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The Rediscovery of Frans Hals

Works of art grow and change as their spectators change. And the history of works of art is to a large extent the growth in the number and kinds of value which human interest finds in them.[1]

For about two hundred years after his death, Frans Hals's artistic legacy was virtually unclaimed. It was not until the 1860s that his works received the serious critical attention that held them to be masterpieces and elevated their producer to the pantheon of great artists. Until then, Hals's paintings had been largely ignored, their very survival subject to the vagaries of fortune as time and circumstance removed them from the original purposes for which they were made.

Hals was primarily a portraitist whose works were intended to commemorate his patrons, both during and after their lifetimes. While his large-scale civic group portraits remained safely (if obscurely) in municipal buildings, most of Hals's original patrons could not rely on the dynastic loyalty of subsequent generations to cherish or protect their commissioned portraits; nor were they much valued as works of art. As a result, many paintings were relegated to attics or to a listless existence on the art market, usually of uncertain attribution, occasionally altered and, it seems, often lost.

This posthumous neglect of Hals was dramatically reversed within a short period during the second half of the nineteenth century. Enhanced by their recently conferred artistic and historical status, his works became internationally popular, and Hals's name became a byword for genius. His art was now celebrated as a vital source of instruction and emulation, and occupied a prominent point of reference in contemporary art criticism. He was also given a new, pre-eminent role in art-historical accounts of the seventeenth-century Dutch School. As his rediscovered works surfaced on the art market they were avidly sought after by public museums and private collectors, and were traded up and up to meteoric prices. By the mid-1870s there was already a flourishing market in misattributions and forgeries.

This essay outlines the history of Hals's critical fortunes, from his earlier obscurity to his later celebrity, and discusses some of the various factors that converged to promote the critical and historical revival of his works, particularly in relation to aspects of contemporary painting towards the end of the nineteenth century.[2]

HALS'S EARLY REPUTATION

The near-oblivion of Hals outside Holland by the beginning of the nineteenth century can be gauged from a variety of different sources. In the many eulogies of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish portraiture in France during the early part of the nineteenth century, Hals's name is conspicuously absent, ousted by those of Van Dyck and Rubens, Rembrandt and van der Helst.[3] One of Hals's finest works, the full-length portrait of *Willem van Heythuysen* (cat. 17), was misattributed to van der Helst as late as 1866.[4]

The art market – an obvious barometer of taste – provides further evidence: scanty information culled from the art sales indicates generally derisory prices for works by, or attributed to, Hals.[5] The indifference of English connoisseurs at the beginning of the nineteenth century is reflected by John Smith's intentional omission of Hals from his monumental *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French painters*.[6] Hals could not have been unknown to Smith: paintings by and attributed to him passed through London sale rooms, and he had a secure niche in most of the biographical dictionaries of painters that were then the popular form of art history.[7] However, these well-known anecdotal accounts, which in the case of Hals dwelt largely on the artist's conduct and character as well as on his construed artistic procedure, reveal some of the reasons for his low reputation.

The first published report on Hals dates from approximately sixty years after his death – the entry in Arnold Houbraken's biographical compendium of Dutch artists, *De Groote Schouburgh*.[8] It is based on Van Dyck's purported visit to Hals on the eve of his departure for England. Arriving to find the Haarlem painter, as usual, in some tavern, Van Dyck posed as a prospective client and sent for him. On his return, Hals, unaware of the identity of his visitor, picked up any old canvas that he had at hand and painted rapidly. The visitor, feigning surprise at such apparent facility of execution, insisted on painting Hals's portrait in return. Hals, recognising the master's hand in the completed work, warmly welcomed Van Dyck, but adamently refused his invitation to accompany him to England. However, Hals did not balk at accepting money from Van Dyck for his children, which he promptly took to spend on drink. Houbraken then cites Van Dyck's supposed opinion of

Hals's art: that had he blended his colours more 'delicately' or 'thinly', Hals could have been one of the greatest masters, for he was unrivalled in his control of the brush and in his ability to bring out the essential features of a portrait with precisely aimed brushstrokes which needed no softening or modification. Van Dyck is attributed with a report of Hals's technique of initially laying in his portraits with thick and softly melting layers of paint, and later working them up with the brush, saying 'Now to give it the master's touch'.

Houbraken may have invented the encounter between Van Dyck and Hals, being reminded possibly of the classical story of the anonymous visit of Apelles to Protogenes.[9] However, in its later context, the purported meeting also alluded implicitly to two modes of painting, broadly defined as the 'smooth', or more finished, neat manner, and the 'rough', or unfinished, loose manner. This distinction had by then become an accepted way of describing two opposing styles of painting. The less finished style was justified as revealing the artist's creative imagination (rather than the manual skill of the artisan), and as demanding an active role from the spectator, who had to learn to respond to the suggestive brushwork, to stand further back when viewing the paintings, and to appreciate the bravura technique that skilfully concealed the obvious signs of labour (thus achieving the famous ideal of effortless nonchalance, *sprezzatura*, of Castiglione's perfect courtier and perfect artist).[10]

These ideas, emanating from Italy in the sixteenth century, influenced writers on art in the north, where careful finish had traditionally been the order of the day. As early as 1604, Karel van Mander, who almost certainly was Frans Hals's teacher, referred to the two possible approaches to the finish of paintings – the 'neat' and the 'rough'.[11] He recommended that apprentices start with the neat manner, and show caution in painting without preparatory drawing.

Nevertheless Hals developed his original style of portraiture in the rough manner, and his bold, unblended brushstrokes, which needed to be viewed from a distance, were appreciated in his lifetime.[12] It seems, however, that a shift in taste towards the middle of the seventeenth century favoured the smoother finish, of which Van Dyck was generally accepted as the leading proponent.[13]

Certainly Houbraken's later account has the internationally renowned Van Dyck lording it over the Haarlem painter. Despite the admiration he professedly expressed for Hals's bold and skilful brushwork, Van Dyck supposedly wanted to rescue Hals from his dissipated tavern life by whisking him off to England. He also suggested ways in which Hals could improve his style and realise his full potential.

Houbraken's story of the artists' encounter alludes both to Hals's bravura artistic procedure and to his intemperate mode of living. Houbraken then elaborates on the latter – recounting how every evening Hals, filled to the gills with drink, was escorted home by his attentive students who carefully put him to bed. Although Houbraken may not have been alone in his view of Hals's high-spirited life (an earlier comment that he 'was somewhat lusty in his youth' had been handwritten by the German painter Scheitz in his copy of an earlier work on Dutch artists, Karel van Mander's *Het Schilder-boeck*),[14] his published account of Hals was to be the start of a tenacious anecdotal tradition that dwelt emphatically on the artist's purported debauchery, and was plagiarised by writers until the mid-nineteenth century.[15]

In 1753 Descamps, for example, while explaining Hals's characteristic bold brushwork as his attempt to mask the otherwise servile and laborious exactitude demanded by portraiture, also added that when starting work on Van Dyck's portrait he not only took the first canvas at hand, but also 'arranged his palette badly'.[16] Hals's refusal to accompany Van Dyck to England is attributed explicitly to his besotted but happy existence in Haarlem.[17] In 1835 another French writer suggested, somewhat ingeniously, that because Hals spent his evenings in debauched tavern revelry he inadvertently gave rise to a school of tavern-painters, his students representing scenes from his own degenerate life.[18]

The traditional anecdotes of Hals's debauchery are found as late as the mid-nineteenth century, when biographical dictionaries had generally given way to new forms of art history: accounts of modern European art in terms of different national schools with their distinguishing traits (such as subject matter and aesthetic ideals) and the characteristic stylistic development of their artists.[19] Thus in Arsène Houssaye's *Histoire de la peinture flamande et hollandaise* of 1846, a publication which reflected the increasing popularity of seventeenth-century northern schools in France and also drew on recent art-historical interpretations of the special nature of the Dutch School, Hals was grouped with Brouwer, Craesbeeck and the Ostades in a chapter on 'Tavern and Kermis Painters'.[20] Houssaye dwells on his habitual debauchery, his unwillingness to allow Van Dyck to save him from his misery and drunkenness, and his snatching of money from his ragged, shivering children, who themselves later became 'painters, musicians and drunkards, bohemians in art as in life'.[21] Houssaye comments that even through the fumes of wine, Hals, remembering his high calling and posterity, pronounced: 'I paint for the name of Hals; the master, and I am one, ought to hide lowly manual labour with the special gifts of an artist.'[22] Houssaye emphasises that

Hals was self-taught – a natural untutored talent characterised by skill and boldness. He concludes that Hals's debauchery did not finally do him in until he was of a ripe old age.[23]

Although these accounts of Hals frequently referred to his lifelike portraiture and bold spontaneous manner, Hals's artistic procedure was also associated with his reputed wanton behaviour. His practice of finishing off with unblended brushstrokes, his *alla prima* painting technique without preparatory sketches, his apparent rapidity of execution, were all to become the focus of censorious judgements of his style and character. Thus by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Hals's bravura virtuosity, inseparable from his feckless character, was denigrated as a slapdash procedure which resulted in an unacceptable flaw in terms of contemporary taste – negligent lack of finish.

Young artists were cautioned against Hals by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his Discourse of 1774 to students, in which he stressed the virtue of industriousness and diligent study of other masters. While admiring Hals's unequalled ability to portray a 'strong-marked character of individual nature', he regretted that he had not 'joined to this most difficult part of the art, a patience in finishing what he had so correctly planned'.[24]

In the 1790s, the prominent French dealer Lebrun gave dire warning to contemporary artists of the commercial drawbacks of Hals's alleged negligence:

> His works would sell for higher prices had he not produced so much, or painted so quickly; for a painting to fetch a high price it is not sufficient that it bear the mark of genius, it must also be properly finished; or else, I must concede that that which has been quickly executed is similarly regarded and paid for. Advice to contemporary artists who do not base their reputations firmly on finished works and precious study.[25]

Forty years later, in 1834, the English dealer Nieuwenhuys (who had possibly sold the portraits of *Stephanus Geraerdts* and *Isabella Coymans* [cat. 68, 69] the previous year) regretfully echoed similar views:

> The great facility of painting for which this artist was distinguished was, however, sometimes carried to mannerism, and we may regret that several of his works were so negligently executed with regard to the finish; for that reason it may easily be conceived that many amateurs do not esteem them, and thus they are to be obtained at very low prices.[26]

Nieuwenhuys adds that Hals was nevertheless an excellent painter, his works revealing 'the mind of a genius and the handling of a master, whose choice paintings deserve a better fate, and are worthy of a place in the finest collections'.[27]

If the later recollections of James Northcote (1746-1831), protégé and biographer of Reynolds, are to be believed, Hals did indeed have an unexpected place in a fine collection, for Northcote claimed that a portrait by Hals 'which Titian could not have surpassed' hung in Reynolds's study – presumably valued for a particular aspect of Hals's art which Northcote vividly described.

> For truth of character, indeed, he was the greatest painter that ever existed. ... Hals made no beauties; his portraits are of people such as you meet with every day in the street. He was not a successful painter – his works were not ornamental – they did not move – they did not give all [that] his sitters were whilst he saw them before him, but, what they did give, they gave with a truth that no man could surpass. I have sometimes said Titian was the greatest painter in the world; ... he gave a solemn grandeur which is very fine indeed. But still, if I had wanted *an exact likeness* I should have preferred Hals. ... Hals possessed one great advantage over many other men; his mechanical power was such that he was able to hit off a portrait on the instant; he was able to shoot the bird flying – so to speak – with all its freshness about it, which Titian does not seem to have done.[28]

Thus although Hals's ability seemingly to capture a momentary individual likeness in his portraiture was acknowledged, his free spontaneous brushwork and juxtaposed colours did not persuade these posthumous viewers of his artistic mastery: on the contrary, reminiscent of the artist's reputed intemperate character, his works were seen as lacking in finish, they were not 'ornamental', they did not 'move'; they revealed a bold but flawed talent.[29]

Such views also accorded with criteria of finish among academic theorists in France in the early nineteenth century, and until these canons of careful execution and finish were thoroughly undermined, Hals's works could not lose their stigma of negligence.[30] Favourable reception of his inferred spontaneous procedure and free, open brushwork, required not only positive criteria relating to 'rough' finish and to lively, individualised characterisation in portraiture, but also required positive appreciation of other associated qualities such as the apparent visibility of the artist's creative process and the revelation of an uninhibited and emphatically original talent.

Within the construed history of seventeenth-century Dutch art, furthermore, Hals's role needed to be established and the corpus of his works recovered, for although his major civic group portraits were accessible, they were scattered in different buildings in Haarlem and little known. Hals's reputation also needed to be rescued from the persistent allegations of debauchery. The earliest serious attempts to turn the tide in this

respect were made by local Dutch historians compiling national biographies who made determined attempts to clear Hals's name from the calumnious tradition by reference to archival sources. In 1816, van Eynden and van der Willigen rebuked Houbraken for ignoring Hals's great civic group portraits in Haarlem and Amsterdam, and emphasised the esteem in which Hals was held in his lifetime, quoting lines of praise written by Hals's contemporary, Theodorus Schrevelius, in his popular history of Haarlem:

> ... [he] excels almost everyone with the superb and uncommon manner of painting which is uniquely his. His paintings are imbued with such force and vitality that he seems to defy nature herself with his brush. This is seen in all his portraits, so numerous as to pass belief, which are coloured in such a way that they seem to live and breathe.[31]

By 1840, van der Willigen's archival research had turned up material which, he believed, showed Hals to be a more respected citizen than traditionally believed, and it is suggested that he was a man of 'cheerful disposition and generally loved'.[32] In 1843, Immerzeel insisted that Hals's masterly works were in themselves a refutation of allegations of daily drunkenness.[33] As will be seen, these local efforts to rehabilitate Hals were to be dramatically furthered some twenty years later by the establishment of the Municipal Museum at Haarlem.

Outside Holland, Hals's unjust neglect began to be registered by historians and critics during the 1850s: Gustav Waagen, Director of the Berlin Museum, commented of Hals's *Portrait of a Man* (cat. 38) that it justified Van Dyck's admiration:

> ... for the conception is unusually spirited and animated, even for Frank [sic] Hals, and agrees in every way with the broad and firm execution. In my opinion the value of this painter in the history of Dutch painting has never been sufficiently appreciated. He was the first who introduced the broad manner of Rubens into Holland, where it was adopted and followed up with the greatest success by Rembrandt, who was born twenty years later.[34]

In 1858, the French critic Paul Mantz, author of the fascicle on Hals in Blanc's mammoth collaborative series, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles*,[35] predicted optimistically that Belgian and Dutch scholars would rectify the lack of reliable information on this artist who did not yet occupy his 'rightful place in art'.[36]

However, it was to be another French writer, a political journalist, art critic and art historian, the exiled Théophile Thoré, writing under the pseudonym W. Bürger, whose pioneering historical researches, connoisseurship and critical reappraisal would play this most important role in the dramatic reversal of Hals's posthumous fortunes.[37]

HALS REDISCOVERED: THE ROLE OF THORÉ-BÜRGER

Well known as one of the finest art critics during the nineteenth century, Thoré, in his later persona of Bürger (hereinafter referred to by either or both names, depending on the context), became one of the most respected connoisseurs and historians of the art of the past, particularly of the seventeenth-century Dutch School.[38] His most celebrated achievement was his spectacular rediscovery of Vermeer – an artist almost lost in oblivion. In the case of Hals, he reversed the artist's long-standing notoriety and drew unprecedented attention to his works – to their pictorial qualities, to their art-historical significance, to their essential Dutchness, and to their modern relevance.

