out of *Daniel Boone*: the engaging style ranging from frontier earthy to Biblical sublime, the figure of Boone living positively amid hardships, and the racism, ethnocentrism, and complexity of American history and culture. Reading *Daniel Boone* like that might make children more aware of the positive and negative aspects of American culture so as to embrace the former and reject the latter as adults.

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