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Molly Mulhern Gross

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MOLLY MULHERN GROSS

JEREMIAH P. HARDY'S THE SMELT SELLER
GENRE PAINTING IN BANGOR

As a painter of portraits and genre studies, Jeremiah P. Hardy was a sensitive barometer of Bangor's cultural aspirations. During his career, which spanned sixty-two years, he painted hundreds of portraits, then shifted to genre painting, a course reflecting both national trends and the altered meanings of gentility in Bangor. In this article, Molly Mulhern Gross provides other reasons for Hardy's mid-career change and explains why THE SMELT SELLER might have appealed to its cultured viewers. Ms. Mulhern Gross met THE SMELT SELLER while working as a research associate at the Farnsworth Art Museum in 1992. Her research was part of the program in American and New England Studies at the University of Southern Maine, where she received her M.A. in 1994. She has two children, lives in Camden, and is Director of Editing, Design, and Production for Ragged Mountain Press/International Marine.

Jeremiah Pearson Hardy's (1800-1888) career as the first professional portrait artist in Bangor, Maine, spanned sixty-two years from 1827 to 1888. Hardy, like many painters of the period, began his career working at diverse tasks to stay in business – sign painting, gilding, and picture framing as well as portrait painting. Bangor's prosperity in the mid-1830s, however, led to the rise of a wealthy class of lumber barons and sea
JEREMIAH HARDY

captains, who in turn commissioned portraits from the aspiring artist.¹ From the mid-1830s to the late 1860s, Hardy earned his living mostly by painting portraits. In the 1870s his output of portraits diminished significantly, and during this time he created several genre paintings – works that depict everyday life. Among these was The Smelt Seller (Fig. 1).

The Smelt Seller, showing a young boy dressed in oilskins standing next to a basket of smelts, is a cross between the image of idyllic rural youth typical of Winslow Homer and Eastman Johnson and the representations of urban youth depicted in the paintings of J.G. Brown, William Ranney, and Henry Inman.² As a depiction of childhood, it represents a dominant theme for artists in Maine and beyond; it is intimately connected to and affected by artistic trends across America. However, The Smelt Seller is also a product of Bangor’s own society and culture. Hardy’s fortunes as a painter and the themes he chose to register on canvas reflect the changing class dynamics in the Penobscot Valley as Bangor struggled to accommodate its new status as the lumber capital of the world.

The story of the painting is the story of Bangor itself. Over the course of his lifetime, Hardy watched Bangor change from a rural town into an industrial city – a city increasingly aware of its social stratification. Hardy himself not only witnessed these changes, but he helped shape the identity of Bangor’s rising elite; indeed, possession of a Hardy portrait was one way that wealthy Bangor citizens asserted their social positions. Stabilization of this new elite in the 1870s provoked Hardy’s shift from portraits to genre paintings.

The boy in The Smelt Seller stands on a ground covered with tramped and dirty snow. An icicle drips into the water bucket in the left foreground, forming concentric rings, and the buildings, bathed in a low, strong light from the left, cast long shadows. These subtle details tell us that it is early spring. The boy presents himself at a farmhouse door to sell smelts. His face is cherubic, lips slightly apart, and his expression is one of a quiet pleading. His shoulders are slumped: Is he sleepy, or just tired? The Smelt Seller is not a picture of youthful energy, but a study in weariness.
The boy’s clothing contributes to the scene, revealing his poverty. He wears a southwester, the oilskin hat common among coastal fisherman. The heavy coat is frayed along the lower edges, buttons are missing, and a torn piece of fabric hangs down toward the ground. His boots, with holes in the toes, are rumpled and heavy, perhaps a bit too big for his feet. The boy
wears neither gloves nor a sweater; his black-and-red-striped shirt adds the only bit of color to his outfit. The fish in the basket have an eerie luminescence, and the precision and details of the basket, although cropped on the right, are very fine.

The detailing of the boy’s clothing and the basket contrasts with the background, which shows a desolate landscape in a generalized format, lacking the details of the foreground. The distant white and gray hills are perhaps snow-covered, although they also look like sand dunes, showing no trees and a large amount of erosion. The sky is a robin’s egg blue with a few peach-colored patches of clouds. While the tight details of the foreground catch the viewer’s eye, the background seems flat, similar to the false backdrop often used by photographers. Since he shared a studio with his son, F.W. Hardy, a photographer, we might speculate that Hardy structured The Smelt Seller the way a portrait photographer would have, emphasizing the figure in the foreground, using the background as a backdrop, and not attempting to integrate the two.

