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WHAT SHAKESPEARE LOOKED LIKE

The Spielmann Position and the Alternatives

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ANYONE looking into the subject of authentic Shakespeare portraiture will soon find his attention drawn to the expert contributions of Marion H. Spielmann (1858-1948). Spielmann's first essay on the portraits appeared in 1907, his *Encyclopædia Britannica* article appeared in 1911, and his final published word on the subject, *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays*, appeared in 1924. The copy in the Alexander Library at Rutgers University is in a sense more final than others, since it is a presentation copy—with a signed inscription "To Sir Bernard Partridge," who was knighted in 1925—bearing marginal corrections and revisions in the author's hand.

The subtitle of Spielmann's book, *A Comparative Study of the Droeshout Portrait and the Stratford Monument*, refers to the two images of Shakespeare against which the claim to authenticity of all others is normally measured. The engraved portrait on the title-page of the Folio, signed at the lower left by Martin Droeshout, was presumably commissioned by John Hemmings and Henry Condell (the overseers of the edition) and since 1623 has probably been the most widely reproduced of all pictures of Shakespeare. The other portrait is the painted limestone bust in the Stratford funeral monument, attributed to Gerard Johnson II, showing an older and puffier-faced man than in the Droeshout picture. The original bust, possibly based on a death mask, would no doubt have been approved by Shakespeare's family, but over the years it has been repainted several times—its colors were refreshed in 1748, it was painted white in 1793, colors were restored in 1861—so

that it may no longer be trustworthy on fine details that depend on the painting of the features; but in the modeling of the head there is close agreement with basic aspects of the Droeshout picture—the long and almost perpendicular forehead, for example—and the Johnson sculpture plus the Droeshout picture thus constitute an essential test for assessing the other portraits.

The “Chandos” portrait, an oil on canvas named after the duke (the friend of Pope and patron of Handel) who once owned it, first became famous as a portrait of Shakespeare in the later 17th century. Its earliest provenance is unclear, although the painting undoubtedly goes back to the earlier 17th century. While it was in the possession of the actor Thomas Betterton it was copied by Sir Godfrey Kneller for the portrait of Shakespeare he presented to Dryden (the picture praised by Dryden in his *Epistle to Kneller*, 1694). In the 17th century all four folio editions of Shakespeare’s plays made use of the same Droeshout plate (eventually in a worn and badly refurbished state); other engravings copied from it were prefixed to the 1640 edition of *Poems* and the 1655 edition of *The Rape of Lucrece*; but starting with the collected edition of the plays by Rowe (1709) new engravings were commonly copied from the “Chandos” portrait instead. “In the 18th century,” as David Piper of the National Portrait Gallery has said with only slight exaggeration, “the Chandos portrait entirely replaced the Droeshout portrait.”¹ The “Chandos” was the first portrait donated to the National Portrait Gallery (1856), where it now bears this legend:

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE 1564-1616

The poet and playwright

By an unknown artist, about 1610

The only picture which has any real claim to be a portrait of Shakespeare from life. It can be traced back without break to 1719; before that it is recorded as having belonged to Sir William Davenant who claimed to be Shakespeare’s illegitimate son or godson.

From the collection of the Duke of Chandos . . .

Despite its great celebrity, the one grave doubt that has been expressed about the “Chandos” portrait is whether it may not in fact be a portrait of someone other than Shakespeare. The objection has been stated most concisely by Spielmann in his article for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*:

¹ O Sweet Mr. Shakespeare I'll have his picture (1964), p. 16.

Many serious inquirers have refused to accept this romantic, swarthy, Italian-looking head here depicted as a likeness of Shakespeare of the Midlands, if only because in every important physiognomical particular, and in face-measurement, it is contradicted by the Stratford bust and the Droeshout print.

The skillful "Chandos" artist is not likely to have given his subject a smaller chin and jaw, and a receding forehead, inadvertently. Although like countless others Sir Edmund Chambers found the portrait attractive, "its incomplete resemblance to the bust and the engraving" prevented him from endorsing it as an authentic likeness,² and even its most sympathetic interpreters at the National Portrait Gallery concede that the identity of the sitter in the "Chandos" portrait "remains non proven and is likely to remain so."³

The "Flower" portrait of Shakespeare (given by Mrs. Charles Flower to the Shakespeare Memorial Museum in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1895) may prove to be more helpful than the "Chandos" in the study of Shakespeare's likeness. Its pedigree back to "a descendent of Shakespeare's family" cannot be satisfactorily verified, but even Spielmann, the severest critic with respect to its authenticity, had no doubt that the portrait—painted on gesso on a panel of English elm, 23½" x 17¼", which had previously done service for a painting of a female figure⁴—dated from the earlier 17th century. In the upper-left corner it is inscribed with Shakespeare's name and the date 1609, when Shakespeare was 45; and it corresponds so closely with the 1623 Droeshout engraving that the problem of its authenticity, as Lionel Cust put it when the "Flower" picture was first closely examined by scholars, "resolved itself into the question whether the engraving was copied from the picture or the picture from the engraving."⁵

In 1864 it was possible to identify the Martin Droeshout who engraved the Folio plate only as "probably a Dutchman; who, judging from the other portraits he engraved, must have resided some time in

² E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (1930), II, 241.