After eight years of obscure exile, Thoré-Bürger's phoenix-like return to the art world in Paris was achieved by his review of the great Art Treasures exhibition in Manchester in 1857,[39] in which is found his first enthusiastic mention of Hals. The artist is here described as one of the freest and boldest practitioners of all schools, an eccentric and impetuous master who was 'to Rembrandt what Tintoretto was to Titian'.[40] In contrast to the laconic entries in the official catalogues,[41] Bürger pays careful attention to the two exhibited Hals portraits, and disagrees with the designation of the *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 1; S214) as a sketch, insisting it is no more of a sketch than Hals's other paintings, but is indeed extremely rapidly painted ('*très brusquement sabré à la vérité*').[42] He further refers his readers to Hals's great works in Holland, with which he was by then familiar.[43]

From his earliest eulogistic accounts, he stresses Hals's consummate mastery and the cheerfulness and spontaneity that emanate from both the subject matter and assumed artistic procedure. Thus in 1858, in the first volume of his famous catalogues of the major Dutch museums, Hals's *Married Couple in a Garden* (cat. 12), then believed to be a self-portrait with his wife, is described as representing a cheerful and affectionate pair sitting under the trees: the wife vivacious and gay, a good gossip for such an outrageous fellow, who here seems a fine gentleman, witty and elegant, whose brush seems to have frolicked over the canvas.[44] The other painting then in Amsterdam, the *Merry Drinker* (cat. 30), is dealt with more briefly, Hals's touch here characterised as brusque and accurate.[45]

In 1860, while writing on the Suermondt Collection, Bürger elaborates on Hals's presumed method of working, but instead of warning artists, as earlier writers had

done, of the dire results of emulating the Dutch master, he urges them to learn from Hals's example:

> He painted so much! He painted so quickly – and so well! Even the slightest painting by him is attractive and offers a lesson to artists. All aspects of his work are instructive, his faults as well as his strengths; for his faults are always those of a great practitioner. In his exaggerated brusqueness, his risky contrasts, his informal carelessness, there is always the hand of a bountifully talented painter, and even the sign of a certain kind of genius – somewhat superficial, it is true, and inspired by the external appearances of things, by movement, style, colour and effect, by whatever moves and glitters, rather than by the secret and inner spiritual side of life, even somewhat vulgar, if one can so refer to genius – but frank and bold, as irresistible as instinct.[46]

The following is his description of the *Boy with a Flute* (cat. 15) in the collection:

> A young man, ... his hand beating time, imagine how rapidly this raised hand was painted. The figure is modelled against a light background, a lively study hurried over in one go. He never did otherwise. All his brushstrokes stand out, aimed exactly and wittily where intended. One could say that Frans Hals painted as if fencing, and that he flicked his brush as if it were a foil. Oh, the adroit swashbuckler, extremely amusing to observe in his beautiful passes! Sometimes a little reckless to be sure, but as skilful as he is bold.[47]

Bürger's evocations of Hals's virtuosity and bold impetuous brushwork are without the censorious warnings of lack of finish found in Hals's earlier critics; on the contrary, his procedure is advocated as exemplary for contemporary artists. This view is consistent with Thoré-Bürger's preferences in contemporary art and with his position on 'finish' – a perennial issue, which took on new urgency in the critical debates in France during the nineteenth century.[48]

In his second volume on the Dutch museums Bürger attempts to trace Hals's stylistic development by reference to Rembrandt, whose influence he detects in the broader style of such works as the 1639 *Portrait of Maritge Claesdr Vooght* (fig. 18e; S129).[49] To amplify his point, Bürger compares the two St. George militia pieces of *c.*1627 and *c.*1639 then in the Town Hall of Haarlem. He describes the later work as one of the masterpieces of the Dutch School, a work of incomparable mastery ('*maestria*'), of a solid, grand and free composition. While attributing the darker colours, more intimate facial expressions, the harmonious and peaceful effects to Hals's presumed knowledge of the young Rembrandt, he notes that he retained his characteristically energetic brushwork.[50]

Fig. 1 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Man* (S214)
New York, Frick Collection

Two years later, an extremely important event gave added impetus to Bürger's initial efforts to replace the conventional and superficial notion of Hals's work with a newly considered view of the full range of his art: the establishment, in 1862, of the Haarlem Municipal Museum. Hals's most brilliant works, the five life-size group portraits of the Haarlem civic guards and the three regent pieces (cat. 54, 85, 86), eighty-four figures in all, were, for the first time, all easily accessible to the public.[51] From 1862 on, it was Hals the artist who was commemorated, not just the original commissioning citizens and institutions, and the whole gamut of his major artistic achievements over fifty years, from 1616 to 1664, was spectacularly displayed. Here, in a single large room, the impressive sweep of his long career could be viewed, providing a unique and dramatic spectacle of an artist's development through maturity to old age. That Haarlem soon became a popular site for artistic pilgrimage was both a result of, and an important contributory factor to, the spread of Hals's fame and to his recently re-established art-historical status.[52]

Fig. 2 Frans Hals, *Portrait of a Woman* (s185)
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

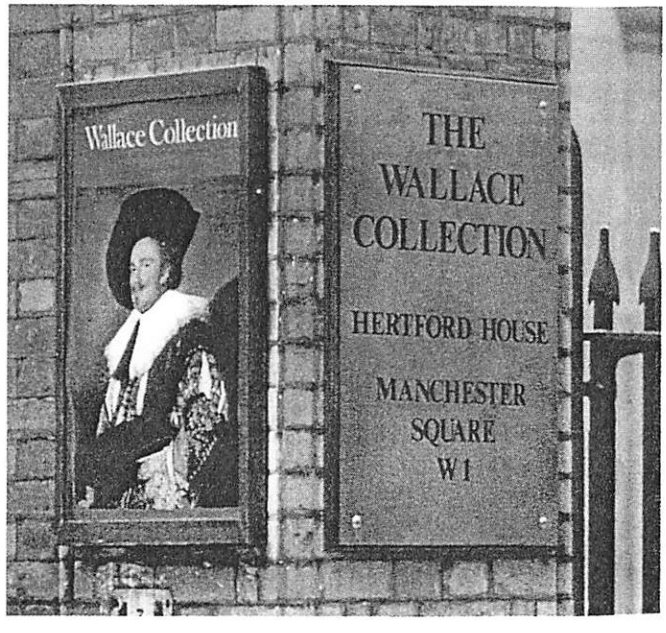

Fig. 3 View of the poster displaying Frans Hals's *Laughing Cavalier* for the Wallace Collection (photo: Jessica Strang)

During the 1860s, Bürger's continuing championship of Hals (especially as a model for modern artists) carried special weight, for not only had Bürger become widely recognised as an erudite connoisseur of the art of the past and the leading advocate of the Dutch School, he had also once again become a prominent polemical critic of contemporary art. Furthermore, in 1868 he republished his major Salon reviews of the 1840s, together with a long introductory essay 'Les Nouvelles Tendances de l'Art'.[53] His earlier militant support of innovative artists like Delacroix and Rousseau (by the 1860s unanimously acknowledged as great masters of nineteenth-century French art), gave him the aura of a prophetic critic,[54] as well as that of a heroic rescuer of unjustly forgotten artists of the past.

In 1864 he recommended that modern artists study Hals's *Portrait of a Woman* (fig. 2; s185),[55] both for the general wholesomeness of the figure's demeanour, as well as for the technical excellence in the rendering of the hands.

> She is as fresh as a beautiful apple on the tree. It is health in all its exuberance. Something of the peasant, whose complexion glows in the open air. Fashionable society would not find her very elegant, but that is to her favour, for she is as open-hearted as she is ingenuous.
>
> The two clasped hands are marvellous. ... One can hardly detect how it is achieved by such a few bold strokes which precisely show up the form and movement.[56]

Bürger discusses the difficulties of rendering the living, agile hand, in movement or about to move, and comments that Dutch painters generally had little difficulty with the awkward problem of posing hands, placing them 'where and how they ought to be' – a pictorial ability Bürger attributes to the artists' 'naturalness' and 'sincerity'.[57] These terms, as we shall see, acquire particular meanings and values in the context of Bürger's notion of naturalism.

Bürger's promotion of Hals during the 1860s accompanied Hals's rising stardom both as a collectible old master, and as a source of inspiration for contemporary artists. He became one of the most sought-after new discoveries among collectors, who vied with each other for his works as they became increasingly available in sale rooms, especially in Paris, which became the richest centre for Hals's paintings outside Holland. In 1865, Lord Hertford and Baron Rothschild competed at auction for a certain *Portrait of a Gentleman*. The bidding reaching a spectacular 51,000 francs, which, although then considered, as a commentator later reminisced,

> ... to be one of Lord Hertford's crazy extravagances,

Fig. 4 Frans Hals, *Gipsy Girl* (s62)
Paris, Musée du Louvre

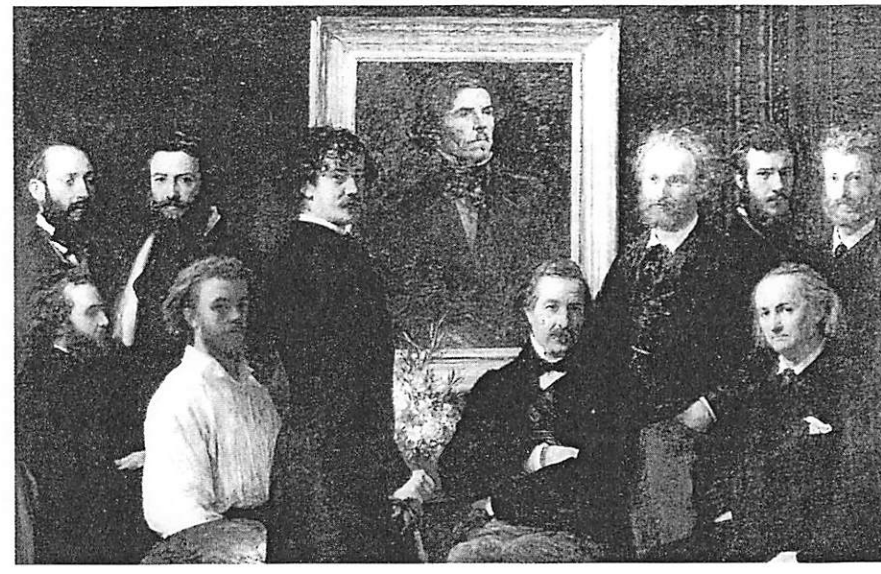

Fig. 5 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Homage to Delacroix*, 1864
Paris, Musée d'Orsay (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)

> ... turned the attention of the art world to Frans Hals in a sensational way. ... People shook their heads, but artists and critics began to see that the 'mad Marquis' had been quite right, and that the picture was a fine example of a man who had been the true predecessor of the realism just beginning to come into favour.[58]

The painting in question was, of course, the so-called *Laughing Cavalier* (pl. 1; s30).[59] The following year Rothschild, determined to make up for his defeat, acquired a version of *Willem van Heythuysen*, a small informal portrait then confidently attributed to Hals, at another Paris sale (see cat. 51, fig. 51c).[60] In the same year, the Exposition Rétrospective held at the Champs-Elysées included two particularly fine paintings by Hals: the *Portrait of a Lady* (fig. 2; s185) from the Pereire Collection and the *Gipsy Girl* (fig. 4; s62), then in the La Caze Collection but shortly to enter the Louvre.[61] By 1867, Bürger observed with satisfaction that nowadays the most distinguished collectors in Paris included works by Hals among their treasures, adding 'May one of the most valiant portraitists in the world, Frans Hals, regain his legitimate position'.[62]

Bürger's role in establishing Hals's 'legitimate position' was already evident in art-historical circles.[63] His descriptions of Hals's various works in Dutch museums were even quoted in a guide-book to Holland in 1862.[64] His promotion of Hals also contributed to the latter's increasing significance to modern artists – especially, it seems, in Paris.

One of the earliest known instances of Hals as a formative source in the nineteenth century is Fantin-Latour's *Homage to Eugène Delacroix* (fig. 5), which was exhibited at the Salon of 1864. Originally planned as an allegorical composition, it was apparently transformed into a modern realist group portrait after Fantin-Latour saw a full-scale copy of one of Hals's group portraits by the Belgian artist Louis Dubois.[65] Whistler's unrealised ambition to rival Fantin's *Homage*, according to his biographer, also referred to the authority of Hals:

> Whistler in London, caught the fever, planned to rival Fantin in size, ten feet by six. Like Fantin's it would be a group of portraits, like Fantin's a tribute to Realism, true to the life of their day even as the great Haarlem groups were true to life as Franz [sic] Hals knew it.[66]

That Hals's example was currently invoked in the studios of modern realist painters is borne out by the critic Zacharie Astruc. His first mention of Hals dates from 1866, in an article on the Exposition Rétrospective mentioned above:

> The reputation of this master will owe much to the modern school which he has greatly impressed and which celebrates him everywhere as an inspiration. The truth is that he represents a healthy and invigorating approach, he is true to his vision and it is now or never that the sincere path must be followed if the domain of French art is to be strengthened and expanded.[67]

Astruc's later admiration for Hals as a 'duellist with the brush, ... who builds, who sculpts, who gives impasto the palpitation of flesh' (reminiscent of Bürger's earlier description),[68] presumably reflected the admiration for

Hals among his circle – which included Manet and the young Impressionists.

It is evident that by 1868, when Bürger published his two pioneering articles on Hals, there already existed a new enthusiastic audience eager for information about Hals's works.[69] Bürger gave an account of the painter's long career, and included a list of all his paintings that he had traced (or placed) in European collections. Paying tribute to the researches of Dutch archivists, Bürger challenged the 'stereotyped calumny' of the earlier biographical accounts of Hals, and dismissed the slurs on his character as insulting and probably apocryphal. He attempted instead to recast him as a gregarious, jolly, adventurous and impetuous person, introducing the artist through the supposed *Self-Portrait with Wife* (cat. 12), and quoting his own earlier description of them as a cheerful, affectionate couple.[70] The derogatory connotations of Hals's impetuous high-spiritedness were swept away in a new version of both his character and his art.

As in his earlier writings, Bürger now stresses Hals's virtuosity, commenting that he never needed preliminary studies, for he could 'express nature with the first touch of his skilful painterly brush'.[71] Bürger, with all the authority of a veteran critic and authoritative connoisseur, insists on the high quality of Hals's paintings, judging his group portrait of *The Company of Captain Reynier Reael* (cat. 43) as superior to van der Helst's celebrated group portraits.[72] The *Laughing Cavalier* (pl. 1; 530; see fig. 3) is held to show Hals's unrivalled ability to portray gaiety and good humour – surpassing both Van Dyck and Velázquez.[73]

Although Bürger initially characterised Hals's virtuosity as reflecting the superficial responses to fleeting external appearances, subsequently noting a broadening Rembrandtesque style, he now traces the development of Hals's art to an *ultima maniera* which ranks him with a galaxy of the greatest European masters.

Hals's early style is characterised by its light effects:

> At the beginning, one could say that he painted in gold – doesn't one say 'to talk in golden tones'? – that a pale light sparkled everywhere like scintillating gold-dust, that he scattered the magic of colour almost too much?[74]

The *Gipsy Girl* (fig. 4) is thus described as painted in

> ... the golden tones with the wildness of his early style: a masterpiece improvised in a few bright hours of good humour.[75]

In the later *Malle Babbe* (cat. 37), Hals's detached, improvisatory brushwork is eulogised as the source of his expressiveness, surpassing virtuosity in its emotional intensity:

> ... this passion is here perhaps most abandoned to the *furia* of his genius. In this painting and in several others, Frans Hals astounds by his violence of brushstrokes and strangeness of tone – as do all impetuous colourists such as Greco, Herrera, Goya.[76]

Hals's late works are compared to Rembrandt in their sombre mysteriousness and their exaggerated but admirable violence of brushwork, impasto and execution.[77] The apogee of his achievement is found in his last works: the group portraits of the *Regents* and *Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse* (cat. 85, 86). Bürger marvels at Hals's *ultima maniera*:

> I do not know of paintings executed with as much impetuousness – not in Hals's own work, not in the work of Rembrandt, ... Rubens, ... Greco or any other of the most enraged painters. ... The life-size figures, modelled in broad glowing strokes stand out in relief from the frames. It is superb and almost terrifying.[78]

Bürger surmises (wrongly) that the regents were like warders to the old painter:

> I imagine that the old lion, defeated by poverty, was from then on, retired – imprisoned in this refuge for old men, and that it was there that he later died.[79]

The impact of Bürger's pioneering researches and of his reassessment of Hals was immediately evident in the historiography of the seventeenth-century Dutch School, in which Hals's crucial innovative and leading role was now generally acknowledged.[80] The great display of Hals's group portraits at the recently established museum at Haarlem increasingly attracted visitors – especially painters – like a magnet.[81] Most exhibitions of old masters regularly included examples of his works, and major public collections would henceforth attempt to acquire his paintings whenever possible.[82]

It must be emphasised, though, that despite Bürger's gratification at Hals's high standing among collectors, this was not his sole aim in promoting him. His art-historical researches into Hals were part of a polemical championship of Dutch art generally, and as such were inextricable from his wider concerns for contemporary art and society.[83] These interests emerge, for example, in a passage in his 1868 study of Hals, where he asks rhetorically of Hals's civic guard portraits:

> Why then should these gatherings of Dutch guardsmen not be considered as great as the banquets of notables in Venetian costume?

He answers by insisting that the presence of works such as Hals's civic guard banquets next to great Veronese banqueting scenes in the Louvre would indeed challenge the hegemony of the 'supposed nobility' of Italian art.[84]

It is clear that these comments were intended as a programme for the art of his time:

> These Dutch paintings representing the contemporary life of the artists naturally make one dream of the art of our own time. ... What is to prevent one from making a masterpiece of a meeting of diplomats seated around a table ... [of] an orator at the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies, a professor surrounded by young people; a scene from the races, a departure from the opera, a stroll down the Champs-Elysées; or just with men working at anything, or women amusing themselves with anything?[85]

Although Bürger's vision of contemporary artists painting the life of their own times in a spontaneous free technique was, of course, already becoming a reality (and was to be spectacularly realised in the next decade), this did not necessarily fulfil his terms for the art of the future. His advocacy of seventeenth-century Dutch naturalism was also associated with political ideals. The special artistic qualities were not a new theme in his (or others') writings,[86] but Bürger's emphatic explanation of the achievements of Dutch art as essentially part of the religious and political emancipation of their republic contributed greatly to the wide dissemination of this idea, and it is to this aspect of his interpretation that we must now turn.