The Smelt Seller is similar to other works by Hardy in that the focus is on a young merchant, specifically on his expression. A preliminary sketch made for this painting (Fig. 2) shows the artist’s interest in facial details. The hat brim shades the upper part of the boy’s face, making the viewer search for his eyes. The darkness across the face suggests a sense of mystery in an otherwise soft, cherubic face. The detailing in this small sketch reminds us of Hardy’s training and career as a portraitist.

Hardy’s turn to genre paintings in the 1870s marked a major turning point in his career, a shift that reflected a change in the cultural context in which the artist chose his subjects and his themes. In 1876 Hardy created a genre painting entitled The Fisher Boy (Fig. 3), which closely resembles The Smelt Seller. Purchased by the Bangor Public Library in the 1880s, The Fisher Boy shows a young lad of about eight years in oilskins, holding a coil of line in his left hand and a codfish in his right. The boy’s outer garments are dark and heavy-looking; his coat is open at the front, and he wears a black south wester. To the right, behind the boy, a man hauls a rugged fishing dory up the beach.
Although *The Smell Seller* is undated, its similarity to *The Fisher Boy* suggests that the former was also painted in the 1870s. Hardy's completion of several other genre paintings during this decade, including *Boy with the Pumpkin Vine Whistle* (1870) and *The Artist's Rose Garden* (1879), offers additional support for dating this painting in the mid-late 1870s. Hardy finished a few genre paintings earlier in his career—biographer Fannie Eckstrom mentions a fireside scene from the 1820s painted while Hardy was studying in Boston, and *Boy and Girl Fishing*, painted in 1836-1837, for which his son and niece posed as models. However, these early works were most likely for study or improvement purposes, as there is no evidence that he tried to sell or exhibit them. The figures are also awkward in these earlier works, unlike the easy pose of the boy in *The Smelt Seller*, further
suggesting that this genre scene was painted later in Hardy's career.

**Hardy's Career as Portrait Painter**

To fully appreciate the connections between Hardy’s career and Bangor’s fortunes, we must first understand the economic and cultural climate that preceded the painting of *The Smelt Seller*. Hardy’s initial shift from sign painting to portraits in the 1830s was encouraged by a stronger market for his work. After painting signs and gilding in the late 1820s and 1830s, Hardy began painting portraits for the wealthiest and most influential citizens of Bangor. His patrons from the late 1840s to the mid-1850s included General Samuel Veazie, the largest sawmill owner on the Penobscot; Amos and Moses Patten, both prominent merchants; and Amos M. Roberts, timberland owner and president of Bangor’s Eastern Bank. Several houses on Broadway, a boulevard showcasing the stately mansions of the city’s leading industrialists, were home to Hardy portraits. Clearly he was the portraitist of choice for the influential of Bangor.6

The commissions Hardy received came directly or indirectly from Bangor’s lumber trade. A riverside village of 2,867 in 1830, Bangor was a booming industrial center with a population of 14,432 by 1850. In part, Bangor’s population growth was due to large groups of Irish immigrants who arrived in the early 1830s, having fled an economically depressed homeland. In addition to the Irish, the city’s busy mills, booms, and wharfs employed a diverse force of Yankee farmers, Penobscot Indians, and Maritime Canadians – a mix that triggered periodic ethnic strife. On July 3, 1833, for instance, a large anti-Irish riot destroyed homes and businesses in Bangor. Aware of the changing ethnic base in the city and faced with occasional labor agitation, Bangor’s wealthier citizens made their influence felt in the community. As owners of the city’s newspapers, banks, and mills, the city’s rising industrial and professional classes attempted to instill their values on the town’s working classes. They also joined together in various civic and social endeavors to
assert their cultural domination. One such project was the construction of Norumbega Hall in 1854-1855. While the first floor consisted of stands for selling meat and produce, the second was given over to dances, plays, parties, and political and religious gatherings. Here the recently formed Dance Society held classes and cotillions – lavish social events attended by Bangor’s wealthiest citizens.