³ Roy Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits* (1969), I, 279. (The Shakespeare entries are "based on the researches of Mr. D. T. Piper.")

⁴ Seeing the picture in bright sunlight Spielmann could refer to the painting underneath as that of "a lady in a high ruff and a red dress"; X-ray photography conducted by the Courtauld Institute in 1965-66 disclosed "a painting by a mid-fifteenth century Italian artist of the Madonna and Child, with Saint John" (S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* [1975], p. [iii]).

⁵ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 12 Dec. 1895, p. 44.

England.”⁶ The registers of the Dutch Church (center of the Protestant refugee community in Elizabethan London) were published in 1884, from which it was learned that Martin was a member of a Flemish family of engravers, some of them long settled in London; that he was a native Londoner, born in 1601; and that he had an uncle, also named Martin Droeshout, a native of Brussels, who was old enough to be married in 1602 and who when granted English naturalization in January 1608 was identified as “painter, of Brabant.” If it seemed odd that the younger Martin—a boy when Shakespeare died in 1616 and just taking up his profession in 1623—should be entrusted with the Folio commission, the presumption that his uncle was the painter of the “Flower” portrait made the selection of the nephew to engrave it easier to understand. Whether or not the painter Martin Droeshout was responsible for the “Flower” portrait, it has been suggested that the painter in charge did the more skillful upper portion—the head and the collar that divides the head from the body—and left the body to be completed by his apprentice; the body is too small in relation to the head (as well as to the subject, judging by the Johnson bust), and the arms are not very credibly situated. The inscription “Willm Shakespeare” in the upper left corner is in a style of lettering not found in other inscribed English portraits of the time (and as far as I know not yet traced); its eccentricity has been presumed attributable to the original foreign nationality of the artist.

On the leaf facing the Folio title-page appear Ben Jonson’s verses commending the Droeshout likeness,

Wherein the Graver had a strife
with Nature, to out-doo the life:
O, could he but have drawne his wit
As well in brasse, as he hath hit
His face, the Print would then surpasse
All, that was ever writ in brasse. . . .

In spite of Jonson’s reassurance (which, strangely, has sometimes been thought perfunctory), critics of the engraving have been able to point out serious defects in young Droeshout’s skill. The mouth is too far to the right. (“Place your hand over it,” Spielmann advised, “and after studying the upper part of the face, withdraw your hand, and you will

⁶ George Scharf, “On the Principal Portraits of Shakespeare,” *Notes and Queries*, 23 April 1864, p. 333.

see that it is not in the place in which you would expect to find it . . . [but instead] is centred right below the nostril.”) The hair that hangs on the left doesn’t balance the hair that hangs on the right, and one eye is larger and lower than the other. Pools of light arrive from inconsistent directions. None of these faults was alleviated when Droeshout, near the outset of printing, came to make revisions in his original plate.

In State I of the engraving (of which only four copies are known)⁷ the moustache is relatively thin, the left eyebrow (i.e. on the viewer’s right) ends above the eye, and the head appears to float upon the collar. In State II the moustache has been broadened, the left eyebrow has been lengthened slightly toward the temple, and a cross-hatched shadow has been added (as if falling from the hair) to the collar. The plate was slightly re-touched again during the original Folio printing, with changes so nearly microscopic that references to “the ordinary impressions” in Droeshout-engraving literature commonly embrace States II and III without further discrimination, but if the distinguishing features of State III⁸ seem too slight to have much affected common perception of the image, they do at least record the extent of the young engraver’s efforts.⁹

The following passage from Sir Sidney Lee’s 1898 *Life of William Shakespeare* was perhaps the most widely known endorsement of the “Flower” portrait as an authentic life portrait of Shakespeare:

In all its details and in its comparative dimensions, especially in the disproportion between the size of the head and that of the body, this picture is identical with the Droeshout engraving. Though coarsely and stiffly drawn, the face is far more skillfully presented than in the engraving, and the expression of countenance betrays some artistic sentiment which is absent from the print. Connoisseurs, including Sir Edward Poynter, Mr. Sidney Colvin, and Mr. Lionel Cust, have almost unreservedly pronounced the picture to be anterior in date to the engraving, and they have reached the conclusion

⁷ Cf. W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955), p. 465 (Note C). This was labeled the “proof” state when found by Halliwell-Phillipps (in what he thought to be a unique copy) in 1864.

⁸ A single short line of hair added to the head, a tiny line added to the pupil of each eye. Magnified illustration is in Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1963), I, 248-9, pls. IV-V.