In the first of his famous volumes on the Dutch museums, Bürger insists on a clear distinction between Flemish art – weighed down by the despotism of Catholic Spain and enslaved by pagan and religious iconography, and Dutch art – created in a Protestant, republican society, its artists free to paint their own contemporary world.[87] Dutch painters thus represented the life of their compatriots:

> ... rough sailors, bold arquebusiers, informal burgomasters, decent cheerful working men, the crowd, everyone, in a country of equality.[88]

After Bürger's disappointment with the 1848 Revolution and its short-lived Second Republic, he channelled his energies into defending an idealised Dutch Republic and its art as a model for his vision of future society and art.[89] During his exile he wrote a tract in which he envisaged an imminent universal fraternity about to sweep aside narrow parochialism and jealous territorial habits. He predicted that nations would generalise their traditions and mythologies, and proclaim an ideal, universal humanity:

> There is only one race and one nation, there is only one religion and one symbol: mankind.[90]

Bürger exhorted contemporary artists to concern themselves with humankind (*'le genre humain'*) and to create a universally understood language of art, which he encapsulated in his famous slogan 'art for mankind' (*'l'art pour l'homme'*).[91] The art of the future should base itself on the principle he attributed to Dutch art: 'To create what one sees and feels' (*'Faire ce qu'on voit et ce qu'on sent'*).[92] Bürger frequently and portentously reminds his readers that because the Dutch nation courageously threw off the yoke of religious and political domination, their art was no longer committed to the dogmas of religion and to the glorification of rulers. Unlike the Italian Renaissance artists (and their imitators), whose pagan and religious iconography was impenetrable to the uninitiated and irrelevant to the modern world, Dutch artists were freer than any other national school to create

> ... altogether the most resolute, most varied, most revolutionary, most natural and most human school, [which] thus indicates most clearly the direction of art to come.[93]

Bürger thus justifies his advocacy of an earlier school as 'the most instructive for innovators' and an augury for the future.[94] In such a context, Hals's innovative role is particularly heroic for it is now seen as having set the Dutch School on its historic path.[95]

To Bürger, naturalism did not mean verisimilitude, but the artist's enhanced representation of life around him, an original individual expression of experienced reality, which in turn would be accessible to the widest possible audience.[96] He emphasised the realisation of the subject, the artistic procedure, the method of painting as much as the actual figures represented.

Bürger always gave great significance to technical procedures themselves – the means whereby subjects are realised – for naturalism was best achieved by the mode of painting that most vividly gave the impression of the artist's response to life. Thus the communicability of naturalism resided both in its familiar subject matter and in its means.[97] Both the originality and liveliness of Hals's style, the sense of his spontaneous creative process, as well as the strongly marked individuality of Hals's subjects, are seen as symptomatic of the freedom of a society where individuality is

> ... inherent in their country of free thought, where their imaginations, as well as their souls and their consciences, had absolute independence.[98]

It was thus during the 1860s that some of the recent concerns in contemporary painting, art criticism and art history converged on Hals, vindicating his art in terms that resulted in his being claimed as an 'ever-glorious ancestor' by modern artists,[99] and a rediscovered old master by new enthusiastic audiences. By 1868 Bürger, in particular, had thoroughly overturned all the tra-

ditional accounts of Hals's art and established his pre-eminence both in the Dutch School and amongst the great masters of European art. The traditional accounts of his dissipation were treated with indignant incredulity, and his reputed wantonness was indulgently reinterpreted as jovial high spirits which could in no way cloud his innovative artistic genius – which was, furthermore, now identified with the independent and creative spirit of the Dutch republic itself.

'A NEW MAN IN A NEW WORLD' (VOSMAER)

The first popular publication on Hals after Bürger's pioneering articles dates from 1873-4: the widely reviewed, luxurious folio of etched reproductions by William Unger, which was accompanied by an extended essay by the Dutch art historian Carel Vosmaer.[100] The enthusiastic publisher, A.W. Sijthoff, attributed Hals's recent fame to three factors: the new and more profound conception of art that valued 'original spirits' above conventional talents, 'the new, perceptive researches' of W. Bürger, which had 'spread the cult of Hals's genius throughout Europe', and the establishment of the museum at Haarlem.[101] This portfolio was intended to familiarise the public further with Hals's major works – especially those in Haarlem. Vosmaer elaborated further on the special attraction of Hals to contemporary audiences:

> In modern times, a better grounded and loftier conception of Art in every domain has taught us to set a higher value on original energetic works, than on softer tamer productions of a Muse farther advanced, perhaps, in superficial cultivation, but for that very reason, less natural and less free. Ever impelled by [the] love of truth and of viewing life closer and closer to its sources, ... the nearer ... works approach the spring of inspiration, the fresher and stronger we see them issue hence, the dearer they are to us.[102]

This is indeed a long way from Lebrun and Nieuwenhuys. Furthermore, the terms such as 'natural' and 'free' in the context of the current interpretations of Dutch art had special significance, for Hals is perceived as expressing the spirited vitality of the first generation of the newly fledged republic – its optimism, exuberance, sincerity and naturalness, and his artistic originality is seen as a direct corollary to the self-innovation of the Dutch nation itself:

> The free people who had broken with Tradition, Pope and King appeared as wholly new, and only among that people was it possible for an art like the Dutch to be developed, thoroughly human, natural, independent, born directly out of the character and life of the people. That is then, the whole secret of its origin and being. The people had raised themselves to nationality; the individual to personality; and from this strong consciousness arose works of reality and fiction equally strong.[103]

In this context Hals is described, although of patrician descent,

> ... yet a new man in a new world ... who, with the most peculiar force, expresses and reflects the appearances of the life of the moment and only in the human figure, with all the certainty and all the thrill of nature herself.[104]

In contrast to the earlier censorious accounts of Hals's wanton tavern revelry, he is now eulogised as a portraitist of individuals, initially of free, popular street and tavern life, later of important images of national social life. In particular, his lively portrayal of merriment is explained as a reflection both of his own infectious good humour and of the national mood:

> Hals's sitters seem as if the painter unwittingly imparted his own joyousness to his canvasses and his panels, or that the persons sitting opposite the cheerful face of the genial humorous man, really fell into the same sunny mood.[105]

Thus by the early 1870s the reconstructed and reinterpreted Hals was imbued with several kinds of values. On one level, his paintings had become expensive commodities on the art market.[106] In art-historical terms he was now seen as the crucial innovator of the Dutch School, his works embodying republican, democratic, patriotic values – models of an exuberant pioneering naturalism, of an unstuffy response to the full range of his fellow-citizens. He was also recognised as a brilliant practitioner, whose spontaneous painterly procedure was to be increasingly invested with contemporary artistic relevance during the next few decades.

However, to what extent the individual viewers of the first generation to 'rediscover' Hals valued his works for one rather than another of these factors resists broad generalisation. Separating subject matter from technique disregards, for example, the essential inextricability of subject and procedure (the 'what' and the 'how') in Bürger's highly influential interpretations of Hals's supposed spontaneous naturalism. The aesthetic and social ideologies of Hals's audiences – especially those of the various painters who emulated or invoked his authority in their own artistic practices – need careful individual consideration.[107] A brief review of some of the responses to Hals by the artists and critics who embodied the Hals revival during the last three decades of the nineteenth century reveals the different kinds of interest and meaning that were then found in his works.[108]

Fig. 6 Gustave Courbet, copy after Frans Hals's *Malle Babbe*, 1869
Hamburger Kunsthalle (photo: Elke Walford)

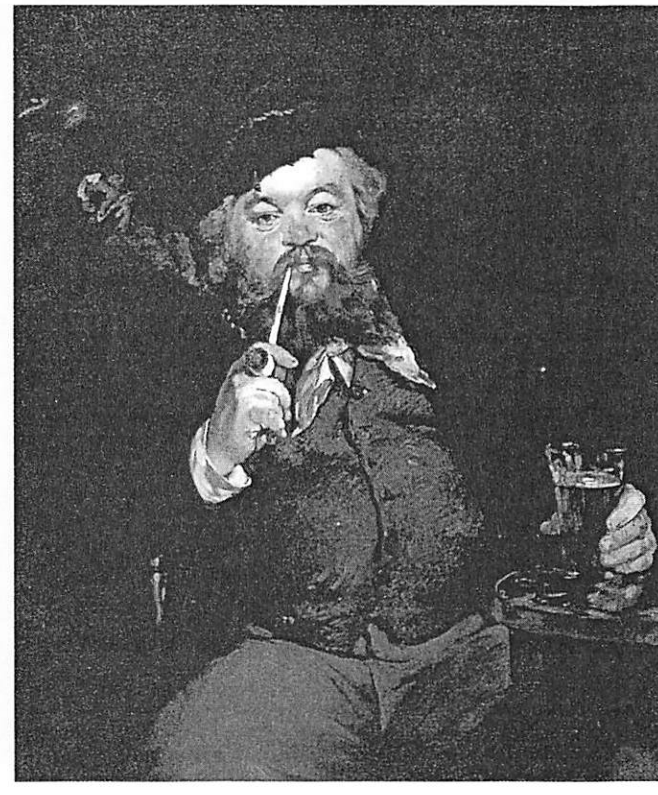

Fig. 7 Edouard Manet, *Le Bon Bock*, 1873
Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. Carroll S. Tyson Collection

ARTISTIC AND CRITICAL RESPONSES IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The identification of Hals with realist aspirations in the 1860s has already been mentioned in relation to Fantin-Latour. Courbet took up Hals in a different way and, in a dazzling challenge to the master, copied the much-vaunted *Malle Babbe* (fig. 6) while it was on public exhibition for the first time in Munich in 1869 (cat. 37), shortly after its introduction by Bürger.[109] The latter had frequently praised Courbet as the undisputed leader of the modern French School, while always deferring to the old masters for criteria of excellence. Could Courbet, with his customary bravado, be challenging Hals and claiming a similar innovatory role in nineteenth-century art? The possibly apocryphal anecdote that Courbet removed the original *Malle Babbe* from its frame, replacing it with his copy for several days without detection, surely suggests that he had something like that in mind, and his inscription of an invented date and monogram on the canvas could have been a teasing allusion to Bürger's art-historical endeavours – and a homage to the republican critic who had died a few months earlier.[110]

A few years later, Manet made a less strident claim on Hals (cat. 30) – albeit as seemingly obvious to some of his contemporaries – in *Le Bon Bock* (fig. 7), exhibited at the Salon of 1873. It was widely assumed to be a Halsian paraphrase: the critic Albert Wolff's comment that Manet had put 'water into his beer' provoked the painter Alfred Stevens to reply that it was 'pure Haarlem beer'.[111] The nature of Manet's relationship to Hals is no easier to define than to any of the other old masters to whom he alluded, although it was recognised as significant by his contemporaries. In a somewhat facetious vein, Degas supposedly commented that Manet 'did not paint fingernails because Frans Hals did not depict them',[112] although Antonin Proust, more seriously, partly credited Hals with inspiring Manet's determination to paint the Paris of his own time:

> The boldness of Franz [sic] Hals also made a deep impression. Thus, when he returned to Paris, fortified by all these memories, Manet plunged hardily into the study of the diverse aspects of life in the great city.[113]

During the first half of the 1870s, the museum in Haarlem was visited by several artists from Paris of different generations and working in different styles, such as Claude Monet, Léon Bonnat, François Bonvin, J.B. Jongkind, Ferdinand Roybet, Charles Daubigny and Théodule Ribot, by teachers as different as Jean-Léon Gérome and Carolus-Duran, and by young American artists such as Mary Cassatt and Alden Weir.

Both Cassatt and Weir made copies after Hals's *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard* (S79).[114] Cassatt apparently cherished her sketch copy until the end of her life.[115] Weir was particularly inspired by Hals in his aspirations to capture 'the character and individuality' of his subject matter, and wrote home enthusiastically:

> I am now in Haarlem, the town that I revere! the birthplace of Frans Hals! How to begin to describe this wonderful man of genius is more than I know, but let me say that of all the art I have seen so far I place him by the side of Titian, if not ahead of him, in portrait painting. ... The wonders of this one great Dutchman are worth a journey around the world for an artist; he is marvellous, the individual nature and amount of nature which he has in his works is astonishing.[116]

He took visual notes of Hals's compositions, and executed lively oil sketches in emulation of his virtuoso brushwork. The lessons he learnt from Hals were to be apparent in many of his figure paintings of the late 1870s and early 1880s.[117]

The register of the visitors to the museum at Haarlem also includes signatures of painters from the major German art centres. The brilliant satirical writer and illustrator Wilhelm Busch, famous for his caricatures and poem-picture books (such as *Max und Moritz*) visited the museum in 1873, and declared Hals to be his 'chosen favourite', although his paintings which reflect their Halsian source in subject and treatment (such as *The Merry Carouser*, 1873; Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) are too dependent on their prototype to be considered more than pastiches.[118]

The Berlin painter Max Liebermann venerated Hals as an inspiring example. His early admiration led him to copy several works by Hals, such as, in 1873, the *Nurse and Child* (cat. 9) in Berlin and, in the winter of the same year, the *Gipsy Girl* in Paris (fig. 4).[119] In 1876 he copied several figures from the group portraits in Haarlem, such as a head from Hals's *Regentesses* (fig. 8; cat. 86).[120] According to Max Friedländer, Liebermann subsequently gained self-confidence from Hals, in whom 'he found a kindred spirit. And this master became an example, gave him a yardstick like no other painter old or new',[121] as encapsulated in Liebermann's famous comment: 'In front of Frans Hals's paintings one longs to paint; in front of Rembrandt one wants to give up.'[122] It seems furthermore that Liebermann's sympathy for the social values with which Hals's naturalism was imbued in the early revivalist accounts, also informed his response to Hals.[123]

Fig. 8 Max Liebermann, copy after one of Hals's *Regentesses*, 1875/6
Location unknown

Liebermann's close friend, Mihaly von Munkácsy, a Hungarian painter who settled in Paris in 1872, was one of several artists from Eastern Europe who admired Hals.[124] It should be added that Munkácsy also owned a Hals, the *Portrait of a Man* of 1643 (S151).

The Munich painter Wilhelm Leibl became particularly interested in Hals after the International Exhibition in Munich in 1869 which exhibited five Hals paintings. He also met Courbet (whose copy after the *Malle Babbe* he presumably knew), upon whose invitation he visited Paris later that year. Leibl's *Gipsy Girl* (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum) seems to have been painted in homage to Frans Hals. After his return to Munich, his (and his circle's) preoccupation during

the early 1870s with the technical means of painting as a way of expressing an individual temperament, and achieving a personal transformation of subject matter by original use of colour, form, composition and touch, led them to emulate Frans Hals – the Hals who had recently been reinterpreted in similar terms. Here was an artist whose technical mastery, original, bold brushwork, virtuoso freedom in the handling of his medium, had achieved a highly individual style, and one that accorded with their cult of 'unfinish', *alla prima* painting, and realistic subject matter subsumed by the painterly performance and personal expression of 'spirit' ('*Geist*').[125] Several American painters studying in Munich attempted to emulate Hals's technical mastery in developing their styles, artists such as Frank Duveneck,[126] J. Frank Currier,[127] and in particular William Merritt Chase, who was especially effective in popularising Hals's works in the United States.[128] Chase's copy of Hals's *Regentesses* portrait (cat. 86) can be seen in the photograph of his Tenth Street studio (fig. 9).

By the middle of the 1870s Hals was a popular source of instruction and inspiration for various artists from different centres in Europe. His relevance to contemporary painters was particularly noticeable in France, where he had already been identified as a model for the young innovative painters in Paris in the 1860s. This association, however, was viewed by one painter-critic, Eugène Fromentin, with some ambivalence.

Travelling through Antwerp in 1875, on his historic visit to the Low Countries, Fromentin came across Hals's *Fisher Boy* (cat. 34), noting caustically in his diary: 'What brushstrokes! Decidedly too fashionable'. Shortly afterwards he criticised Hals's paintings in Amsterdam (cat. 12, 30) as overly witty, superficial and showy, with too much 'hand'.[129] It appears, however, from the chapter which he devoted to Hals in his famous *Maîtres d'Autrefois* that he was, despite himself, won over by his experience of the great display of 'fifty years of an artist's labour' at the Haarlem museum.[130]

'Today the name of Hals reappears in our school at the moment when the love of the natural re-enters it with some clamour and no little excess', Fromentin commented, referring to Manet and the young Impressionists towards whom he was implacably hostile, and whose emulations of Hals he deplored as a travesty of the achievements of 'one of the most clever and expert masters who ever existed anywhere', despite being 'only a workman'.[131] With a painter's eye he carefully described Hals's phenomenal technical brilliance and virtuosity as reaching an apogee in the *Officers and Sergeants of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard* of *c.*1633 (Levy-van Halm & Abraham, fig. 17; s79), 'never was there better painting, never will there be any better painting',[132] but as ultimately deserting him in the last works.