Bangor’s upper classes also commissioned portraits of themselves and their families in order to validate their claims to cultural and social leadership. These portraits, hung prominently in their large Victorian homes, reflected their position and rank in town. In the boomtime of the lumbering industry on the Penobscot, Bangor produced a notable crop of millionaires; the city, with its upper classes in a remarkable state of flux, kept Hardy busy. An account book from 1840-1856 lists 182 portraits, with 108 of those painted in the decade between 1843 and 1853.

Prices for Hardy portraits reveal both the rise in Bangor’s affluence and the advance in Hardy’s reputation. In 1840, the first year of this account book, the average price per portrait was $30. This figure reached a high of $160 in 1854. (See Table 1.) Bangor’s prosperity continued in the 1870s, and, as in the past, this prosperity was accompanied by social and economic turbulence. In 1872, a peak year for the lumbering industry, nearly 250 million board feet of pine left the port on nearly 2,300 coastal vessels. There were so many lumber schooners in port that year that it was possible to walk across the Penobscot from Bangor to Brewer on the decks of the vessels. In those years the sawmills that dominated the commercial waterfronts from Hampden and Brewer to Old Town and Milford hired as many as 500 men each during the log-driving seasons.

But these were also times of ethnic conflict and economic uncertainty. In 1872 ethnic tensions led to another large riot, and the depression of 1873 brought a series of bankruptcies among prominent Bangor businesses. The city was thriving precariously, amid the extremes of financial success and disaster, and its upper classes responded by again altering the market for portrait painting.
Hardy's Shift to Genre

Despite Bangor’s prosperity in the 1870s, Hardy’s portrait painting dropped off significantly. In response, he switched to genre painting. The shift was prompted by changing economic, social, and personal factors. Hardy seems to have exhausted his market for portraits among Bangor’s stabilizing upper class, which was finding other means besides commissioning portraits to uphold their social standing and cultural dominance. During this decade, public art appreciation became a sign of gentility, as art museums, galleries, and exhibitions came into vogue in Bangor and elsewhere. This trend in turn encouraged a form of art that moved beyond portraiture. At the same time, several personal factors relating to Hardy’s age and station in life caused him to move his studio from prominent down-town business locations into his own home.

Interest in art thrived in Bangor in the 1870s, as evidenced by the creation of the Bangor Art Association in 1875. Formed for the purpose of “promoting and sustaining an interest in Fine Arts,” the association elected officers in February 1875, with Hardy as its first president. Hardy’s role was more symbolic than active; notes from the association meetings show that he rarely, if ever, presided or played much of a role in the operations of the group. Yet when the association sponsored its first exhibition in May 1875 – a gala affair boasting 153 works – an article in the Bangor Whig and Courier listed Hardy first among its list of exhibitors, a recognition that proclaimed him as the preeminent artist of the region.

At the time of the exhibit, the association boasted 147 members, and by 1876 membership had doubled to 302 members. A cultural beacon for the wealthy of Bangor, the organization sponsored not only exhibitions, but also lectures and dances. In addition to its goal of educating and improving its members, the Art Association hoped to expose the youth of Bangor to the arts. An article about the 1875 exhibition noted the attendance of “nearly a hundred boys and girls, and the interest they manifested, however crude or imperfect their
J. P. Hardy

INFORMS his friends and the public that he has taken a room directly over the Book-Store of B. NOURSE, & Co. which he intends, if sufficient encouragement be afforded, to occupy for PORTRAIT PAINTING. The room will be open for the reception of visitors from 4 till 7 P. M. of every day, where specimens of his work may be seen.

Bangor, June 21, 1826.

Bangor, June 21, 1826.

The Ladies and Gentlemen of Bangor and vicinity are respectfully invited to call.

Bangor, June 21, 1826.

Figure 4. An advertisement for J.P. Hardy's first studio. The date on the bottom of the ad reads "June 21, 1826."

Figure 5. An advertisement for the studio shared by J.P. and F.W. Hardy. The ad, found on back of a photograph, is dated "about 1860."

Figure 4, courtesy of the Farnsworth Art Museum; Figure 5, Hardy Papers, courtesy Bangor Public Library.
knowledge as to the merits of the collection, shows how general is the love of the pictorial, the primitive basis from which art-education and culture must spring.” Joining the association and attending its exhibitions were affirmations of Bangor’s gentility and a means to promote culture and fine art. In a decade where uncertain financial conditions made bank statements nearly irrelevant, attendance at such functions added to one’s social standing.