⁹ Of the 11 portrait-engravings by Droeshout described by A. M. Hind (*Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*, II [1955], 351-4) 7 are recorded as invariant, 3 as variant in inscription only, and Shakespeare’s as the only one with revisions of the image.

that in all probability Martin Droeshout directly based his work upon the painting. (p. 289)

Earlier in the same discussion of Shakespeare portraiture Lee referred briefly in passing to State I of the engraving—"In the unique proof copy which belonged to Halliwell-Phillipps (now with his collection in America) the tone is clearer than in the ordinary copies, and the shadows are less darkened by cross-hatching and coarse dotting." (p. 288)—without any suggestion that the differences between State I and States II-III might have any bearing on the authenticity of the painting.

The first treatment of the painting that related the question of its authenticity to the different states of the engraving was propounded by Spielmann, in the essay called "The Portraits of Shakespeare" that he contributed to A. H. Bullen's Stratford Town Edition of *The Works of Shakespeare* (vol. X, 1907). A section of the essay sub-headed "The 'Droeshout' (or Flower) Painting" opened with a strong statement of the stakes then at issue:

The portrait . . . has given rise to heated discussion as a result of the claim made on its behalf, and maintained more or less stoutly by certain connoisseurs of repute—namely, that it is the original oil painting from which Martin Droeshout made his line engraving for the First Folio. According to the inscription in cursive script—*Willm Shakespeare, 1609*—it was painted seven years before the poet's death and fourteen years before the publication of the Droeshout print. If this pretension could be substantiated, it is clear we have here the only life portrait attested by Shakespeare's contemporaries. The fervour which characterized the debate is therefore intelligible enough, but it is unlikely that it would have reached so high a temperature had all the facts available been taken into consideration. (p. 383)

Before coming to any new facts Spielmann compared the engraving with the painting from the vantage point of his belief that the engraving came first:

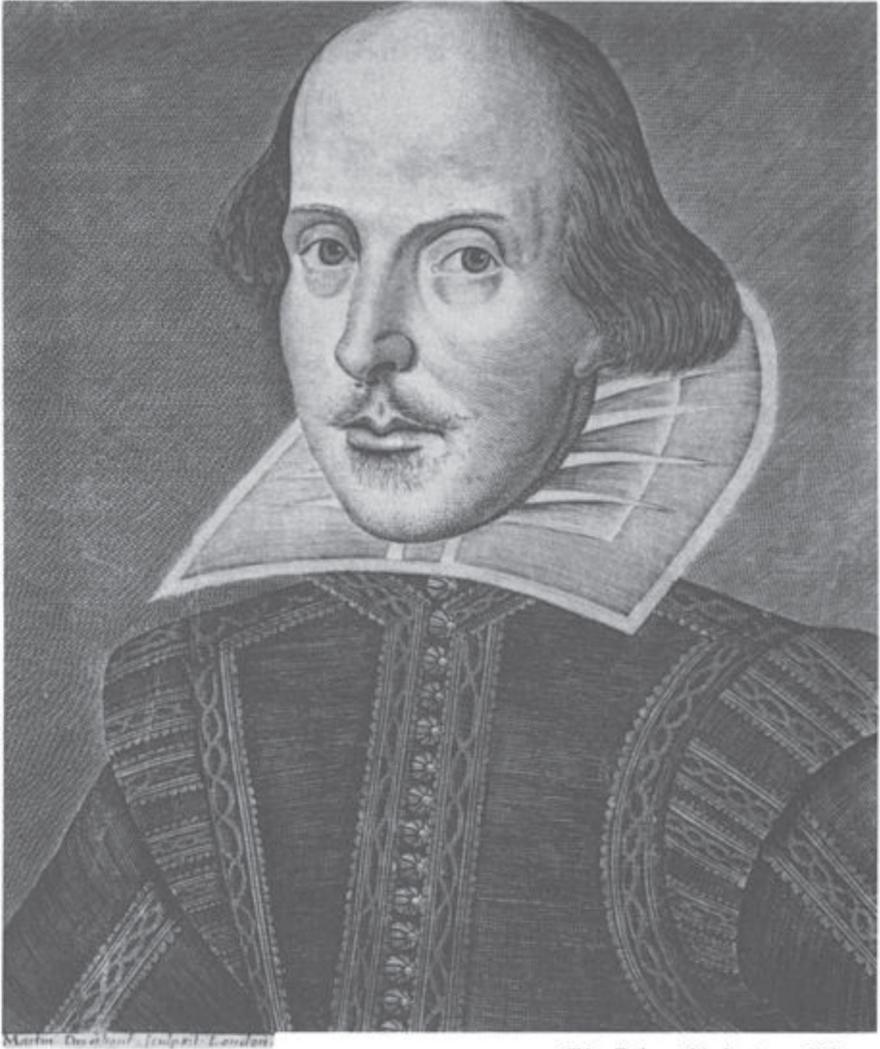
An engraver is a copyist whose first business and chief merit it is to adhere, with the closest possible accuracy, to his original. If he make a change at all it is done with anxious deliberation, in order to effect an improvement, not to introduce errors that do not occur