Fromentin's analysis of the *Regents* and *Regentesses* (cat. 85, 86) is worth quoting in full, for he does not simply dismiss them as the products of senile old age (as is sometimes suggested), but rather as the ineffable creations of the artist's mind's eye without his former physical prowess of hand:[133]

> His hand is no longer there. He displays instead of paints; he does not execute, he daubs; the perceptions of his eye are still vivid and just, the colors entirely pure. ... It is impossible to imagine finer blacks or finer grayish whites. The regent on the right with his red stocking ... is for a painter a priceless morsel, but you

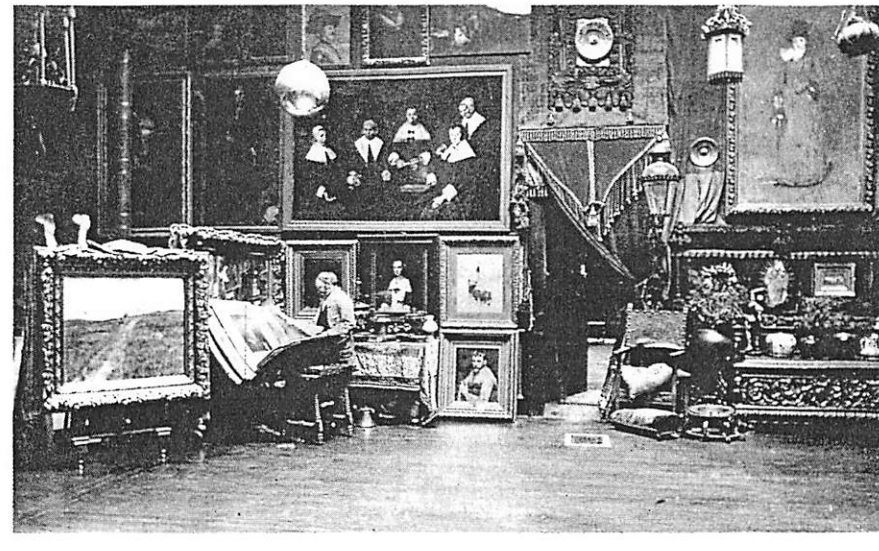

Fig. 9 Photograph of William Merritt Chase's Tenth Street studio, showing the copy of Hals's *Regentesses*
Southampton, New York, The Parrish Art Museum, William Merritt Chase Archives, Gift of Jackson Chase Storm (photo: Noel Rowe)

> find no longer either consistency in design or execution. The heads are an abridgement, the hands of no importance, if the forms and articulations are sought for. The touch ... is given without method, rather by chance, and no longer says what it would say. This absence of rendering, this failing of his brush, he supplies by tone, which gives a semblance of being to what no longer exists. Everything is wanting, clearness of sight, surety in the fingers, and he is therefore all the more eager to make things live as powerful abstractions. The painter is three quarters dead; there remain to him, I cannot say thoughts, I can no longer say a tongue, but sensations that are golden.[134]

While in awe of the 'solemn hour' of Hals's receding virtuosity and the intimations of his past powers, Fromentin insists that the last sublime efforts of an expiring genius are not the best examples for his 'young comrades' to follow.[135] He is here objecting to the misappropriation of Hals by modern artists – especially by those with whom he had scant sympathy.

In 1878 the republican writer Eugène Véron, in his book *L'Esthétique*,[136] took a different view of Hals, praising him for the powerful originality of his work. Defining art as the 'direct and spontaneous manifestation of human personality',[137] he recommended Hals's style as a model for modern art (that is, art left to follow 'its own inspiration free from academic patronage').[138] The 'powerful individuality' of Hals's virtuoso brushwork and 'audacious handling' is seen as compensating for any alleged 'want of thought ... or poetic feeling':

> Not only does he always put himself forward, never allowing himself to be forgotten for a moment, but we must also acknowledge that he does so with an amount of insistence and freedom which is a little brutal, and not without an appearance of excess which must scandalise over-fastidious purists. ... We prefer it greatly to that affectation of impersonal perfection which modesty extols. No other example ... shows so clearly the great importance of technical skill, especially of that part of it which is called handling. Indeed, chiefly through it, Franz [sic] Hals was a great painter; it is the principal and determinant cause of his fame.[139]

That Hals was prominently in the foreground of discussions on modern art can be further seen in an editorial article in 1883 in the influential Belgian art journal *L'Art Moderne*, entitled 'Le Modernisme de Frans Hals'.[140] Here Hals is hailed as an artist ahead of his time, whose works bear close affinities to 'the preoccupations which haunt the present generation of painters' and he is extravagantly praised as the most original, vibrant, moving, marvellous painter in the pantheon of great artists, whose aesthetic values, colour,

Fig. 10 John Singer Sargent, copies after figures from Hals's *Regentesses*, 1880
Birmingham, Birmingham Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Theodore Newhouse

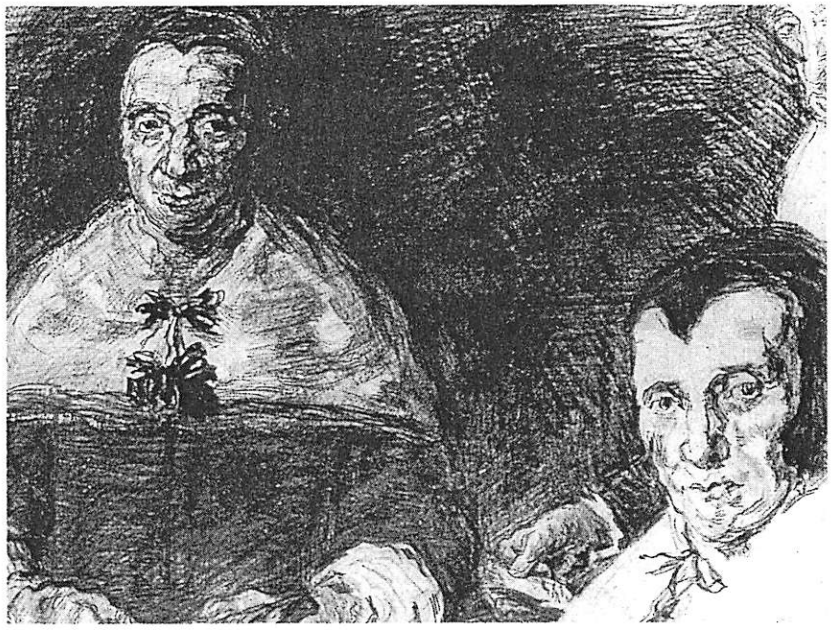

Fig. 11 James Ensor, drawing after figures from Hals's *Regentesses*, 1883
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

composition and procedures belong essentially to the modern epoch.[141] In contrast to Fromentin, the lessons to be learned from Hals are located emphatically in his later works.

The exemplary modernity of the *Regents of St. Elizabeth's Hospital* of 1641 (cat. 54) is ascribed to its composition and handling, which sacrifices everything of subordinate interest to the overall impression of the 'vibrating' canvas.[142] The last group portraits of 1664 are eulogised as the full realisation of this modernity, two hundred years ahead of its time, for 'nothing in these two amazing compositions is related to the art of former times'.[143] Scornful of past opinions that viewed these late works as senile or incomplete, the writer describes the paintings in terms of harmonies of tones and colours, pictorial space, the simplified modelling of the faces and hands – the daring, bravura style embodying 'the aim and ideal of the young school' (here identified as the Franco-American School),[144] singling out, after the pre-eminent Manet, such artists as John Sargent, James Whistler and William Merritt Chase.[145]

John Singer Sargent initially turned to Hals in the formation of his own style, and later recommended Hals as a source of instruction to his students. His visit to Haarlem in 1880 was, according to his biographer Charteris,

> ... his first opportunity of studying Franz [sic] Hals in his native country and in the fulness of his power. The impression was never forgotten. Indeed, Hals henceforward has to be reckoned as one of the formative constituents in his art.[146]

On this first visit, Sargent 'expressed his excitement in a series of vivid copies' of early and late works by Hals, such as the copy (fig. 10) of the *Regentesses* (cat. 86).[147] Primarily interested in Hals as a stylist, Sargent attempted to emulate his virtuosity and skill in controlling tonal values.[148] In his teaching heextolled Hals's technical methods, later advising a student:

> Begin with Franz [sic] Hals, copy and study Franz Hals, after that go to Madrid and copy Velasquez. Leave Velasquez until you have got all you can get out of Franz Hals.[149]

Discussing Sargent's own lessons from Hals, Ratcliff comments that

> Hals came to be as important to him as Velasquez. A spearlike brushstroke that appears in his mature repertoire looks like a nineteenth-century reinvention of a similar device in Hals's painting.[150]

Artists of widely differing styles and ideologies seem to have been interested in Hals, and at different stages of their careers. Sargent's admiration was shared by other fashionable Edwardian portraitists, such as Boldini, Peploe and Yule.[151] On the other hand, the American artist Robert Henri, who adopted a dark-keyed palette and advocated spontaneous, rapid methods of painting, emulated Hals not only in his procedure, but also in the wide social range of his sitters and in the vehemence of his later style.[152] In a different vein, the response of the 23-year-old Belgian painter James Ensor, who visited Holland in 1883, may be seen in several powerful drawings (fig. 11) after the *Regentesses* (cat. 86) and *Regents* portraits.[153]

An artist who seems to have admired Hals over a long period was Whistler. Although it seems that, during the 1860s, Hals was invoked as a model,[154] the most vivid demonstration of his devotion comes from a glimpse of the dying Whistler paying his respects to the Dutch master on his last pilgrimage to Haarlem in the summer of 1902.[155]

According to his companion, the sight of Hals's works made him forget his ill-health, and he wandered down the line from the early to the late works, discussing them excitedly, envisaging Hals's relations with his sitters, how he organised the composition, how he 'divined the character'. In his enthusiasm he crept under the railing to get closer to the paintings, but was ordered back again. However, permission to view pictures from within the railing was later granted by the chief atten-

dant, who, impressed by the 'great painter' Whistler, even helped him onto a chair for a closer look.

> Now nothing could keep him away from the canvases, particularly the groups of old men and women got their full share of appreciation. ...
>
> From that moment there was no holding him back – he went absolutely into raptures over the old women – admiring everything – his exclamation of joy came out now at the top of his voice, now in the most tender, almost caressing whisper – 'Look at it – just look – look at the beautiful colour – the flesh – look at the white – that black – look how those ribbons are put in. O what a swell he was – can you see it all – and the character – how he realised it' – moving with his hand so near the picture as if he wanted to caress it in every detail – he screamed with joy, 'Oh I must touch it – just for the fun of it' – and he moved tenderly with his fingers, over the face of one of the old women.[156]

After analysing the picture, he turned with a 'fierce look in his eye' and exclaimed:

> They say he was a drunkard, a coarse fellow, don't you believe it. ... Just imagine a drunkard doing these beautiful things!
>
> Just look how tenderly this mouth is put in – you must see the portrait of himself and his wife at the Rijks Museum. He was a swagger fellow.[157]

The excitement proved too much for him and, fearing he would collapse, his companions took him back to the carriage, where he continued his reverent peroration on Hals.

Any discussion of Hals's importance to nineteenth-century painters must include his countryman, Vincent van Gogh, whose response to Hals is both documented in his letters and apparent in his works. Van Gogh consulted Hals's paintings for guidance on how to paint, on what to paint and on his own artistic identity, both as a Dutchman and as a modern painter. His belief in the relevance of Hals's works to his own was guided by the recent reconstructions of Hals, which emphasised both his authentic national character, his Dutchness, and his essential modernity. Van Gogh was familiar with, and admired, Bürger's writings on art.[158]

In October 1885 van Gogh visited Amsterdam from Nuenen – a trip made worthwhile by his first sight of Hals's *Company of Captain Reynier Reael* (cat. 43). He wrote to his brother:

> Did you ever notice that??? that alone – that one picture – is worth the trip to Amsterdam – especially for a colorist. There is a figure in it, the figure of the flag-bearer, in the extreme left corner, right against the frame – that figure is in gray, from top to toe, I shall call it pearl-gray – of a peculiar neutral tone, probably the result of orange and blue mixed in such a way that they neutralise each other – by varying the keynote, making it somewhat lighter here, somewhat darker there, the whole figure is as if it were painted with one same gray. But the leather boots are of a different material than the leggings, which differ from the folds of the trousers which differ from the waistcoat – expressing a different material, differing in relation to colour, but all one family of gray. But just wait a moment!
>
> Now into that gray he brings blue and orange – and some white; the waistcoat has satin bows of a divine soft blue, sash and flag orange – a white collar. ...
>
> But that orange blanc blue fellow in the left corner ... I seldom saw a more divinely beautiful figure. It is unique.
>
> Delacroix would have raved about it, absolutely raved. I was literally rooted to the spot.[159]

Once back in Nuenen, van Gogh wrote to his brother about Hals's inspiring spontaneity:

> What struck me most on seeing the old Dutch pictures again is that most of them *were painted quickly*, that these great masters, such as a Frans Hals, a Rembrandt, a Ruysdael and so many others – dashed off a thing from the first stroke and did not retouch it so very much. ...
>
> ... and in Frans Hals, hands that lived, but were not finished in the sense they demand nowadays.
>
> And heads too – eyes, nose, mouth done with a single stroke of the brush without any retouching whatever. ...
>
> To paint in one rush, as much as possible in one rush. What joy to see such a Frans Hals, how different it is from those pictures – there are so many of them – where everything has been carefully smoothed down in the same way.[160]

Van Gogh marvels at Hals's colour effects and skilful ability to '*enlever*' with a few strokes of the brush, and determines to acquire the technique:

> I think a great lesson taught by the old Dutch masters is the following: to consider drawing and color one.[161]

Deeply involved in the critical issues of nineteenth-century art, van Gogh comments on Delacroix's affinities with these painters:

> In the museum I was thinking continually of Delacroix, why? Because standing before Hals, before Rembrandt, before Ruysdael and others, I was constantly reminded of the saying 'Lorsque Delacroix peint, c'est comme le lion qui dévore le morceau'.[162]

Van Gogh was preoccupied with Hals's colourism, and attempted to work out how he achieved his effects, such as the relation of contrast between the tone of the costume and the tone of the face. Thus he comments of the *Merry Drinker* (cat. 30) and the *Married Couple in a Garden* (cat. 12):

> The *yellow* fellow, citron amorti, decidedly has dull violet in his mug. Well – the darker the costume, the lighter the face is sometimes – not accidentally – at least his portrait and that of his wife in the garden contain *two* blackish violets (blue-violet and reddish-violet) and plain black (yellow-black?). I repeat, reddish-violet and blue-violet, black and black, the three gloomiest things as it were; well, the faces are *very* fair, *extremely* fair, even for Hals.
>
> Well, Frans Hals is a colorist *among colorists*, a colorist like Veronese, like Rubens, like Delacroix, like Velasquez.[163]

Van Gogh defends his own use of black, supporting his claim that black and white should not be considered 'forbidden fruit' by appealing to Hals's authority: 'Frans Hals has no less than twenty-seven blacks'.[164] The importance given to these technical procedures, the means whereby the subjects are realised and the expression of the artist's response to his subject, is reminiscent of Bürger's emphasis on communicability depending both on naturalistic subject matter and on its means of representation.

The changes in van Gogh's manner of painting after his move to Antwerp in 1885 – the more luminous palette, the short livelier brushwork which he used to convey his new urban subject matter – may be partly attributed to his careful attention to Hals's way of painting and to his example as a figure and portrait painter (fig. 12).[165] His letters from Antwerp specifically mention his admiration for Hals's *Fisher Boy* (cat. 34).[166] It has been convincingly argued that his increasing confidence in the application of lessons learnt from Hals (such as juxtaposed, fluid brushstrokes of unmixed colour, or the eschewal of preliminary drawing and tonal modelling), combined with the modern significance attributed to these procedures, partly enabled his subsequent assimilation of some of the aspects of Parisian vanguard painting.[167]

Van Gogh's guidance from Hals – the recently reconstructed Hals – is further implied in 1888 in his passionate advocacy of 'the painting of humanity, or rather of a whole republic, by the simple means of portraiture' as his overwhelming aspiration in his own art, for which the great Dutch painters – Hals and Rembrandt – provided the most inspiring examples. In a letter to Emile Bernard he invokes several paintings, many of which happen to be in the present exhibition:

> Let's talk about Frans Hals. He never painted Christs, annunciations to the shepherds, angels, crucifixions or resurrections; he never painted nude, voluptuous and bestial women.
>
> He did portraits, and nothing, nothing else.
>
> Portraits of soldiers, gatherings of officers [cat. 43], portraits of magistrates assembled to debate the affairs of the republic, portraits of matrons with pink or yellow skins, wearing white caps and dressed in wool and black satin, discussing the budget of an orphanage or an almshouse [cat. 86]. He painted the drunken toper [cat. 30], an old fishwife in a mood of witchlike hilarity [cat. 37], the pretty gypsy whore [fig. 4], babies in their diapers, the dashing, self-indulgent nobleman with his mustache, top boots and spurs [cat. 51]. He painted himself, together with his wife, young, deeply in love, on a bench on a lawn, after the first wedding night [cat. 12]. He painted vagabonds and laughing urchins [cat. 16], he painted musicians and he painted a fat cook.
>
> He does not know greater things than that; but it is certainly worth as much as Dante's Paradise and the Michelangelos and the Raphaels and even the Greeks. It is as beautiful as Zola, healthier as well as merrier, but as true to life, because his epoch was healthier and less dismal.[168]

Fig. 12 Vincent van Gogh, *Portrait of a Woman*, December 1885 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Vincent van Gogh Foundation

Fig. 13 Vincent van Gogh, *Portrait of Postman Joseph Roulin*, August 1888
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Robert Treat Paine

Comparing Hals to Rembrandt (also a 'painter of portraits') he praises these 'two brilliant Dutchmen, equal in value' who depicted 'this whole glorious republic' and continues insistently:

> Hammer into your head that master Frans Hals, that painter of all kinds of portraits, of a whole gallant, live, immortal republic. Hammer into your head the no less great and universal master painter of portraits of the Dutch republic: Rembrandt, ... that broad-minded naturalistic man, as healthy as Hals himself. ... I am just trying to make you see the great simple thing: the painting of humanity, or rather of a whole republic, by the simple means of portraiture.[169]

Van Gogh aspired similarly to portray his own society for posterity, as expressed in the lines written to his sister: 'What impassions me most ... is the portrait, the modern portrait.'[170]

Van Gogh's portraits, such as his *Postman Roulin* (fig. 13), may be seen (in the context of his view of the significance of Hals's portraiture) as portrayals of modern man, and at the same time as acknowledgements of his continuing artistic debt to the great innovator of the Dutch School.[171] It is thus Hals's construed significance to contemporary art that enabled the critic Aurier, writing in 1890, paradoxically to stress van Gogh's essential modernity while at the same time claiming: 'He was well and truly Dutch, of the sublime lineage of Franz [sic] Hals'.[172]

It has been commented that each time an artist is influenced by an earlier artist he 'rewrites his art's history a little',[173] and it has also been argued that 'past work ... needs the productive work of understanding in order to be appropriated by the interpretive eye of the present'.[174] The history of Hals has, in this sense, been written countless times – but always in the light of current aesthetic and social values. Hals's revival in the nineteenth century was variously accomplished by artists, critics, historians and collectors, and reflected their own kinds of value which they found in his works. Twentieth-century interpretations of Hals (and Dutch art generally) constitute another chapter in the continuing relationship between Hals and his posthumous audiences, and question many of the assumptions of his earlier champions. They would nevertheless be gratified that Hals is still celebrated as one of the great masters of European art. This exhibition may surely be considered a tribute both to Frans Hals and to all his audiences who, in their different ways, have kept his works alive.