By the time he was president of the Art Association, Hardy had moved his studio from the commercial district to his home. Hardy’s earlier studios had been located in the town’s business section, where wealthy citizens also had shops and offices. Hardy’s first studio, according to an 1826 announcement, was a “room directly over the Book-Store of B. Nourse, & Co.,” and would be “open for the reception of visiters [sic] from 4 til 7 P.M. of every day, where specimens of his work may be seen.” (Fig. 4) The location of the studio over a bookstore, the fact that Hardy ran the ad, and his commitment to opening his studio every day of the week imply that he viewed his art career primarily as a business endeavor. In 1830 Hardy moved his studio to York Street; by 1835 he was in the new and prominent Smith Block on the corner of Hammond and Central Street; and by 1838 he had located in the Strickland Block. These latter two locations, both of them prestigious and convenient, were in the heart of downtown Bangor.

In the 1850s Hardy shared a studio with his photographer son, Francis Willard Hardy. An advertising card for this studio shows how father and son worked together, combining photography and portraiture: “Daguerreotypes copied and enlarged to any size required, beautifully colored if desired, and rendered into Oil Paintings” (Fig. 5). The location of this father-son studio was on Main Street in the early 1850s and on a side street called Barker Street from the late 1850s through the early 1870s.

Some time in the mid-1870s Hardy moved his studio to his home at 202 Main Street (opposite Thatcher Street), near the Bangor House. Hardy shared both the Barker Street studio and the 202 Main Street studio with his daughter Annie Hardy, a
painter of still lifes and genres. Sharing the last two studios with his daughter had a major influence on both the way he worked and on the images that he painted. In 1867, while working in her father's studio, Annie painted *Basket of Strawberries*. The painting shows a barefoot country girl standing in the entrance to a shed, holding a bonnet in her right hand and a tin of strawberries in her other. With a contented smile, she looks directly at the viewer, much like the boy in *The Smelt Seller*. The girl inhabits a pleasant world; it is summertime, and flowers bloom all around, even on her hat. The scene is full of light and color. J.P. Hardy witnessed the creation of this work – an image that influenced his own execution of *The Smelt Seller*. He may have envisioned his painting as a seasonal variation of *Basket of Strawberries*, suggesting the four-season emphasis found on other popular works of the period, especially Currier and Ives prints.

Hardy's move home to paint in the mid-1870s was a major change; the fact that he no longer required a downtown studio to meet his patrons provides further evidence of the end of his career as portrait painter. It also suggests the influence of a new form of patronage on both his work and his studio requirements. The rise of the daguerreotype, while it provided a livelihood for Hardy's son, contributed to the decline in portrait painting generally. On the other hand, the growth of the Bangor Art Association may have encouraged his shift to genre, for Art Association exhibitions were places he could easily show, and perhaps sell, his genre work.

**Postwar Images of Childhood**

A final influence on Hardy's choice of subject and theme was the vast change in cultural conditions since he began his portrait painting career in the 1830s. By the 1870s America was concerned about its children. This preoccupation affected everyone, including Hardy, whose interpretation of rural childhood influenced not only his contemporaries but successive generations as well. *The Smelt Seller* combined two popular themes in the art and literature of the decade: the fascination
Figure 6. A gallery of images from the 1874 volume of *St. Nicholas*. 
with childhood and the concern with the disruptive effects of the industrial economy. Depictions of youth appealed to the American middle-class reader. After the war Americans came to perceive childhood as a “separate stage of life, valuable in itself, a time during which the child’s capacity for wonder and imagination could be freely and safely indulged.” Hardy’s contribution to this cultural trend – The Smelt Seller – had its roots in the visual and literary trends in representing children in the popular press and the fine arts.

In creating a painting for a new market, Hardy looked to popular culture. Visual representations of youth abounded in books, newspapers, and magazines after the Civil War. The abundance of such images was due in part to advances in printing technology, which made it easier and less expensive to reproduce illustrations. By the 1870s magazines like St. Nicholas, Harper’s Weekly, Appleton’s, and Scribner’s Monthly relied heavily on illustrations to bolster their editorial content and enliven the advertisements. This same transition is apparent in Maine publications, including the Whig and Courier, which increased its use of visual presentation in advertising.