The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

The Monument

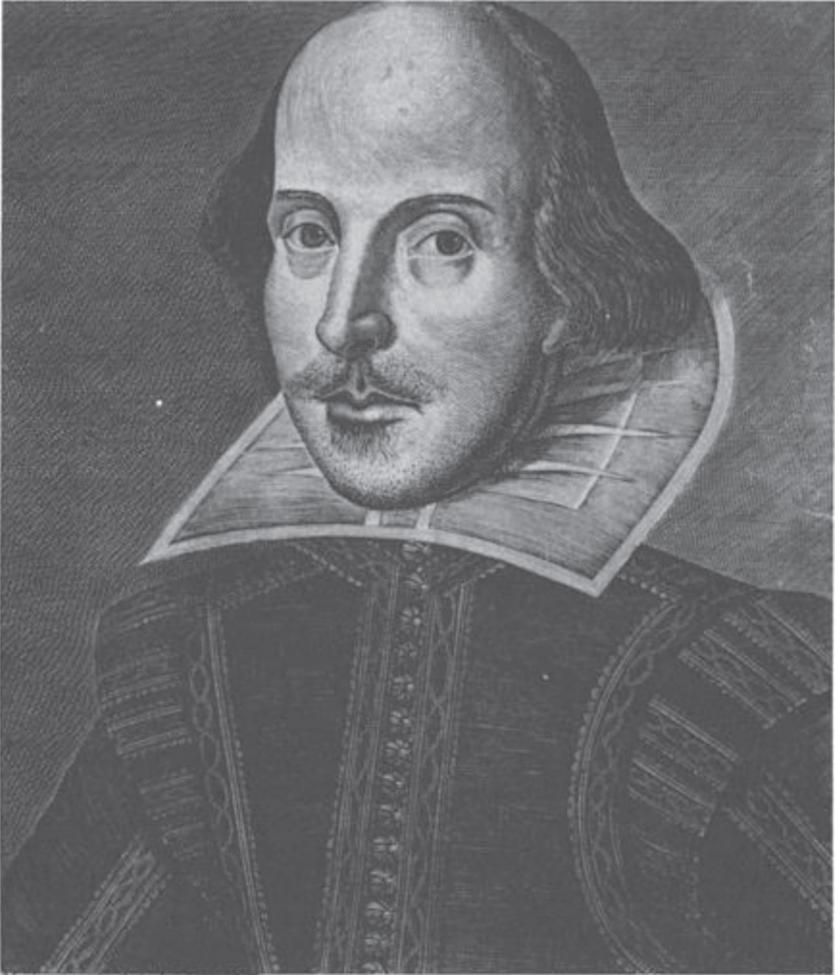
(In Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-upon-Avon)



The Folger Shakespeare Library

Droeshout Engraving—State I

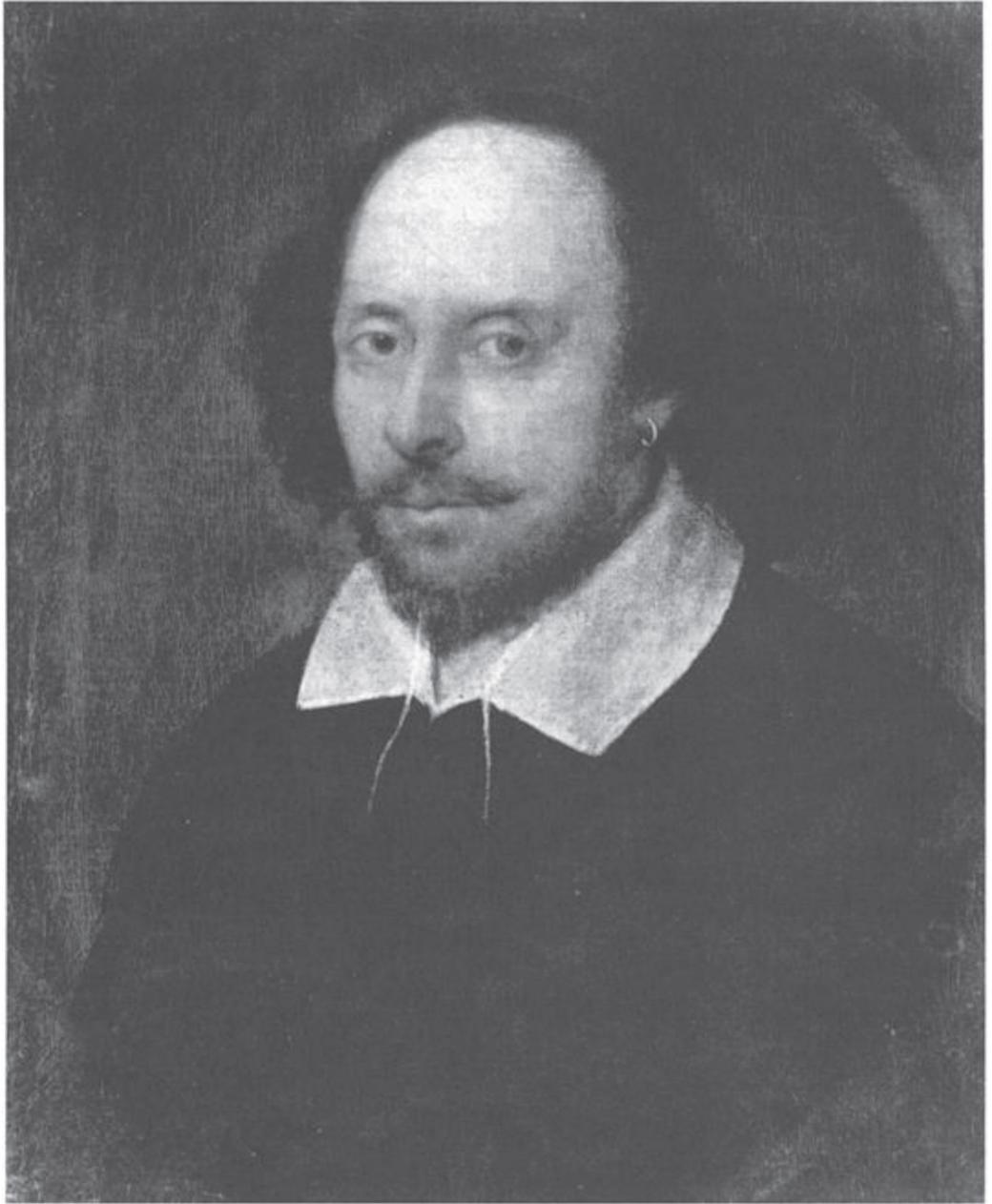
(From the title-page of the First Folio, Folger copy no. 2)