Notes

1. Boas 1950, p. 63. He also writes (p. 235) that 'a given work of art may in different periods have essentially different content – and therefore be admired for different, if not for contradictory, reasons. ... It would appear that works of art which "withstand the test of time" change their natures as the times change. The work of art becomes thus the locus of a new set of values determined by the preconceptions or the predominant interest of the new critic or observer.'

2. Some of the material for this essay can be found in my article on Thoré-Bürger's role in the revival of Frans Hals (Jowell 1974). Subsequent publications, such as Broos's review of Slive's monograph on Hals (Broos 1978-9), and Chu's essay on nineteenth-century visitors to the Frans Halsmuseum (Chu 1987), as well as my further researches on the subject, have also been taken into account. However, it is not possible within the confines of this essay to investigate ideological positions or hidden determinations of thought that may or may not explain the different responses of Hals's various posthumous audiences, as proposed by Hadjinicolaou in his article on methodological problems in recounting *la fortune critique* or the history of the appreciation of works of art (Hadjinicolaou 1977). I have nevertheless attempted to indicate some of the different aesthetic and social values that seem to have influenced viewers up to and including the revival of interest in Hals's works in the late nineteenth century.

3. See van der Tuin's pioneering study of attitudes towards the Dutch and Flemish old masters in French art criticism during the first half of the nineteenth century (van der Tuin 1948, esp. pp. 117-31). Occasional objections to Hals's low status simply prove the rule, such as Gault de Saint-Germain 1818, p. 281: 'This great portraitist ... seems to us to have been treated too coldly by historians. ... A good portrait by Hals does not need a name to interest us; it breathes with the suggestion of truth, *it is complete with soul and life*' ('Ce grand peintre de portraits, ... nous paraît avoir été loué trop froidement par les historiens. ... Un bon portrait de Hals n'a pas besoin de nom pour intéresser; il respire sous les nuances du vrai, *il est plein d'âme et de vie*'). On the interest in and influence of the Dutch civic guard and corporation group portraits in France, and the predominance of van der Helst and Rembrandt before the 1860s, see also Chu 1974; esp. ch. 4, pp. 49-61.

4. Attributed to van der Helst on its acquisition for the Liechtenstein Collection in 1821, it was correctly attributed by Waagen in 1866, and again by Bürger in 1868 (see cat. 17). In the pioneering nineteenth-century art-historical accounts of the Dutch School, van der Helst was given far greater prominence than Hals; see, for example, Kugler 1847, vol. 2, p. 421, where Hals is mentioned only in passing. The high esteem in which van der Helst was held was re-emphasised in the 1854 English edition of Kugler, where he is referred to as '[the] most celebrated of the Dutch portrait painters', whose group portrait the *Company of Captain Roelof Bicker and Lieutenant Jan Michielsz Blaeuw*, was preferred even to Rembrandt's *Night Watch* (both formerly in Amsterdam Town Hall) by such authorities as Sir Joshua Reynolds; see Kugler 1854, pp. 247-8.

5. An inventory of the Louvre of 1815 included five works attributed to Hals which were assigned no monetary value at all; see van der Tuin 1948, Appendix 1, p. 188.

6. Smith 1829-37. Of the forty painters, three were French, four Flemish and thirty-three Dutch. Smith's catalogue formed the basis for all subsequent connoisseurship of Dutch paintings; see de Vries 1955, p. 162. It was superseded only by C. Hofstede de Groot's *Verzeichnis* (HdG), which is subtitled: 'Nach dem Muster von John Smith's Catalogue Raisonné'. Hals's works are listed in vol. 3.

7. The collection of lives of individual famous masters (arranged alphabetically or sometimes in schools), were the current literary form of the history of modern (i.e. post-Renaissance) art. Smith was presumably aware of, for example, the entries on Hals in Pilkington 1770, p. 282, and Bryan 1816, vol. 1, p. 521. These were taken from earlier sources: Houbraken 1718-21, Weyerman 1729-69 and Descamps 1753-63. An exception is Dezallier d'Argenville 1745-52, vol. 2, pp. 35, 190, in which Hals is referred to only in passing, as the teacher of Adriaen van Ostade and Brouwer.

8. Houbraken 1718-21, vol. 1, pp. 90-5. For the full translation of this important account see pp. 17-8 in the present catalogue.

9. See Kris & Kurz 1934, pp. 118-9. The story as recounted by Pliny in his *Natural History* describes how Apelles, wishing to acquaint himself with Protogenes' works, which he knew only by reputation, visited the artist at Rhodes. Finding Protogenes out of the studio, he left evidence of his visit by executing a drawing. On his return, Apelles, recognising the hand of Protogenes, attempted to better his performance, adding his handiwork to the panel as his signature. A subsequent rivalrous attempt by Protogenes seems to have ended the encounter – which appears to have taken place only on the panel.

10. With roots in the writings on art in classical antiquity, the justification and explanation of this stylistic distinction had become an important issue since the Renaissance. For a discussion of these ideas see Gombrich 1960, pp. 191-202.

11. See Gombrich 1960, pp. 195-6, for a translation of the passage from van Mander's didactic poem on the art of painting: 'And herewith, apprentices, I wanted to place before your eyes two perfect manners toward which you may now guide your path according to your bent, but I should still advise you to begin by applying yourselves to the neat manner, ... but whether you paint neat or rough, avoid too harsh highlights'. See also Broos 1978-9, pp. 121-3, on seventeenth-century commentaries on style that have relevance to Hals's works. Hals was first mentioned as a pupil of van Mander in 1618, see Hals doc. 25.

12. See Cornelis de Bie's comment (Hals doc. 163), published in 1661, that Hals was 'a marvel at painting portraits or counterfeits which appear very rough and bold, nimbly touched and well composed, pleasing and ingenious, and when seen from a distance seem to lack nothing but life itself'.

13. Ultimately the two artists recognised as the leading proponents of the acceptable alternative styles were Van Dyck and Rembrandt – the latter, according to Houbraken, vol. 1, p. 259, justifying his lack of finish as the prerogative of his artistic license: 'and from this practice he would not be dissuaded, justifying himself by saying *that a work is complete if in it the master's intentions have been realized*' ('... en in zulk doen was hy niet te verzetten, nemende tot verantwoording *dat een stuk voldaan is als de meester zyn voornemen daar in bereikt heeft*'), quoted by Broos 1978-9, p. 123. For a recent interpretation of the significance of Rembrandt's use of the 'rough' manner, see Alpers 1988, pp. 14-20.

14. First published in 1871; see Hals doc. 190. On Scheitz's authority see Broos 1978-9, pp. 119-20.

15. The continuing issue of Hals's alleged profligacy and irregular morals consolidated a traditional image of the Bohemian artist; see Wittkower 1963, pp. 215-6, 228.

16. Descamps 1753-63, vol. 1, pp. 360-2: '... arrangea sa palette assez mal.' Cf. Pilkington 1770, p. 273: 'He painted in a beautiful manner, and gave his portraits a strong resemblance, a lively expression, and a true character. His colouring was extremely good, and natural; and he mixed his tints in a peculiar manner, so as to give a surprising force to his pictures, by the freedom and boldness of his pencil; it being professedly his opinion, that a master ought to conceal, as much as possible, the labour and exactness, required in portrait painting.'

17. Descamps 1753-63, p. 361: 'Abruti par le vin, il lui dit qu'il étoit heureux, et ne désiroit pas un meilleur sort que le sien.'

18. De Royer 1835, p. 433: '... la nuit, il la passait dans les orgies des tavernes les plus crapuleuses. Ce fut en imitant ses mœurs, plutôt que ses ouvrages, que les élèves de Hals devinrent des maîtres eux-mêmes.'

19. The explanation and defence of the special achievements of Dutch realism was an important part of this historiographic development. See Demetz 1963 for an interesting analysis of the different kinds of justification.

20. Houssaye 1846, vol. 2, pp. 82-7: 'Les peintres de cabaret et de kermesses.' Anon. 1847, pp. 11-2, mentions amongst Houssaye's sources such German scholars as Carl Schnaase, Heinrich Hotho and Franz Kugler. However, if Hals is mentioned at all by these authors, it is only in passing (see n. 4 above), and Houssaye relies on the traditional anecdotal accounts, to which he adds a few of his own embellishments. He was editor of the art magazine *L'Artiste* from 1844-9, during which time many articles were published on the seventeenth-century art of the Low Countries; see van der Tuin 1948, p. 22.

21. Houssaye 1846, vol. 2, p. 87: 'Peintres, musiciens et ivrognes, bohémiens dans l'art comme

dans la vie.'
22. Ibid., p. 142 : 'Cependant Hals, même dans les fumées dû vin, n'oubliait pas qu'il était artiste et qu'il devait laisser un nom. "Je peins ... pour le nom de Hals. Le maître, et j'en suis un, dois cacher le travail servile du manœuvre avec les ressources de l'artiste".'
23. Unlike his pupil Brouwer, who succumbed at an early age; Houssaye 1846, p. 87.
24. Reynolds 1981, p. 109: 'In the works of Frank Halls [sic], the portrait-painter may observe the composition of a face, the features well put together, as the painters express it; from whence proceeds that strong-marked character of individual nature, which is so remarkable in his portraits, and is not found in an equal degree in any other painter. If he had joined to this most difficult part of the art, a patience in finishing what he had so correctly planned, he might justly have claimed the place which van Dyck, all things considered, so justly holds as the first of portrait painters.'
25. Lebrun 1792-6, vol. 1, p. 71: 'Ses productions se seraient vendues beaucoup plus cher s'il n'avait pas tant produit, ni peint si vite : car, pour qu'un tableau soit payé fort cher, il ne suffit pas qu'on apperçoive l'empreinte du génie, il faut encore qu'il soit fini; autrement, j'admets que ce qui a été fait vite se regarde et se paie de même. Avis aux artistes modernes, lorsqu'ils n'asseoient pas leurs réputations sur des ouvrages achevés et précieux d'étude.' This view accompanied the publication of an engraving after a variant of Hals's *Rommel Pot Player* (s.l.3-13 ; fig. 72). On Lebrun, see Haskell 1976, pp. 18-23.
26. Nieuwenhuys 1834, p. 131.
27. Ibid.
28. Fletcher 1901, pp. 52-3. The only other reference to a Hals painting in Reynolds's possession seems to be in the 1798 sale catalogue of his collection, which lists as no. 21, 'Franc [sic] Hals, *Portrait of a Lady*' (*A Catalogue of the Capital and genuine and valuable Collection of Pictures*, the Property of Sir Joshua Reynolds, London [H. Phillips], 8 May 1798; listed in Graves & Cronin 1901, pp. 1647-9). A *Portrait of a Lady*, once attributed to Hals in the collection of a 'Mr. Reynolds', but now attributed to Jacob Backer, is in the Museum in Kiev; see Sumowski 1983, p. 196. no. 25. An etching by Carel de Moor which represents the figure as a courtesan representing 'Touch' in a Five Senses series, is published in Slive 1970-4, vol. 1, p. 93, fig. 82. Although this seems an unlikely candidate for the painting that adorned Reynolds's study, there is at present no alternative.
29. Reynolds's view of 'the latitude which indistinctness gives to the imagination to assume almost what character or form it pleases' with regard to Gainsborough's 'unfinished manner' (see Gombrich 1960, p. 200) clearly did not apply to Hals's boldly brushed, emphatic characterisations of his individual sitters.
30. For example, Paillot de Montabert 1829 refers to bold brushwork with contempt ('*Touche*', vol. 8, ch. 525, p. 115), and to improvisation with the brush directly on the canvas as an impetuous and rough procedure ('*Procédés materiels*', vol. 9, ch. 569, p. 38).
31. See Hals doc. 116, and van Eynden & van der Willigen 1816, vol. 1, pp. 374-6.
32. Van Eynden & van der Willigen 1816, Supplement, pp. 142-3 : 'Hij was een man van een opgeruimd humeur en algemeen bemind.' An illustrious genealogy of the Hals family is optimistically cited (subsequently disproved), together with Hals's membership of the Guild of St. Luke of Haarlem in 1644.
33. Immerzeel 1842-3, vol. 2, pp. 10-1.
34. Waagen 1854, vol. 2, p. 4. Thus Rubens is here given some credit for the subsequent development of the Dutch School (cf. n. 95 below).
35. Originally published as separate instalments (for Hals, see *Bibliographie de la France* XVII [1858], no. 2801), they were subsequently republished in national schools with introductory essays. See Blanc 1862 for the volumes on Dutch art.
36. Nor did he in this project, for he was excluded from the volumes on Dutch art and, owing to his birthplace, was included in the volume on the Flemish School in 1864 as the last great Flemish portraitist. Brief attempts to establish his Dutch origins had to be abandoned in the face of later evidence that his birthplace was Antwerp, although in 1914 it was believed to be Mechelen. The continuing attempts to establish Hals's correct birthplace prompted the comment that 'race is an enormous factor in the development of every artist'; Bode & Binder 1914, p. 10.
37. Thoré (1807-69) had been a prominent republican journalist and art critic during the July Monarchy (see Grate 1959 for a thorough account of his earlier art criticism). His lifelong interest in the art of the past also dates from these years (see Jowell 1977). Initially an enthusiastic participant in the 1848 revolution, 'le citoyen Thoré' founded and edited the daily newspaper *La Vraie République*. Unsuccessful as a socialist candidate, and increasingly militant in his support of radical left-wing factions of the revolution, he was forced to flee abroad in June 1849. During his peripatetic exile (1849-59), he abandoned political journalism and returned to writing about art. In 1855 he adopted the pseudonym W. Bürger (chosen for its suggestion of supra-national citizenship) so that his proscribed writings could be published in France. After the amnesty of 1859 he returned to France, but retained his pseudonym until his death.
38. There is considerable literature on this aspect of his work; see, among others, Heppner 1937, Meltzoff 1942, Jowell 1974, Jowell 1977, Haskell 1976, pp. 85-90, and Rosen & Zerner 1974, pp. 192-202.
39. Initially published as a series of articles for the Parisian newspaper *Le Siècle*, it was republished as *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, Paris 1857, with later editions in 1860 and 1865. References in this essay are to the second edition, Bürger 1860. *Trésors* was widely reviewed. On the exhibition, see Haskell 1976, pp. 98-9.
40. Bürger 1860, pp. 242-3 : '... est à Rembrandt ce qu'est le Tintoret au Titien.'
41. Such as Manchester 1857, p. 217 : 'scholar of Carl [sic] van Mander. Very distinguished as a portrait painter, but of dissipated habits. Van Dyck had a high opinion of his talents.'
42. Bürger 1860, pp. 243-4; The other *Portrait of a Man*, of 1639 (s130), had a lively exhibition future ahead of it, appearing at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibitions in 1879 and 1888, and at the Guildhall in 1892. In 1888, in the company of the *Laughing Cavalier*, it was singled out by the reviewer in *The Times* of 7 January 1888 (p. 12a) as 'the solemn gentleman in black ... of the dignified type which Hals painted with so much mastery and style [which] many will prefer ... to the more showy effect presented by the Cavalier'. It was recently sold at auction for £680,000, London (Sotheby's), 7 December 1988, no. 96.
43. He had visited Holland in 1856 in an attempt to reforge a new career. Exploring the Dutch collections he found them to be neglected, and also noticed that there was very little written on Dutch painting in French. He wrote to a friend : 'Ah, si la Hollande voulait me faire faire les catalogues de ses musées! ... Il n'y a point de catalogues, que notes insignifiantes, et pour tant de trésors! Ils ne connaissent point du tout eux-mêmes leurs maîtres, ni les œuvres les plus célèbres de leurs maîtres'; letter from Thoré to Delhasse, 20 October 1856, reprinted in Cottin 1900, p. 160.
44. Bürger 1858, pp. 58-9 : 'Ils sont assis sous de grands arbres; lui, à gauche, la tête de face, un peu renversée en arrière et souriante, encadrée dans un chapeau noir à grands bords. Il porte moustache et barbiche; son costume de soie est tout noir, et sa main droite, gantée de blanc, est nonchalamment glissée dans le pourpoint contre la poitrine. Près de lui, sa femme en jupon noir, corsage puce, avec une grande fraise. Elle met sa main droite sur l'épaule de son mari, par un geste d'affection badine. Sa physionomie est très vivante et très gaie : bonne commère pour ce diable d'homme dont on raconte tant de brutalités; il a pourtant l'air d'un vrai gentleman, très distingué et très spirituel et très fier. ... On sent partout le maître qui couvre une grande toile en se jouant, et dans les têtes la finesse expressive d'un portraitiste consommé.'
45. Ibid., p. 59.
46. Bürger 1860b, p. 13 : 'Il a tant peint! il peignait si vite – et si bien! Il n'y a pas la moindre peinture de lui qui ne soit attirante pour les artistes et qui ne leur offre des enseignements. De lui, tout est instructif, ses défauts autant que ses qualités; car ses défauts sont toujours d'un grand practicien. Dans ses brusqueries exagérées, dans ses contrastes hasardés, dans ses négligences trop sans façon, il y a toujours la main d'un peintre généreusement doué, et même le signe d'un certain génie, assez superficiel il est vrai, et provoqué par l'aspect extérieur des choses, par le mouvement, la tournure, la couleur, l'effet, par ce qui remue et brille, plus que par les caractères secrets et intimes de la vie, – assez vulgaire même, si l'on peut parler ainsi du génie, – mais franc et brave, irrésistible comme l'instinct.'
47. Ibid., pp. 13-4 : '... un jeune homme ... sa main battant la mesure; pensez que cette main en l'air est prestement peinte! La figure s'enlève en lumière sur un fond clair. Vive étude, sabrée

de premier coup, – il n'en fait jamais d'autres. Tous ses coups de brosse marquent, lancés justement et spirituellement où il faut. On dirait que Frans Hals peignait comme on fait de l'escrime et qu'il faisait fouetter son pinceau comme un fleuret. Oh! l'adroit bretteur, bien amusant à voir dans ses belles passes! Parfois un peu téméraire sans doute, mais aussi savant qu'il est hardi.'