Publishers capitalized on the surging interest in youth; they published books and stories that allowed children to indulge themselves by reading stories of other children. St. Nicholas, a profusely-illustrated magazine aimed at young readers, began publication in 1874, its pages filled with images of young boys and girls shown in various pursuits and poses (Fig. 6). The existence of this magazine, as well as the increase in publishing for and about children, indicated popular interest in childhood and suggested a corresponding interest in visual representations of young people.

Indeed, even before the war professional artists had been creating works that portrayed idyllic scenes of rural youth. Henry Inman’s Mumble the Peg shows two young boys on their way home from school, playing a game with their jackknifes. By far the most famous representation of youth was Eastman Johnson’s Barefoot Boy. This image, reproduced in a more popular chromolithograph form by Louis Prang in 1867, shows
a very young boy, hands in pocket, on a country road. The barefoot boy is smiling, a testament to the fun and innocence of childhood. Both these works reinforce the notion of childhood innocence and purity. Hardy may have used a print of *Barefoot Boy* as a source for *The Smelt Seller*, a practice not uncommon.

After the war, childhood images continued to proliferate in magazines, newspapers, and on the easels of some fine artists, but there was no universal agreement on the appropriate representation of childhood. Works by Winslow Homer and Eastman Johnson depict a childhood that was pure and clean. The paintings ask little of the viewer; the pleasant images are to be enjoyed. As art historian Elizabeth Johns claims, “Johnson’s and Homer’s scenes of idyllic boyhood not only avoided but might even be claimed to have denied the tensions of public life.”

While the rural boy—more often a genteel boy in the country on vacation—was depicted as barefoot, idle, and happy, the urban boy was often pictured selling something. William Tyler Ranney’s *The Match Boy* (ca. 1854) and William E. Winner’s *Newsboy* (1864) show young boys in mercantile activities, but the boys, like the barefoot boy, are healthy and contented. Art historian Sarah Burns has argued that J.G. Brown’s *Tuckered Out – The Shoeshine Boy* (ca. 1875-1880) romanticizes the plight of the young merchant. These urban youth are “healthy, streetwise, and appealing,” offering images of upward mobility and optimism. They hold the promise of the future as embodiments of Horatio Alger’s “rags-to-riches” stories.

Other images depicted the darker side of urban boyhood, as in J.G. Brown’s *The Shoeshine Boy* (1876; Fig. 7). The frayed clothing, the glazed, tired look, and the statue-like pose suggest a dullness, a loss of vivacity—an image of lost youth. It is this sense of weariness that connects *The Shoeshine Boy* with *The Smelt Seller*.

*The Smelt Seller* combines the images of rural boyhood and the street urchin into a study of wearied innocence in a rural setting. *The Smelt Seller* shows a country boy assisting with the family economy, a common occurrence on rural farms, but an unusual image in American art. Hardy’s painting depicts a boy with a job to do, a boy participating in an economy that has
already worn him out. His shoes have holes, his coat is frayed and torn, and he looks exhausted. The fish appear to be the liveliest part of the painting.

However, the fish are not yet sold; they represent work to be done. Smelt-selling was an unglamorous occupation undertaken to supplement the family economy in the early springtime.
The painting suggests the realities of boyhood in the late nineteenth century, a stark contrast to the romanticized urban waifs and the barefoot-boy images of the 1860s. Hardy presents the iconography of youth – made so familiar to viewers in the popular press – under a new set of circumstances.

Hardy creates a tension in the relation of the boy to the viewer. Placed at the edge of the picture plane, the young boy is trying to sell his smelts. Thus the viewer becomes the necessary other party in the buyer-seller arrangement. The painting forces the viewer to decide the outcome of the boy’s plight. Would the viewer buy from him, or turn him away? Hardy’s The Smelt Seller poses questions for society: What was the responsibility of the cultured viewer to those less cultured? What was the meaning of childhood for the working poor?