The Folger Shakespeare Library

Droeshout Engraving—State II

(From the title-page of the First Folio, Folger copy no. 1)



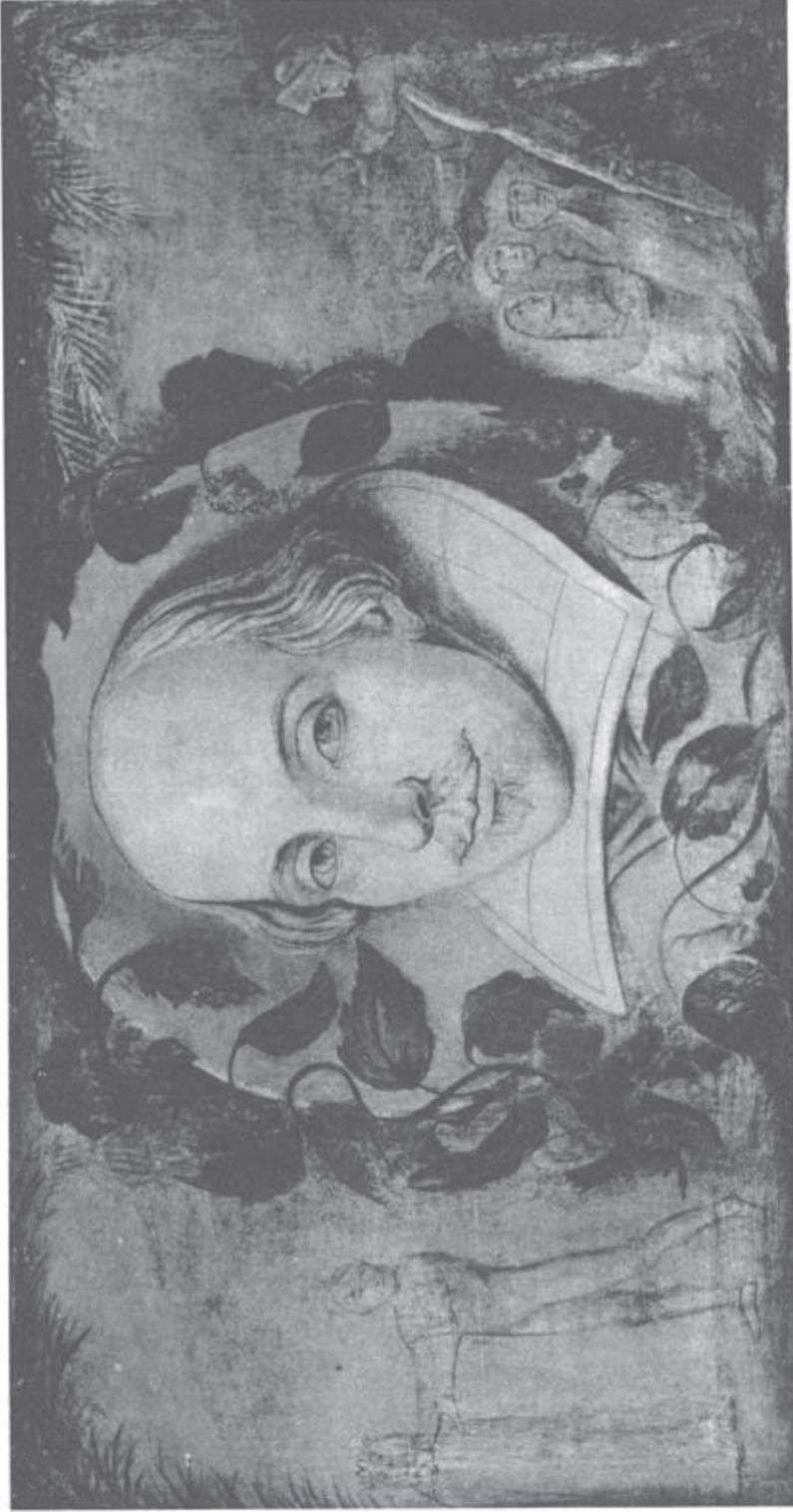
National Portrait Gallery

The "Chandos" Portrait



*Reproduced by permission of the Governors of the
Royal Shakespeare Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon*

The "Flower" Portrait



City of Manchester Art Galleries

William Blake: Head of William Shakespeare

in the painting before him. Yet nearly every difference in detail between the two works is to the disadvantage of the print.

The lighting of the head in the Droeshout print . . . is unintelligible. The light strikes from the top-front-left, and casts queer and contradictory lights and shadows in unexpected places. In the painting this is corrected; a broad system of illumination has been cast over the whole; the absurd crescent-shaped light under the right eye in the print (the right as we look at it) is broken up and dispersed, and the heavy shadow on the left cheek is suppressed. . . . In the print the ear is a deformity; in the painting it is normal . . . Again, the form of the mass of hair on the left, with its diagonal drop in the engraving, is brought into better perspective in the painting. (p. 385)

The initial premise here is that some lost original portrait on which the younger Droeshout based his title-page engraving must have displayed the same basic defects as the engraving, that these defects were transmitted by the engraver with the "closest possible" fidelity to his faulty source, and that the corrected features of the "Flower" portrait must have originated with the painter who later worked from the print. The facts requiring this hypothesis are located by Spielmann in his later discussion of the engraving and its revision:

So far, it may be presumed, the main facts were before the group of experts who were at first inclined to accept the newly discovered painting as the "Droeshout Original": this much I judge from the private correspondence which I have been permitted to read, and from the public discussion which ensued. But a circumstance of the highest importance was entirely overlooked during this campaign, when attention was concentrated on panel, pigments, and inscription rather than on external evidence. This was the rare, or "unique" early proof of the engraving, discovered by Halliwell-Phillipps and now in America. This proof now becomes witness-in-chief.

Between the proof and the subsequent print as it appears in the folios [i.e. between State I and States II-III] there are some slight but significant divergences. . . . In the proof the right eyebrow is short; in the print, long; in the picture, long. . . . The moustache in the proof is narrow; in the print, broad; in the picture, broad. On the wired band there is no shadow cast by the head; in the print there is shadow; in the picture there is shadow. . . .