48. Some of the issues relating to finish – such as the status of the sketch and the notion of spontaneity – are discussed in Boime 1871. Boime traces the shift of emphasis from the executive refining phase to the generative spontaneous phase of painting procedure. For a further discussion see Shiff 1984, pp. 70-5.

Thoré-Bürger's participation in issues relating to finish can be traced throughout his writings: for example, in 1863, discussing the *Salon des Refusés*, he denigrates the careful linear definition and detailed finish of so-called academic and official art, preferring the modern tendency among the indépendent naturalist painters to convey the immediate unity of *'l'effet'*. Referring to his own participation in earlier, similar critical debates, he reminds his readers that many of the greatest artists of the nineteenth century, such as Delacroix, Diaz and Corot, had been rebuked for lacking finish, and he warns that broadly painted works are often misguidedly regarded as sketches (see Bürger 1870, vol. 1, p. 414). A few years later, in his review of the Salon of 1868 (ibid., vol. 2, p. 514), Bürger specifically praises Jongkind for his 'spontaneous painting, quickly experienced, and rendered with originality', adding that he had always maintained that 'the best painters had always painted very quickly and impressionistically', citing, among others, Frans Hals ('La manière de M. Jongkind ne plait pas à tout le monde, mais elle enthousiasme les amateurs de peinture spontanée, vivement sentie et rendue avec originalité. Pour moi, j'ai adopté M. Jongkind comme un artiste de franche race et qui contraste par son excentricité avec les patients tricoteurs d'images longement ruminées').

For a further discussion of the meanings of the 'licked' or finished surface of academic or official art, and the opposing emphasis on the materiality of the paint in the work of Courbet and the Impressionists, and of Thoré's understanding of 'the relationship between realistic art and the artificiality of the means of representation' see the essay 'The Ideology of the Licked Surface: Official Art', Rosen & Zerner 1974, pp. 221-9. See also Wagner 1981.

49. Bürger 1860a, p. 121.

50. Ibid., p. 122: 'Tenez que c'est un des chefs-d'œuvre de la haute école hollandaise. Une maestria incomparable, un dessin accusé, solide, grandiose et libre. ... Il connaît la peinture de Rembrandt alors, et cette jeune concurrence sans doute l'a poussé à une couleur plus profonde, à une expression plus intime des physionomies, à un effet plus harmonieux et plus tranquille, tout en conservant la brusquerie énergique de l'exécution.' He adds that a special study is needed to appreciate this master, who is known outside Holland only by isolated portraits.

51. The museum was first established in the Town Hall and brought together all the paintings owned by the city. The present location of the Frans Halsmuseum, in the former Old Mens' Almshouse, dates from 1913.

52. See Chu 1987. This interesting essay on 'Nineteenth-Century Visitors to the Frans Hals Museum', emphasises that the establishment of the museum in Haarlem (not yet called the Frans Halsmuseum, it should be noted), was a crucial contributory factor in the revival of Hals. Chu publishes lists of artists, critics and historians who signed the visitors' book at the museum, proving the international range of interest in Hals's works, and analyses a broadly changing pattern in the history of the reception of Hals to the end of the nineteenth century. The different stages are roughly divided into decades, and the impact of Hals on a few selected artists – both as a source of instruction or as a stylistic 'influence' in their works – is described (see n. 107 below).

53. Bürger 1868.

54. Mantz 1868: '... he courageously celebrated the boldness of the growing [new] school, he believed in the insulted Delacroix, in the unknown Decamps, in the forbidden Rousseau' ('il célébrait courageusement les hardiesses de l'école grandissante, il croyait à Delacroix insulté, à Decamps méconnu, à Rousseau proscrit'). See also Sensier's reference to him as 'la vigie clairvoyante de 1830', Sensier 1873, preface.

55. Then in the Pereire Collection, which he had helped form. Bürger's entrepreneurial activities on the art market should not be overlooked; he bought, sold and 'placed' paintings, and also advised prominent collectors such as Suermondt and Double.

56. Bürger 1864, p. 299: 'Elle est fraîche comme une belle pomme encore attachée à la branche. C'est la santé dans toute son exubérance. Quelque chose de la paysanne, dont le teint s'enfleurit au grand air. Les gens du monde ne doivent pas la trouver très élégante, mais ça se porte bien, et c'est franc du cœur comme du corps.

Les deux mains unies ensemble sont merveilleuses. ... On ne sait trop comment c'est fait, par quelques touches hardies qui accusent juste la forme et le mouvement.'

57. Ibid., pp. 299-301: '... à cause de leur naturel et leur sincérité. ... où il faut, et comme il faut.'

58. Article in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 July 1914. A contemporary French account of the sale expressed astonishment at the sum reached by the rival bidders, and referred to the embarrassment of Rothschild's agent, who had been given an 'unlimited mandate' ('une commission illimitée'). The writer adds that 'Frans Hals is one of the greatest masters of all schools, and this portrait has a captivating boldness, but never has a portrait by Hals ever exceeded a few thousand francs' ('Frans Hals est un des plus grands maîtres de toutes les écoles, et ce portrait était d'une franchise entrainante; mais jamais portrait de Hals, en buste, n'avait dépassé quelques mille francs'); Dax 1865, p. 188.

59. After a few opportunities for public viewing in Paris, Hertford's *Cavalier* was brought to England, where it seems to have acquired its popular title while on public view from June 1872 to April 1875 at the newly established museum at Bethnal Green, before being put on permanent display in its present location, the Wallace Collection in Manchester Square. It has apparently always been the most popular and most frequently reproduced painting in the collection, and is even on view (in the museum poster) from the pavement outside (fig. 3).

Its fame has been exploited in the most unlikely places. See, for example, his invocation as the ancestor of the Scarlet Pimpernel: 'I myself had known long ago, that the Laughing Cavalier who sat to Frans Hals for his portrait in 1624 was the direct ancestor of Sir Percy Blakeney, known to history as the Scarlet Pimpernel'; Baroness Orczy, *The Laughing Cavalier*, London 1913, p. xi. Orczy's fanciful reconstructions of the relationship between Hals and the sitter, their interminable conversations, the painting in progress, and so on, extends to the history of the painting's subsequent fortunes: 'And yet countless millions must during the past three centuries have stood before his picture; we of the present generation, who are the proud possessors of that picture now, have looked on him many a time, always with sheer, pure joy in our hearts, our lips smiling, our eyes sparkling in response to his; almost forgetting the genius of the artist who portrayed him in the very realism of the personality which literally seems to breathe and palpitate and certainly to laugh to us out of the canvas.

Those twinkling eyes! how well we know them! that laugh! we can almost hear it; as for the swagger, the devil-may-care arrogance, do we not condone it, seeing that it has its mainspring behind a fine straight brow whose noble, sweeping lines betray an undercurrent of dignity and of thought' (p. x).

In 1937 a musical by Arkell and Byrne offered an elaborate explanation of his smirk (I am indebted to John Ingamells for these literary and musical references).

Commercial exploitation has resulted in the *Cavalier*'s ubiquitous appearance on chocolate boxes, board games and jigsaw puzzles.

The earliest reference I have been able to find to the 'Cavalier' part of its modern popular title is in Decamps 1873, p. 175: 'A Londres, chez Sir Richard Wallace, le célèbre *Cavalier* de la galerie Pourtalès'. I have not yet been able to trace the first mention of his assumed (and exaggerated) jubilance, but I suspect it dates from the painting's first public exhibition in England.

60. Sale Baron van Brienen van de Grootelindt of Amsterdam, Paris, 8 May 1865, to Baron James de Rothschild for 35,000 frs. See cat. 51, fig. 51c.

61. This widely reviewed major exhibition of old masters from private collections in Paris (Paris, Palais des Champs-Elysées, *Exposition Rétrospective. Tableaux anciens empruntés aux galeries particulières*, 1866) was intended to exert a beneficial influence on contemporary painters, and at the same time improve public taste. It gave the public one of the first opportunities of seeing the latest fashions among collec-

tors and included – perhaps most significantly – several works by Vermeer.

62. Bürger 1867, p. 548: 'Qu'un des plus vaillants portraitistes du monde, que Frans Hals reprenne sa place légitime.' This comment was made à propos the Comte Mniszech, who possessed a dozen works then attributed to Hals, eight of which are presently identifiable (see S22, S38, S39, S94, S96, S149, S150 and S.L3-4). Bürger mentions others owned by collectors like La Caze (fig. 4; S62, and cat. 72; S171), Hertford (fig. 3 and pl. 1; S30), Rothschild (see n. 60 above), Oudry, who possessed several (cat. 34, 35, 36, 81; for reference to others see cat. 34) and Double (S.D51).

63. G.F. Waagen, who credited Bürger with 'laying the foundation for a history of this great [Dutch] school which may claim the meed of scientific value', now gave Hals greater prominence in his revised version of Kugler's *Handbook*, Waagen 1860, vol. 1, p. xv: 'Frans Hals was obviously the model which the great Dutch school directly or indirectly followed, and he thus assumes a significance in the history of art which has never been sufficiently acknowledged.' Waagen nevertheless expressed reservations reminiscent of earlier critics: 'His pictures also are of very unequal merit. The astonishing facility of his brush often tempted him into too broad and decorative a breadth and slightness of handling. ... [The] condition in which his mode of life invariably placed on him, could not fail to act strongly upon him' (ibid., vol. 2, p. 330). In 1863 the distinguished Dutch scholar C. Vosmaer acknowledged Bürger's pioneering researches, and agreed with his view of Hals as the most important precursor of Rembrandt in the formation of the independent seventeenth-century Dutch School: 'Heureusement il n'a pas été chercher en Italie ce qu'on ne trouve qu'en soi-même. Il est resté original et naturel, et il appartient par là à ce groupe d'artistes nationaux, qui ont imprimé à l'art Hollandais son caractère, sa physionomie spéciale.' Vosmaer praises Hals's broad, bold brushwork and his consummate mastery in terms reminiscent of Bürger; see Vosmaer 1863, pp. 84-7.

64. Guide Joanne (precursor to the Blue Guide series): du Pays 1862, pp. 215-6. Bürger's *Musées* are recommended as indispensable to the amateur (p. xix). Despite du Pays's frequent quotations of Bürger (see pp. cvii, 177, 217, 223), he inexplicably leaves Hals out of his chronological list of Dutch masters.

65. Louis Dubois' signature is found in the museum visitors' book under 1866 and 1868, but he must have been there earlier, for he made a number of full-scale copies after Hals's work, those of the *Regents* and *Regentesses* being particularly well-known in the nineteenth century (present whereabouts unknown); see Chu 1984, p. 55, and Chu 1987, pp. 115-6. It is not known which of Dubois's copies was seen by Fantin, but it has been suggested that the most likely candidate was a copy of the 1627 *Banquet of the Officers of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard* (S45; see Levy-van Halm & Abraham, fig. 1). See Chu 1974, pp. 55-6 and Fantin-Latour 1982-3, p. 198. Chu points out that Fantin continued Courbet's revival of the Dutch group portrait tradition, producing five large compositions between 1864 and 1886, although he did not travel to Holland until 1875.

66. Pennell 1930, p. 117. Pennell is presumably referring to the project for a group studio portrait that was never realised beyond two sketches; see Young *et al.* 1980, pp. 36-7, nos. 62 and 63.

67. 'La réputation de ce maître devra beaucoup à l'école moderne qu'il prise singulièrement et lui fait partout fête comme à un inspirateur. La vérité est qu'il représente un côté d'étude sain et fortifiant, qu'il ne ment point à sa vision, et que c'est le moment ou jamais de suivre les voies sincères si l'on veut que le domaine de l'art français se fortifie pour s'agrandir'; 'Trésors d'art de Paris: Exposition Rétrospective, Portraits,' *L'Etendard*, 23 July 1866, quoted in Flescher 1973, p. 299 (translated for the present essay).

68. 'Duelliste de la brosse, ... qui maçonne, qui sculpte, – qui donne à la pâte la palpitation de la chair'; 'Salon de 1868: Les Portraits', *L'Etendard*, 29 July 1868; quoted in Flescher 1973, p. 299.

69. Bürger 1868.

70. See n. 44 above.

71. Bürger 1868, p. 226: 'Frans Hals peignait si facilement qu'il n'avait pas besoin d'études pour être sûr d'exprimer la nature, au premier jet de sa brosse adroite et colorée.'

72. Second only to Rembrandt's *Night Watch*. Cf. n. 4 above.

73. Bürger frequently resorts to comparisons with other 'great masters' in his efforts to introduce his particular hero-artists to the traditionally accepted Pantheon.

74. Bürger 1868, pp. 436-7: 'Au commencement, on peut dire qu'il peignait d'or – ne dit-on parler d'or? – qu'une lumière blonde scintillait partout en paillettes éblouissantes, qu'il éparpillait même trop la magie de sa couleur.'

75. Ibid., p. 444: '... les tons d'or avec la sauvagerie de la première manière: un chef d'œuvre improvisé en quelques heures de vive lumière et de bonne humeur.' This painting, and the *Portrait of a Woman* (cat. 72) were bequeathed to the Louvre by La Caze in 1869. They were the first authentic Halses acquired by the Louvre. The critic Paul Mantz hailed the *Gipsy Girl* as a masterpiece of a great painter, adding that no one had ever painted better than Hals: '... ici il a la distinction du ton, la note exquise et rare, et une liberté de pinceau qui, dans son allure endiablée, dit toujours le mot décisif' (Mantz 1870, p. 396). Henri Rochefort's recollection of La Caze's discovery of Hals in Rochefort 1886, vol. 1, pp. 116-8, is cited in Haskell 1976, p. 77, n. 32.; for further reference to Rochefort, see cat. 34 and cat. 72.

76. Bürger 1868, p. 443. '... ce forcené s'est peut-être le plus abandonné à sa *furia* de génie. ... En effet, dans cette peinture et dans quelques autres, Frans Hals, par la violence de la touche et l'étrangeté du ton, surprend le regard, comme tous les maitres impétueux et coloristes, Gréco, Herrera, Goya.' This painting had been first seen by Bürger at the Hoorn sale, and was acquired by his friend and patron Suermondt in 1867. Bürger discussed the painting further in an article on the Suermondt Collection (Bürger 1869) and pronounced it superior to works by celebrated masters such as Rembrandt or Velázquez in its animation.

77. Bürger 1868, p. 437.

78. Ibid., p. 438: 'Je ne connais pas de tableaux exécutés avec une pareille fougue, ni dans l'œuvre de Hals lui-même, ni dans l'œuvre de Rembrandt, ni dans l'œuvre de Rubens, ni dans l'œuvre de Greco ou n'importe quel brosseur des plus enragés. Les figures, de grandeur naturelle, modelées par des touches larges et flamboyantes, saillissent en relief hors des cadres. C'est superbe et presque effrayant.'