The smelt-seller’s family eked out a living through any means available; the young boy lived on the edge, outside the world of the dominant culture, representing a group not often depicted in the fine art of the period. The objects in The Smelt Seller reinforce the class distinction between the idle, youthful pursuits of genteel children and the mercantile activities of rural working-class boys. The sled towed by the boy symbolizes this duality: Is it a toy or practical tool upon which he hauls his wares? The painting captures an anxious nostalgia, a culture grappling with class and economic changes caused by rapid industrialization, commercialization, and population growth. The Smelt Seller both uses and reframes images of childhood.

Hardy was no stranger to the lives of boys who helped with the family economy. As a model for The Fisher Boy, he used William Hutchinson, a youngster who delivered his milk. Since the boy in The Fisher Boy wears the same costume and looks like the boy in The Smelt Seller, we can infer that Hardy used Hutchinson as a model for both. Here was a boy whose youthful experiences set him apart from the children of Bangor’s wealthier citizens. The Smelt Seller provides no hint of school days or hours of play. For boys from farming and fishing families, family needs came before school attendance. Bangor hired a truant officer in 1866, presumably to corral more children into the schoolyard.
Table 1
Partial Income of J.P. Hardy, 1840-1853

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Numbers of Entries</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Average</th>
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<td>$675.00</td>
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<td>$1280.00</td>
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Source: Hardy Account Book, Hardy Family Papers, Bangor Public Library. (According to the Hardy papers at the Bangor Public Library, Hardy had another account book that began about 1850.)

Faced with such pressures, a young lad like Hardy's smelt-seller may have attended school after his work was done, contributing to his look of fatigue.25

How was Hardy's image of childhood received at the time? The only information about the public reception of *The Smelt Seller* is from Annie Hardy: "'Boy with Smelts' was sold in Boston soon after it was painted."26 No doubt, *The Smelt Seller*'s meaning varied, depending on the experiences and values that viewers brought to the work, but generally, we can better understand its impact on viewers by understanding the nineteenth-century culture in which they lived. *The Smelt Seller* was created in a time when images of idyllic childhood proliferated; yet at the same time, there were more working poor than ever before. The
painting was part of an ongoing national dialogue about the meaning of youth in America. Hardy reframed the national images of the barefoot boy and the street urchin to fit the regional market centered in Bangor. *The Smelt Seller*, painted in a decade when images of youth proliferated, also provides a unique interpretation of rural boyhood in the 1870s. *The Smelt Seller* was J.P Hardy’s response to the perplexing questions about childhood and class consciousness that post-Civil War society raised for Americans.

**NOTES**


2. Although this painting is listed as *The Young Fisherman* in the Farnsworth catalog, it is referred to as *The Smelt Seller* in Fanny Eckstrom, “Jeremiah Pearson Hardy – A Maine Portrait Painter,” *Old Time New England* (October 1939), pp. 40-66, and reference is made to *Little Smelt Seller* and *Boy with Smelts* in various Hardy family papers at the Bangor Public Library. The change to *The Young Fisherman* says much about changing cultural context, as it conveys the nostalgia, dating the early twentieth century, for the iconographic downeast Maine “old salt.”


This was ascertained by cross-referencing an 1875 Bangor map with Hardy's account book from 1840 to 1856.


Hardy's account book, Bangor Public Library. See Eckstrom, "Jeremiah Pearson Hardy," p. 66: "We know that his 'large book of orders,' beginning about 1850, was destroyed some years ago."

Vickery, ed., *Bangor, Maine*.

See Art Association of Bangor files, Bangor Historical Society.


Compiled from *Artists Listed in City Directories*; Eckstrom, "Jeremiah Pearson Hardy"; Mary C. Robinson to F.H.E, August 27, 1938, Hardy family papers.

Vatne, *Hardy Connection*.


Burns, *Pastoral Inventions*, p. 44.

Horatio Alger's *Ragged Dick* was published in 1867. See Burns, *Pastoral Inventions*, p. 310.

Burns, *Pastoral Inventions*.

See the accession notes at Bangor Public Library: "William Hutchinson is the boy whose picture is shown in the 'Fisher Boy' by Hardy. He carried milk to Miss Hardy on the Hampden Road. She noticed him and his costume and Mr. Hardy painted the picture. The information herewith related was given to the library by Mrs. B.F. Baker, of Lynn, Mass., who was Hutchinson's sister."


"Miss Annie E. Hardy's notes on her father, Jeremiah P. Hardy," undated, ca. 1920, Bangor Public Library.