Now, to what conclusion are we forced by these incontrovertible facts? Clearly, that the proof was *not* taken from the picture; for otherwise it would have agreed and not disagreed with it in the main facts—the dark, arched eyebrows, the broad moustache, the cast shadow. It was, therefore, taken from some other original in agreement with it, and not from the Flower portrait from which it so flagrantly departed. If the proof was from some other original, so, too, must the print—the self-same plate—have been; and the Flower portrait, with its improvements on the Droeshout defects, yet in design fundamentally identical, is the copy from the print as completed for the Folio, and not the original of it. Otherwise—a *reductio ad absurdum*—it must be the original also of the proof, with its striking disagreements. (pp. 386-7)

The Spielmann position, in short, is that because the “Flower” portrait agrees with the revised state of the engraving (both containing the lengthened eyebrow, the broadened moustache, and the new shadow on the collar), it is simply not possible that the original state of the engraving could have been derived from the painting.

This same conclusion Spielmann characterized four years later as “irresistible,”¹⁰ and it is of course embedded in his final and most elaborate treatment of the portraits, a 52-page essay with 47 illustrations, published under the title “Shakespeare’s Portraiture” as the opening article in the Shakespeare Association *Studies in the First Folio* (1924), and named *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare’s Plays* when Oxford University Press brought it out as a separate volume in the same year. Here the sequence “Proof—Print—Picture” is presumed, and the consecutive exposition of 1907 is somewhat obscured by the elaboration of particulars (as in the two pages reproduced in Note A—the most heavily revised pages in the Rutgers copy—tracing the extant copies of State I). “Being inexpert in such matters,” Sir Edmund Chambers wrote in 1930 with reference to Shakespeare portraiture, “I am content to rely on the learned researches of M. H. Spielmann,” and Chambers became more specific in his influential statement about the “Flower” portrait:

¹⁰ In his article for the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), published (as an appendix to the main Shakespeare entry) under the same title as his earlier essay, “The Portraits of Shakespeare,” but entirely rewritten and, in its new form, without separate treatment of the “Flower” portrait.