79. Ibid.: 'J'ai l'idée que le vieux lion vaincu par l'indigence, était dès lors retiré – emprisonné – dans ce refuge des vieillards, et que c'est là qu'il mourut plus tard.' Bürger abstains from further discussion of the regents. For the apparent, but unjustifiable amenability of these portraits to character projection, see Vinken & de Jongh 1963. Skirmishes concerning readings of Hals's relationship with his patrons from the portraits nevertheless continue; see Berger 1972 for the view that art-historical inhibitions from empathic personal response to these represented figures are evasive strategies of 'mystification'. Also Nash 1972, in response to Berger's original essay (Berger 1972a).

80. The young German scholar, Wilhelm Bode, who later wrote in *Mein Leben* that he knew Bürger's writings 'almost by heart' (quoted in Heppner 1937, p. 27), devoted his doctoral dissertation to Frans Hals and his school (Bode 1871). His work on Hals was indebted to Bürger's researches and interpretation. See also n. 63 above on Vosmaer.

81. The increasing numbers of visitors can be gauged from the visitors' register; see Chu 1987, pp. 132-41.

82. The regularity with which Hals was included in the Winter Exhibitions at the Royal Academy, London, from 1871 on is documented in Graves 1913. Works by Hals were prominent in exhibitions of old masters, as in Munich at the International Exhibition of 1869, and in Brussels at the Exposition Rétrospective in 1873.

In 1871 the Metropolitan Museum in New York was the first American museum to acquire a painting then attributed to Hals, a variant of *Malle Babbe* (fig. 37c; S.D34). Although the *Portrait of Descartes* was formerly attributed to Hals, as we have seen (n. 75), the first authentic pictures to enter the Louvre came with the La Caze Bequest in 1869 (fig. 4; S62; and cat. 72). The subsequent acquisition of the Beresteyn portraits in 1883 (cat. 6, 7) was discussed at length and with great pride by Georges Lafenestre in Lafenestre 1885.

The National Gallery in London purchased its first Hals painting in 1876, the *Portrait of a Woman* (S131).

By the time Bode and Binder published their catalogue raisonné in 1914, Hals was safely established as 'one of the two or three most fashionable among the Old Masters', both in Europe and in America. The *Times Literary Supplement*, 30 July 1914, reviewing Bode & Binder 1914, regretted the departure to America

of many of the finest examples, 'though the museums of Europe and the great houses of England still hold their own'. A few years earlier Bode had commented confidently: 'Today his name stands, together with Rembrandt's, at the head of Dutch painting, and his works command as high prices as the pictures of Rembrandt, Velázquez or Titian'; Bode 1967, p. 33.

83. On one level, Bürger's scholarly connoisseurship involved the scrutiny of signatures, dates, archival material and a close study of paintings. He hoped thereby to establish a corpus of works securely attributable to each artist – material for a new 'scientific' art history – which would result in a comprehensive body of objectively verifiable information about the art of the past, a complete inventory of European art. His expertise and pioneering catalogues were most immediately consequential for the art market and for later art historians, despite his optimistic claim that his scholarship would contribute to the fraternal future of mankind of the new positivist era. However, despite his assiduous archival researches and careful examination of paintings, his catalogues were not merely descriptive inventories: they expressed his partial critical judgements, his tendentious views of history, and, most important for the purposes of this essay, his particular championship of Dutch 'naturalism' of the seventeenth century.

84. Bürger 1868, p. 436, referring to such paintings as Veronese's *Noces de Cana* (Paris, Louvre): 'If only this Hals from the museum of Haarlem and the one from the Amsterdam Town Hall [cat. 43] were in the Louvre, in the Salon Carré, challenging the two masterpieces of Veronese, perhaps French critics would eventually deign to attribute to Dutch masters the same eminence as to Italian artists' ('Pourquoi donc ces assemblées de franc-tireurs hollandais ne seraient-elles pas du grand art aussi bien que les banquets de personnages en costume vénitien, représentations fantaisistes des *Noces de Cana*? ... Si ce Hals du musée de Haarlem et celui de l'hôtel de ville d'Amsterdam étaient au Louvre, dans le Salon Carré, pour affronter les deux chefs d'œuvre de Paul Véronèse, peut-être que la critique française daignerait enfin admettre les maîtres hollandais à la même hauteur que les artistes italiens. ... En conscience, ces prédilections exclusives, qui reposent sur la prétendue noblesse des sujets, ne signifient rien').

85. Ibid.: 'Ces tableaux hollandais représentant la vie contemporaine des artistes font songer aussi très naturellement à l'art de notre époque. ... Qui empêche de faire un chef d'œuvre avec une assemblée de diplomates assis autour d'une table. ... Avec un orateur à la tribune des députés, un professeur au milieu de la jeunesse; avec une scène des courses, une sortie de l'opéra, une promenade aux Champs-Elysées; ou simplement avec des hommes qui travaillent à n'importe quoi, des femmes qui s'amusent à n'importe quoi?'

86. In his earlier writings of the 1840s, Thoré praised Dutch art for its exemplary independence from the Italianate tradition, its originality, its representation of all classes of society, its avoidance of esoteric iconographical traditions, its technical excellence and its poetic elevation of traditionally lower-ranking subject matter. See Jowell 1977, ch. 7.

87. Bürger refers his readers to a passage in van Westrheene's recent monograph (van Westrheene 1855, pp. 7-19), in which the author objects to the usual lack of distinction between Flemish and Dutch art as a historical and artistic heresy, since Dutch artists, in their individual styles, reflected their unique freedom from the domination of Church and monarchy. Bürger's description of the independence of Dutch culture extends to the physical, geographical conditions of Holland: the necessity of creating and recreating the very soil they stood on out of the low-lying marshes and polders resembling the creation of their new nationhood, the new moral and intellectual world of their recently won liberty. Bürger and van Westrheene were here alluding to an established historiographical tradition, the association of geographical, political and artistic creativity found in the writings of such authors as Schnaase, Hegel and Kugler, Bürger was probably familiar with Hegel's lectures on the philosophy of art, which, delivered at the University of Berlin during the 1820s, were translated into French in the 1840s. See Hegel 1840, esp. vol. 2, p. 146 (cf. Jowell 1974 p. 115); also Demetz 1963, p. 112, on the radical secularisation and politicisation on the part of French republican intellectuals of Hegel's and Hotho's idealist, abstract definitions of independent man.

88. Bürger 1860a, p. xiv: '... de rudes marins, de braves arquebusiers, des bourgmestres sans façon, d'honnêtes et gais travailleurs, la foule, tout le monde, en un pays d'égalité.'

89. His lifelong belief in the future fraternity of mankind – which stemmed from his early Saint-Simonian beliefs – seems to have been undaunted by political setbacks. His active political attempts to achieve change by political action was replaced from *c.*1855 by his return to believing in an inevitable idealist historical development – to which end he claimed to dedicate his writings on art. On Thoré's early Saint-Simonian ideas, see Jowell 1977, chs. 1 and 2.

90. Thoré 1868, p. xviii: 'Il n'y a plus qu'une race et qu'un peuple, il n'y a plus qu'une religion et qu'un symbole:- l'Humanité!' He expressed these ideas in a tract 'Nouvelles tendances de l'art', which although probably written in 1857 was first published in 1862 (Bürger 1862), and again, more prominently, as the introduction to Thoré 1868. Many of the ideas were also included in the third review of his first Salon (1861) after his return from exile (Bürger 1861).

91. Bürger 1862, p. xl: 'Then the fine arts ... would become a means for the communication and exchange of ideas, a common language available to all' ('Alors les beaux-arts ... deviendraient une monnaie courante pour la transmission et l'échange des sentiments, une langue usuelle à la portée de tous'). The slogan *'l'art pour l'homme'* was first used in his Salon review of 1845, and derives its significance from the philosophy 'L'Humanité' of Pierre Leroux. See Jowell 1977.

92. Bürger 1860a, p. xiii. To illustrate his point Bürger devised the monogram ЯR – entitled Janus – to represent the juxtaposition of Raphael and Rembrandt, one relating to the past, viewing humanity in abstraction through pagan and Christian symbols, the other relating to the future, viewing humanity through his own eyes (ibid., p. x).

93. Bürger 1861, pp. 254-5: '... et la Hollande, qui avait eu le courage de secouer tout joug religieux et politique, se sentant plus à l'aise qu'aucun autre peuple, enfanta l'école la plus délibérée, la plus originale, la plus variée, la plus révolutionnaire, la plus naturelle et la plus humaine à la fois; c'est assurément celle qui est le plus dégagée du passé, qui adhère le plus à la nature, et qui par là signale le mieux une des tendances de l'art à venir.'

94. Ibid., p. 256: 'C'est pourquoi nous-mêmes, disons-le en passant, nous nous sommes consacré avec une passion exclusive à l'éclaircissement d'une de ces écoles, de celle qui nous semble la plus singulière et la plus instructive pour les novateurs.'

95. Earlier comparisons with Van Dyck or Rubens, or Hals's association with the Flemish School as a result of his possible birthplace, become irrelevant.

96. Bürger 1858, p. 132: 'To reality observed conscientiously with a kind of calm passion, they add an interpretation acutely experienced from that same contact with nature. They animate outside appearances with the inspiration of their own originality' ('A la réalite consciencieusement observée avec une sorte de passion placide, ils ajoutent une interprétation vivement sentie au contact même de la nature. Ils animent la vie extérieure au feu de leur propre originalité'). Bürger and his contemporaries were, of course, unaware of allegorical meanings which have since become an issue in twentieth-century interpretations of the iconography of seventeenth-century Dutch art; nor were they alert to the limitations of perceptual 'schema' in the pictorial representation of even the most naturalistic-seeming scenes.

97. Thoré's earlier art criticism of the 1830s and 1840s attributed particular communicability to such stylistic qualities as unity of *'l'effet'* and *'l'ensemble'*, particularly as achieved through colourism and chiaroscuro – terms derived from the traditional language of art criticism and theory, as in the writings of Roger de Piles (see Puttfarken 1985). Thoré, however, politicised these pictorial qualities in his writings, associating them with his general notion of progress (in art and society) and thus as means to an ideal social unity to which he aspired. His support of Delacroix, Rousseau, Decamps, Diaz (and, conversely, his opposition to Ingres and his contempt for Delaroche) was partly based on this tendentious interpretation of style and technique.

98. Bürger 1858, p. 80: '... inhérente à leur pays de libre examen, où les imaginations, comme les esprits et les consciences, ont une indépendance absolue, ...'

99. Mantz 1884, reprinted as 'The Works of Manet' in Courthion & Cailler 1960, pp. 167-

76, esp. p. 170.
100. Unger & Vosmaer 1873-4. The etchings were also published with French, German and English translations of Vosmaer's text. Except for the quotation from the editor, Sijthoff, I have used the English edition.
101. See the prospectus bound into several first editions of the portfolio: 'oorspronkelijke geesten, ... nieuwe, scherpzinnige studien, ... de vereering van HALS' genie aan Europa predikte'. Sijthoff emphasises that although Hals has never been forgotten in Holland, the general public is not familiar with his works, and that in other parts of Europe he is known only through isolated portraits. A booklet bound into the Dutch edition at the British Library reprints the enthusiastic reviews of the first edition of the ten plates (1873) in newspapers and art journals from several European centres.
102. Unger & Vosmaer 1873-4, p. 34.
103. Ibid., p. 2. Changing attitudes towards Hals's portraiture could also be examined in the light of changing meanings and values attributed to individualism. Vosmaer is here alluding to the Romantic notion of uniqueness and originality as applied to individuals (the artist and his sitters) and to the nation (the Dutch Republic). For an analysis of the nineteenth-century traditions of use of the term see further Lukes 1979, esp. pp. 54-9, and Swaart 1962.
104. Ibid., p. 6.
105. Ibid., p. 8. In contrast to Rembrandt's expression of the serious side of life, Hals's art is seen as expressing the 'free naturalness' and 'humorous joyousness' of Dutch life and tradition (p. 29).
106. Decamps 1873, p. 172: 'Since Hals has at last been ranked as he always should have been, his works have been so sought after by collectors that forgers have started a new line of business; [Hals] is regularly manufactured in England. ... On the other hand, dealers regularly reattribute works by van der Vinne, Verspronck, Hals's sons, and transform them into Frans Hals' ('Depuis que Frans Hals est enfin classé comme il aurait toujours dû l'être, ses œuvres sont si recherchées des amateurs que les faussaires se sont mis de la partie; on en fabrique régulièrement en Angleterre. ... D'un autre côté, des marchands démarquent régulièrement des Van der Vinne, des Verspronck, des Hals fils, et les transforment en Frans Hals'). Similar anxieties are expressed about attributions in Ménard 1873.
107. Chu 1987, p. 112, points out that the signatures of artists associated with the 'realist and proto-impressionist trends' are found side by side with those of academic painters – all of whom are outnumbered by the naturalist painters from different parts of the world – but suggests a generally changing pattern in the reception of Hals. In the 1860s, Hals's works were 'admired primarily for their typically bourgeois subject matter and their hearty, vigorous mood. The civic guard and governors' portraits were seen as heroic monuments to the middle class. During the 1870s and 1880s, however, Hals's group portraits were admired less as celebrations of bourgeois life than for their masterful use of color and their dynamic, *alla prima* facture. Hals's loose brushwork and verve made him a painter's painter whose craft appealed to artists of a wide range of artistic convictions.'
108. The various ways in which later artists responded to Hals, their borrowings, emulations and allusions, need ideally to be considered in the context of each artist's life and work, and in relation to the cultural determinants of their responses. See also Baxandall 1985, pp. 58-9, on the inappropriateness of the notion of artistic 'influence', because of its grammatical misrepresentation of the 'influential' earlier artist as the active agent, whereas it is in fact the later artist who makes 'an intentional selection from an array of resources in the history of his craft'.
109. Bürger 1869, see n. 76 above. This was Bürger's last publication. See also Munich 1869, no. 135.
110. Suggested in Jowell 1989. Bürger's first detailed discussion of *Malle Babbe*, then known as *Hille Bobbe*, carefully attempts to date the painting to the 1630s on stylistic grounds – in the absence of any date on the canvas; see Bürger 1869, p. 164. He also digresses to stress the importance of his documentary researches (ibid., p. 7). For an account of Courbet's copies, see the letter from P. Collin of 31 December 1877, first published in Lemonnier 1888, pp. 68-9, and reprinted in Courthion & Cailler 1950, p. 257. The different measurements of the Hals and Courbet paintings have since given rise to doubts on the reliability of the anecdote; see Hamburg 1987, pp. 305-6, no. 289. It has also been associated with Courbet's copy of the *'Rembrandt' Self-Portrait*; see Riat 1906, pp. 271-2, and, more recently, Brooklyn 1988, p. 194. However, whether the tale is apocryphal or not, Courbet's implied challenge and particularly provocative additions to the copy of *Malle Babbe* remain open to interpretation. It is worth adding that the other two copies were also after works attributed to seventeenth-century masters who were revered and championed by Bürger (Rembrandt and Velázquez), and that Bürger's authority was repeatedly invoked in entries for the catalogue to this exhibition of old masters.

Of possible relevance to the popular reception of Hals from the 1860s, see Wagner 1981, esp. pp. 426-7, for an interpretation of Courbet's relationship to his public which suggests that the 'materiality' of his painting style, which drew attention to his abbreviated handling of brush, knife and pigment, was actually catering to current bourgeois taste rather than challenging it, his audience having learnt to appreciate not only the 'aesthetics of illusionism, but also its 'dissolution'. Were Hals's new appreciative audiences similarly responsive to the materiality of Hals's facture?
111. Hamilton 1954, pp. 166-7. See also Duret 1906, p. 136: 'among those who praised the *Bon Bock* there were also certain connoisseurs who explained that the qualities of the picture were owing to the influence of Frans Hals' ('Parmi ceux qui louaient le *Bon Bock*, il y avait aussi certains connaisseurs, qui expliquaient que les qualités du tableau étaient dues à l'influence de Frans Hals'). Duret also comments that, on his visit to Holland, Manet saw works by Hals, an artist who had impressed him vividly in his youth, and that on his return to Paris his idea was to paint Belot with a beer mug in his hand 'en souvenir'. In 1884 the critic Paul Mantz suggested that in Manet's earlier works, such as *Le Chanteur Espagnol* and *L'Enfant à l'épée*, 'there was a hint, not of Velazquez as people freely said, but of Franz [sic] Hals, that great swashbuckler, [in] the way the paint is spread on the canvas'; Courthion & Cailler 1960, p. 170. Chu 1977, p. 118, suggests that later works, such as the *Rail Road* of 1873 (Washington, National Gallery of Art) and *Berthe Morisot with Hat, in mourning* of 1874 (Zurich, private collection) are reminiscent of Hals's late works in their open, daubing brushwork and predominantly black palette. However, it is difficult to tie down Hals's significance for Manet to 'stylistic influence'.
112. Valéry 1938, p. 147; quoted in Chu 1984, p. 60.
113. Proust 1901, p. 230. In the summer of 1872, Manet had made a special pilgrimage to Holland.
114. See Levy-van Halm & Abraham, fig. 17. Cassatt's copy dates from 1873, Weir's from 1874-5. Both are illustrated in Chu 1987, pp. 124, 126.
115. See Sweet 1966, p. 27: 'Mary Cassatt also visited Holland at this time, being chiefly interested in the works of Frans Hals. In Haarlem she copied his *Meeting of the Officers of the Cluveniers-Doelen* of 1633, and managed to achieve the spirit and freshness of the original, without slavish imitation of each brushstroke. In later years she was proud of this copy and used to show it to young art students, assuring them that such an exercise was essential for their development' (see also p. 195 for Cassatt's later advocacy of studying after Hals).
116. Young 1960, pp. xx and 62.
117. The results of Weir's enthusiasm for Hals have been thoroughly explored in Burke 1983. See pp. 76-80 for his early works in Paris and his first visit to Holland, and pp. 95-102 for his subsequent use of Hals's example in such works as *In the Park* (subsequently divided into smaller canvasses).
118. He described the impact of his first view of Hals's group portraits in letters; see Busch 1968, p. 133, cited by Chu 1987, p. 120. According to Novotny 1960, p. 175, n. 3, Busch realised that he would never be able to 'get out of his Netherlandish skin' ('aus seiner niederländischen Haut nicht heraus'; from a letter written to Paul Lindau in 1878), and kept painting a secret.
119. Liebermann's copy of the *Gipsy Girl* was included in a recent sale, London (Christie's), 21 February 1989, no. 117.
120. Hancke 1916, pp. 104-11, devotes a chapter to Liebermann's copies after Hals, from which fig. 8 is taken. See also Hancke 1916 for reproductions of Liebermann's copies after other figures from Hals's civic guard portraits (S45, S46, S124), from the almshouse *Regents* (cat. 85), as well as a later, complete copy (1884) of the *Regentesses* (cat. 86). I have been unable to

ascertain the present location of any of these copies. It is believed that at least three were in the possession of Liebermann's widow at the time of her death in 1943 (information kindly supplied by Maria White, Liebermann's granddaughter). Mrs. Liebermann committed suicide to avoid arrest and deportation by the Nazis; the paintings could have been lost, stolen or destroyed.