It bears the date, not necessarily contemporary, of '1609', and has been claimed as the original of the engraving. Spielmann has demonstrated that, on the contrary, it is derived from this, some of the defects of which a fairly competent hand has modified. The convincing proof is that it agrees with the ordinary impressions, where these deviate from the first state.

The most prominent Shakespeare biographer to dissent from this view was Edgar I. Fripp ("Spielmann's elaborate and interesting arguments for the priority of the engraving are convincing to me of the contrary"),¹¹ but deference to Spielmann among more recent students of the question (Hind, Piper, Strong, Schoenbaum) is still common, as a result of which the "Flower" portrait is sometimes regarded with disdain.¹²

Nothing about the sequence presumed in the Spielmann hypothesis, Lost Original—State I—State II—Painting, is actually required by the facts of the case. If the painting preceded the engraving it is of course true that the eyebrow/moustache/collar-shadow features in the painting were not yet engraved when the State I prints were made. When the engraver became dissatisfied with his plate soon after he saw the results, he presumably derived the small new features he added from his original source, so that on Spielmann's own premise about the engraver's passion for fidelity the additions in State II must have come from a source that would be a twin of the "Flower" portrait in precisely the features added. As for Spielmann's *a priori* argument about the defects in the engraving having resulted from the engraver's conscious intention to preserve the defects of the Lost Original, it is at least as easy, given the trying circumstances implied in young Droeshout's two recalculations of the plate, to assume that the defects originated with the hand that produced them. The assumption that the engraver copied from the "Flower" painting, erring from incapacity rather than conscious intent, and revising his plate to bring it into closer correspondence with the painting, is in any case no less possible than the Spielmann alternative.

More useful testimony about the question of priority may be located in one odd feature that the painting shares with the engraving, the strik-

¹¹ *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* (1938), II, 726n.

¹² Thus in a review of *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life for Shakespeare Studies X* (1977) Roland Mushat Frye chides Schoenbaum for using the "Flower" portrait as his frontispiece, because the painting "was apparently (as Schoenbaum agrees) a copy of the First Folio engraving, it has no independent value whatsoever and was regarded as too insignificant even to be mentioned in the [1964] National Portrait Gallery publication [cited above in note 1] on Shakespeare portraiture" (p. 381).

ing disproportion between the size of the head and that of the body. In the sequence imagined by Fripp, Shakespeare sat for his portrait in 1609 (when he was planning to give up theatrical performance and spend more of each year in Stratford); when the head was done, the body was filled in by an apprentice. In the engraving the body is even worse drawn than in the painting, as one might expect from a draftsman who gave his subject what Spielmann calls a “nearly full-face mouth in a nearly three-quarter-face head.” On the alternative assumption that the painting is a later copy from the engraving, Spielmann observes that “although in both portraits the body is much too small for the head, the drawing and direction of the arm on the left, and especially of the ‘wing’ shoulder-piece on the right, are less outrageous in the painting than in the print.” The copyist-painter whom Spielmann commends for fine improvements in the illumination of the head and in the drawing of the hair, the eyes, the ear, and the mouth might have been expected to have done at least a little better in his efforts to correct the drawing in the body. Since the relatively well painted head and poorly painted body are both drawn worse in the engraving, if we assume the painting was copied from the engraving we must imagine a painter who removed all the defective drawing in the face but only slightly amended the drawing in the body (perhaps an artist with a dual master/apprentice nature). The too-small body is a vitally significant element in the relation between the painting and the engraving; the respective treatment of the head and body in each tells in favor of the painting being the original and the engraving being the derivative copy.

The copyist-painter to whom Spielmann would assign the “Flower” portrait, if he existed, would be an artist of singular interest. As Spielmann points out toward the end of his final essay, “as far as is known, up to 1790 no fabrications of portraits, painted with deliberate attempt to deceive, were known,” while the “Flower” painting, as he acknowledges in the encyclopedia article, “was probably executed in the earlier half of the seventeenth century” and “may possibly be the earliest painted portrait in existence of the poet.” If this supposed copyist, after rendering faithfully (but with careful improvements) the famous image on the Folio title-page, then added to that image the inscription of Shakespeare’s name and the date 1609 (presumably to imply falsely a painting from life), he must have been the earliest fabricator of a Shakespeare portrait; well over a century before the fabrication of such portraits started developing into something like a cottage industry in England,

this copyist produced one of the most extraordinary fakes in the history of painting. Later painters who actually professed to copy (and correct) the face in the engraving never quite equalled its achievement. The fine portrait of Shakespeare made by William Blake at Felpham in 1801, for example, comes about as close to the face in the engraving as any other portrait derived from it, but the mysterious copyist-painter manages to come closer still.

Whether or not the painting is a portrait taken from life in 1609, it is hardly to be regarded as "too insignificant" for the serious student of Shakespeare's likeness to pay it close consideration. Its special correspondence with the all-important Folio engraving, together with its superior treatment of so many important features (the lighting of the face and the delineation of the hair, the eyes, the ear, and the mouth), mean that it provides a ready-made instrument of unique comparative value in the study of the engraving. If the painting was the work of a copyist, he was a wonderfully acute practical critic of the engraving whose perceptions help to bring its features into more precise focus. Barring new evidence to the contrary, however, it may be more reasonable to regard the "Flower" portrait as "the only picture which has any real claim to be a portrait of Shakespeare from life."

Note A. *The Rutgers copy*

Apart from several non-substantive changes (in spelling, font, or spacing) and the more substantial changes on pages 39-40 that are reproduced below, the Alexander Library copy of *The Title-Page of the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays* contains a presentation-note on the half-title page ("To Sir Bernard Partridge, / With the warmest regard of his old friend / M. H. Spielmann— / the author of this book.") as well as the following indicated corrections (of which those marked with an asterisk were incorporated in the virtually identical printed text of "Shakespeare's Portraiture"):

- p. 18 1.23] *insert after period* Hollar has obviously taken as his model, not Sueur's group which he pretends to copy, but Van Dyck's picture of Charles I mounted, now in the National Gallery.
- *p. 22 1.11] *for* represented it to be *read* acquiesced in it as
- *p. 30 1.16] *for* verse *read* tribute
- p. 34 1.34] *for* uniform *read* livery
- *p. 34 1.34] *for* Duke's Players *read* King's Company
- p. 35 1.35] *for* period *read* time
- *p. 44 1.15] *for* issued in . . . issued in *read* issued with . . . in
- *pl. 38 caption] *for* 1655 *read* 1662

OF SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS

the significance—of the so-called *Unique Proof* discovered in 1864¹ by Halliwell-Phillipps (who paid £100 for it), now the property of Mr. H. C. Folger (who acquired it from Mr. Perry) in America (Plate 22). It is this which supplies documentary proof of what has hitherto been based on reasoning on artistic grounds alone. This is here shown, in the first place, from the photograph of it in the Shakespeare Birthplace, by consent of the Trustees. In this witness-in-chief, which, as I shall presently show, is far from impeccable, we see a more human face; but the main interest lies in a few minor but very significant divergences.

It is no longer possible to call the proof 'unique' as another exists in the Bodleian Library—and yet another in the British Museum. There is ~~said to~~ ^{by} ~~be still~~ a fourth, known as the Lilly proof.²

The Halliwell-Phillipps photograph is introduced here partly for the sake of completeness, but mainly in order that I may make the *amende honorable* for having publicly stated that the 'First Proof' laid down on the spurious title-page of the Malone First Folio was a later state than this *Folger-Halliwell-Phillipps*' *Unique Proof*' (Plate 23). On receiving from Mr. Folger the photograph I found to my amazement that the photograph of it belonging to the Trustees of the Birthplace is wholly misleading. I knew that it was out of focus, but I did not know, and could hardly guess, that the photograph was from an under-exposed plate, and that that was the reason why many lines do not appear in it. The absence of these lines would naturally lead one to believe that

¹ Announced in the *Art Journal*, 1865, p. 30.

² The late Mr. Sabin informed me that in 1911 he bought at Sotheby's auction-room a copy of the First Folio with the Droeshout plate in the 'unique' state, and that within two years he had sold it to an American customer for £2,700. ^{7/} The volume, he said, had a cancelled leaf in the matter preceding *Troilus and Cressida*.

(This is the only copy known to me other than Mr. Folger himself).

This is identical with the Halliwell-Phillipps proof.

THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST FOLIO

7
14 97
this Malone print is a later 'state' (Plate 24). Even as it is, the matter has given a good deal of trouble to Sir Frank Short, the President of the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers, and to me, to determine this matter of 'states', because photographs enlarged six times have been necessary to prove that differences which exist between the two good photographs (of the Folger and Birthplace proofs) are not of 'line' but really of more generous inking of the Malone plate (Plate 25). In one case there is still doubt—whether at the point of the collar it is increase of printing-ink, or retouching/~~with the burin~~ that has repaired the blemish.

The matter seems a very trifling one to persons of normal temperament; but to the collector and to the specialist connoisseur of engraving it is of prodigious importance that a man would fight for to the death.

✓
The Malone title-page on which this 'unique proof' is laid is here shown in order that the modern—probably eighteenth century—printed page may reveal its character to the spectator (Plate 26).

The early 'state' of the head in the First Folio, now spoken of as the *Quaritch Folio*—lately acquired by the British Museum—is identical, except for minor details and variations incident to the operation of printing (Plate 27). It looks slightly woollier than the others because it is reproduced (by the kindness of Mr. Dring, of Messrs. Quaritch) from the excellent half-tone rendering issued by the firm from whose hands the volume passed into the National Collection. The fine mesh throws a glamour of softness over the whole.

from 21
These, then, are the ~~three~~ known 'proofs'. ~~Where the Lilly proof may be if it exists at all is not known.~~ ^{Where} 8

Let us now run through the editions of the Droeshout head, showing how the plate did service

1 I discovered the owner of the Lilly "proof"; but for good public reasons he wished me to leave him unknown for the present. It is in the Latin Folio.