121. Friedländer [1924], p.46: 'In Frans Hals fand er das ihm wahlverwandte Temperament. Und dieser Meister wurde ein Vorbild, gab ihm einen Maßstab wie kein anderer Maler unter den Alten und Neuen.'

122. Ibid., pp. 48-9: '... vor den Bildern des Frans Hals bekommt man Lust zum Malen, vor denen Rembrandts verliert man die Lust daran.'

123. Friedländer, op. cit., p. 50, refers to Liebermann as the 'nervous son of the nineteenth century' threatened by the reflective, emotional aspects of Rembrandt, but inspired and made confident by Hals's wholesome, masculine, active, independent practice of art reflecting the atmosphere of public-spiritedness and freedom of the democratic citizenry. See also Eberle 1979-80, esp. pp. 31-4.

124. Chu 1987, p. 122, refers in particular to the painter Ilya Repin and the critic Vladimir Vasiljevitch Stassov.

125. See Ruhmer 1978, pp. 15-6.

126. See Duveneck 1970, p. 50: 'He greatly admired Franz [sic] Hals for his rapid, free brushwork and for the realistic, almost rollicking types he delighted to paint.' Several of Duveneck's works, such as the so-called *Whistling Boy* of 1872 (Cincinnati Art Museum) or the *Smiling Boy* of 1878 (University of Nebraska), bear witness to his study of Hals, which was apparently encouraged by Wilhelm Diez, his teacher in Munich; see Booth 1970, p. 52. See also Quick 1987-8, pp. 22-3.

127. Such as his *Bavarian Girl* (private collection; illustrated in Quick 1987-8, p. 29) or *Head of a Boy* (Brooklyn Museum).

128. Such as his 1875 *Woman with a Basket* (Chicago Art Institute), or his lost informal portrait of Duveneck. For the influence of Munich realism on American painters and their shared interest in Hals, see Quick 1978, pp. 28-30. Chase, who was a close friend of Whistler, exhibited with *Les Vingt*, an avant-garde group in Brussels, and subsequently became influential as spokesman for the Society of American Artists and as teacher at the Art Students League in New York for almost quarter of a century. He did much to encourage Hals's popularity in the United States. An article on his teaching in *The Art Amateur* of 1880 referred specifically to the Halsian aspirations of the students: 'Mr. Chase and Mr. Shirlaw, two enthusiasts, induct the classes in painting from the model with the enthusiasm of youth and conviction; it is expected that they will turn out many a Franz [sic] Hals from among the lively crowd of American disciples.'

As homage to Hals, the first of Chase's summer study tours in Europe was based in Haarlem in 1903. The following year one of the students recalled their responses to the paintings: 'Then there was Hals, who, with all that Chase had said about him, claimed the right of way. Brilliancy to the nth degree – and those blacks! They have seldom been equalled and never surpassed' (Pisano 1983, pp. 95, 137).

129. Quoted in Golliet 1979, pp. 73-4.

130. Fromentin 1963, pp. 224-34.

131. Ibid., p. 226. In a similar vein (p. 225): 'His method serves as a programme to certain doctrines by virtue of which the most word-for-word exactness is wrongly taken for truth, and the most perfectly indifferent execution taken for the last word of knowledge and taste. By invoking his testimony for the support of a thesis to which he never gave anything but contradictions in his fine works, a mistake is made, and in so doing, an injury is done to him. Among so many high qualities, are only his faults to be seen and extravagantly extolled.'

132. Ibid., p. 230. Fromentin's detailed analyses of Hals's works are vivid and detailed, showing close observation and understanding of Hals's technical procedures.

133. Although Hals is nowhere mentioned, see Rosand 1987 for an introduction to the issue raised by the notion of an 'old age style'. In this regard it would be interesting to analyse the various responses to the *Regent* and *Regentesses* portraits. Whereas Bürger and Vosmaer considered the late works as the apogee of Hals's achievement, Fromentin doubts that the aged Hals's hand has realised what the artist envisaged. Georges Lafenestre took a similar view of these works, Hals's 'farewells to painting': 'Nothing is more touching, nothing more tragic, than to see this octogenarian whose hand is unsteady, whose eyes are downcast and troublesome, struggle with superb obstinacy against decrepitude which overcomes him while he represents other aged people like himself' ('Rien de plus touchant, rien de plus douloureux que de voir cet octogénaire dont la main vacille, dont l'œil baisse et se trouble, lutter avec un entêtement superbe contre la décrépitude qui le gagne pour représenter d'autres vieillards comme lui'); Lafenestre 1886, p. 16 (see also n. 143 below).

134. Fromentin 1963, pp. 233-4.

135. For a perceptive analysis of Fromentin's historical and critical approach, see Meyer Schapiro's Introduction, ibid., pp. ix-xli.

136. Véron, *L'Esthétique*, Paris 1878. The quotations below are from Véron 1879. I am indebted to John House for the reference to *L'Esthétique*. Véron was a republican journalist and art critic who was best known in the 1870s as director and one-time editor (1874-6) of the magazine *L'Art*, initially published with the motto 'Tant vaut l'homme, tant vaut l'œuvre'. His ideas on art were strongly influenced by Thoré, to whom he frequently refers. See also the brief discussion of Véron in Shiff 1984, pp. 27-8.

137. Véron 1879, p. 389.

138. Ibid., p. 126.

139. Ibid., pp. 278-9.

140. Anon. 1883. This art journal was the semi-official organ of the self-styled avant-garde Belgian group, *Les Vingt*.

141. Ibid., p. 302: 'On peut étudier l'un des exemples les plus caractéristiques de ce phénomène au musée de Haarlem, qui fait pénétrer dans l'intimité d'un maître mort depuis plus de deux siècles et chez lequel on trouve, à un degré d'une extrême intensité, les préoccupations qui hantent la présente génération de peintres. ... Frans Hals est un moderne. Son esthétique, son coloris, son dessin, ses procédés, appartiennent à notre époque.'

142. Ibid.: '... un impérieux besoin de rendre une impression d'ensemble en sacrifiant volontairement tout ce qui est accessoire et de peu intérêt.'

143. Ibid., pp. 302-3: 'Rien dans ces deux stupéfiantes compositions ne se rattache à l'art d'autrefois.' Bürger was the first writer to assume that the last works – especially the *Regentesses* – were complete. Joséphin Péladan, in his provocative and fascinating book on Hals (Péladan 1912), which is outside the scope of this essay, refers to the contradictory views on these late works: '"His hand is no longer there", says Fromentin; "Marvellous sureness of hand", says Mr. Bode; "His hand trembles", says Lafenestre; "The forms are expressed with such sureness", resumes Bode; "The colours are completely summary", says Fromentin; "The coloration is obtained with such spirit", says M. Bode. Whom to believe?' ('"La main n'y est plus", dit Fromentin; "Merveilleuse sûreté de main" dit Lafenestre; "Avec quelle sûreté les formes sont exprimées" reprend M. Bode; "Les couleurs sont tout à fait sommaires" dit Fromentin; "Avec quel esprit les colorations sont obtenues" dit M. Bode. A qui entendre?' [ibid., p. 20]). Péladan comments that these paintings – the impoverished artist's last contemplation of sad humanity in which there is no longer 'drawing' ('plus de *dessin*') or 'touch' ('plus de touche'), but the most marvellous colour ('le coloris le plus merveilleux') – enthrall specialists for technical reasons, and interest poets ('imaginatifs') for their macabre hideousness and haunting character ('son aspect de hideur macabre et son caractère hallucinant'); ibid., p. 32.

144. Anon. 1883, p. 302: 'l'objectif et l'idéal de la jeune école.'

145. The writer points to undeniable affinities in their technical procedures as well as in the poses of figures, the composition, lighting and general feeling: 'Il y a entre ces artistes et le maître de Harlem des affinités indéniables: même facture nerveuse, superposant les touches de couleur sans les fondre, procédant par plans, fuyant l'indécision et les tâtonnements. Mais l'exécution n'est pas le seul point de rapprochement: dans la tenue des personnages, dans la mise en scène, dans l'éclairage, dans le sentiment général, il y a entre ces modernistes et Frans Hals une parenté certaine' (ibid.).

146. Charteris 1927, p. 51. He travelled to Haarlem with Ralph Curtis and Frank Chadwick (both American students of Carolus-Duran), Paul Helleu and Beckwith. On another occasion, in July 1883, Sargent, with Paul Helleu and another young painter, took a night train to Holland, spent the day viewing Frans Hals's paintings in Haarlem, and returned directly to Paris; see Ratcliff 1983, p. 58.

147. Ormond 1970, p. 27. Ormond publishes a photograph of Sargent's studio, *c.*1883-4, which

shows the copy of the *Regentesses* (fig. 17, facing p. 46) presently in the Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama (fig. 10). Sargent also copied the portraits of Arent Jacobsz Koets and Ensign Jacob Schout; Lieutenant Jacob Olycan and Captain Michiel de Wael from the *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Civic Guard* of *c.* 1627 (S46, figs. 20, 21; see also Levy-van Halm & Abraham, fig. 13).

148. He later advised: 'You must *classify* the values. If you begin with the middle-tone and work up from it towards the darks – so that you deal last with your highest lights and darkest darks – you avoid false accents. That's what Carolus taught me. And Franz [sic] Hals – it's hard to find anyone who knew more about oil-paint than Franz Hals – and that was his procedure'; Charteris 1927, p. 29. Charteris later commented that Sargent looked on Hals 'as the portrait painter with whom he had most in common' (ibid. p. 195).

149. Charteris 1927, p. 51. Charteris emphasises the extent to which Sargent referred his students to Hals, quoting further his advice to Miss Heyneman: 'Never leave "empty spaces", every stroke of pencil or brush should have significance and not merely fill in, ... copy one of the heads by Franz [sic] Hals in the National Gallery, then you will get an idea of what I mean by leaving no empty spaces in modelling a head. ... Later on he advised her to go to Haarlem, and on her return wrote: "I hope you'll have some copies of Franz Hals to show me. Jacomb Hood tells me that you have come back charged with enthusiasm and the spirit of knowledge. There is certainly no place like Haarlem to key one up"' (ibid., pp. 139-40).

150. Ratcliff 1983, p. 58. Sargent's admiration for Hals's bravura brushwork has also been detected in the style of informal portraits of the early 1880s, such as *Mrs. Charles Gifford Dyer* (1880; Chicago, Art Institute) and *Mrs. Daniel Sargent Curtis* (1882; Lawrence, Helen Foresman Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas); see Ayres 1986-7, p. 63.

151. McConkey 1987 refers to the interest in Hals on the part of such artists as Giovanni Boldini, who studied Hals in Holland in 1876 (p. 176); Samuel John Peploe (1871-1935), whose *Old Tom Morris* (Glasgow) is comparable to Hals in lively brushstroke and expression (p. 146); and William James Yule (1867-1900), who made a pencil sketch *c.* 1894-5 after Hals's *Portrait of a Woman* (cat. 58) in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; see Yule 1983, no. 24.

152. Homer 1969, p. 84, attributes the development of Henri's spontaneous technique 'geared to the expression of vitality and immediacy' to Hals, citing a letter about a planned trip to Holland: 'I think it will be a valuable trip for health and for knowledge gained by seeing the great portraits, ... it is Frans Hals that I think of particularly.' See ibid., pp. 87-8 on Henri's response to the stimulus of Hals in his later works of 1900-12, in which Hals seems to have been the 'catalyst that thoroughly liberated Henri's brushwork'. On his special interest in the 'common people' see ibid., pp. 241, 249.

153. Schoonbaert 1968, pp. 319-20, lists two drawings after the *Regents* (inv. 2711/21-2711/22), and six drawings after the *Regentesses* (inv. 2711/23-2711/28). Although, as mentioned in Ensor 1987, p. 145, Ensor's signature does not seem to be on the Haarlem museum register, it is most likely that he did visit Haarlem – especially as he was probably familiar with the eulogy of Hals in *l'Art Moderne* the previous month (Anon. 1883). Furthermore, as pointed out by Chu 1987, p. 114, not all visitors, especially copyists, signed the registers.

154. See his reaction to Fantin's *Homage*, mentioned above, p. 67. It is interesting that Whistler possessed a photograph of Hals's portrait of *Jacob Pietersz Olycan* (cat. 18). It is presently in the Whistler Collection, Glasgow University Library (Whistler P3/15). I am grateful to Dr. Nigel Thorp for this information.

155. The following account by G. Sauter was published in Robins & Pennell 1908 – a biography undertaken with the artist's permission and assistance, and which remains the central source of biographical data on Whistler.

156. Ibid., p. 285.

157. Ibid., p. 286.

158. He frequently refers to Bürger in his letters; in the one quoted below he recommends the *Musées* (Bürger 1858) to his brother: 'read it through once more yourself, it is so beautiful'; van Gogh Letters 1958, vol. 2, letter 426, p. 418. Personal reminiscences by Anton Kerssemakers (vol. 2, letter 435c, p. 446) mention van Gogh's recommendation of Bürger's *Musées* (Bürger 1860a) and *Trésors* (Bürger 1860). It is of interest that an unattributed passage about Gainsborough, cited by van Gogh as instructive, was in fact written by the French critic (Bürger 1860, p. 394). It is of some relevance to the present argument: 'It is this brusqueness of touch that produces so much effect. The spontaneity of his impression is all there, and communicates itself to the spectator. For the rest Gainsborough had a perfect method of ensuring the completeness of his composition. He planned his picture all at once, and carried it out harmoniously from top to bottom, without concentrating his attention on separate little fragments, without obstinately worrying over details, for he sought the general effect, and he nearly always found it, thanks to his broad vision on the canvas, which he looked at as one looks at nature, at a single glance'; vol. 2, letter 435, p. 441.

159. Van Gogh Letters 1958, vol. 2, letter 426 (October 1886), pp. 416-7.

160. Ibid., letter 427 (October 1886), p. 419.

161. Ibid., p. 420.

162. Ibid., p. 421.

163. Ibid., letter 428 (October 1886), p. 424.

164. Ibid.

165. Pollock & Orton, p. 34. See also Pollock 1980.

166. 'I was very much struck by Frans Hals's "Fisherboy"'; van Gogh Letters 1958, vol. 2, letter 436, p. 450. 'But as to the portraits – those I remember best are the "Fisherboy" by Frans Hals, "Saskia" by Rembrandt, a number of smiling or weeping faces by Rubens'; ibid., letter 439, p. 457. 'These days my thoughts are full of Rembrandt and Hals all the time, not because I see so many of their pictures, but because among the people here I see so many types that remind me of that time'; ibid., letter 442, pp. 464-5.

167. Pollock 1980, pp. 444-53.

168. Van Gogh Letters 1958, vol. 3, letter B13 (July 1888), p. 506.

169. Ibid., p. 507.

170. He continues: 'I seek it in color. ... *I should like* to paint portraits which would appear after a century to the people living then as apparitions. By which I mean that I do not endeavor to achieve this by a photographic resemblance, but by means of our impassioned expressions, ... using our knowledge of and our modern taste for color as a means of arriving at the expression and the intensification of the character'; ibid., letter W22 (June 1890), p. 470.

171. On van Gogh's debt to Hals, see also Welsh-Ocharov 1976, pp. 87-8, 150, 202, n. 29.

172. 'Il était bien et dûment Hollandais, de la sublime lignée de Franz Hals', quoted by Pollock 1980, p. 426, who further (p. 434) analyses Aurier's use of Hals as a 'paradigm through which to understand the significance of a contemporary artist, van Gogh. The latter was being cast in the image of the former.'

173. Baxandall 1985, p. 60.

174. Jauss 1982, p. 75.