

Look here upon this picture\*

\* Hamlet 4.3



A Symposium on the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare

Presented by the University of Guelph

UNIVERSITY  
of GUELPH

CHANGING LIVES  
IMPROVING LIFE

## Welcome to this very special event.

After many years of effort, the University of Guelph is delighted to host “Look here upon this picture:” A Symposium on the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare.

The symposium reflects on the enormity of Shakespeare’s contribution to the cultural life of this planet and it does so through its focus on the Canadian-owned Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare. The University of Guelph has played a key role in the analysis of the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare and is now prepared to share an insider’s view of how this research can enhance the world’s understanding of the impact of the Bard.

A particular focus of the conference is on the unique circumstances related to Shakespeare’s presence in Canada. This presence is made manifest in the Sanders Portrait as a marker of how objects migrate through historical time and space to find and create new contexts, new narratives, and new perspectives.

In the course of the day the symposium will:

- make the results of the most recent research on the Portrait public, in an open forum where informed debate can occur with some of the world’s leading experts on the portrait
- rectify the deplorable lack of attention that has been paid to a singular image of Shakespeare that has substantial amounts of evidence associated with it — evidence that no other so-called “contender” portrait has
- demonstrate the University of Guelph’s longstanding commitment to bridging the gap between academic research and public interest, in an attempt to move the portrait from private ownership into the public

Following the unveiling of the portrait and a presentation of the scientific documentation proving that the portrait dates back to the early 1600s, three panels of experts will address the curatorial and media response to the findings, the provenance and contextual arguments for its authenticity, and the market value and historical legacy of this unique treasure.

Owned by a Canadian, it is in the best public interest to move this portrait from private ownership into the public domain where ongoing research and debate can continue and where Canadians can access this wonderful image in a properly curated setting. We hope that this symposium plays a prominent role in making that happen.

Alastair J. S. Summerlee  
President & Vice-Chancellor, University of Guelph



Label on the back of the *Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare*.  
Photo by Daniel Fischlin, 2013.

#Sanders13

Thursday, November 28, 2013  
The Campbell Conference Facility  
Munk School of Global Affairs  
Toronto, Canada

## Schedule for the Day

- 9:30 **Unveiling the Portrait & Facing the Truth**  
Opening Remarks by Dr. Alastair Summerlee (President and Vice-Chancellor, University of Guelph)  
Introduction by Dr. Daniel Fischlin (University Research Chair, School of English and Theatre Studies)
- 9:45 **The Scientific Evidence: Reading the Wood, Paint, Paper, Glue**  
Dr. Marie-Claude Corbeil (Senior Conservation Scientist, Canadian Conservation Institute)
- 10:05 **The Internal Evidence: Fashioning Shakespeare**  
Jenny Tiramani (former Costume and Stage Designer, Shakespeare's Globe, The School of Historical Dress)
- 10:30 Q&A with refreshments
- 11:00 **Reception History and Media: The Portrait as Story Machine**  
Moderator: John Kissick (Independent Artist and Director of the School of Fine Art and Music)  
Panelists: James Adams (Globe and Mail), Dr. Robert Enright (University Research Chair, School of Fine Art and Music), Anne Henderson (Director/Writer Arcady Films/InformAction Films)
- 11:45 Q&A
- 12:00 **Oxford University Press (Canada) Luncheon**  
Hosted by Jen Rubio (Acquisitions Editor)
- 1:00 **Provenance and Context: Tracing Histories of Interconnection**  
Moderator: Dr. Irene Makaryk (University of Ottawa)  
Panelists: Dr. Daniel Fischlin and Dr. Andrew Bretz (University of Guelph, Wilfred Laurier University)
- 1:45 **The Sanders Portrait as Painting: An Art Historical Perspective**  
Lloyd DeWitt (Curator of European Art, Art Gallery of Ontario)
- 2:15 Q&A
- 2:30 Break

- 3:00 **What's the Value of Priceless? Hard Dollars vs. Legacy Issues**  
Moderator: Dr. Lilly Koltun (Former Director General, Portrait Gallery of Canada)  
Panelists: Dr. Jane Freeman (University of Toronto), David Loch (founder and owner of Loch Galleries), Kathryn Minard (International Society of Appraisers)
- 4:10 Q&A
- 4:30 **Closing Remarks: What's Next?**  
Dr. Alastair Summerlee
- 5:00 Reception

### Symposium Protocols

A few notes about "Look here upon this picture:" A Symposium on the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare:

- The symposium will be filmed. All participants and guests must sign photo release forms before entering the conference area.
- For security reasons, all guests will be asked to leave bags, purses, and backpacks at the registration desk or in their vehicles.
- As a protective measure for the portrait, food and drink are not permitted inside the conference area.
- Social media use is encouraged — kindly use hashtag #Sanders13 to ensure that all tweets and posts can be grouped together.

Thank you.



## Conference Participants

### James Adams

James Adams is The Globe & Mail's national arts correspondent based in Toronto. One of his major areas of coverage is the visual arts. He has written several articles over the years on the Sanders portrait, the first, published in June 2002, naming Lloyd Sullivan as the owner/custodian of the painting. Prior to his current writing assignment, he was arts editor of The Globe & Mail 1994-2001 and an editor/manager at McClelland & Stewart Inc. 1989-1994. He has played a key role in breaking stories related to the Sanders Portrait and recent research on it.

### Andrew Bretz

Andrew Bretz recently graduated from the University of Guelph, where his doctoral dissertation investigated the figure of the rapist on the early modern stage. He is currently teaching at both Wilfrid Laurier University and the University of Guelph, where he recently won the Central Students Association Teaching Excellence Award. He is published in *Modern Philology*, *Notes and Queries*, and is introducing an edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to be published by Oxford University Press (Canada) in 2014 as part of its *Shakespeare Made in Canada* series in which he has played a key role as a researcher and Editorial Associate.

### Marie-Claude Corbeil

Marie-Claude Corbeil received a B.Sc. in chemistry from Université de Montréal. She then specialized in inorganic chemistry and crystallography and completed, at the same university, a Master's program in 1984 and a Ph.D. program in 1987. In 1988 she joined the Analytical Research Laboratory of the Canadian Conservation Institute (CCI), where she performed analyses of museum objects and conducted research on the materials and techniques of twentieth-century Canadian artists such as Pellán, Thomson, and Riopelle. She was involved in several examinations related to art fraud cases at the request of law enforcement agencies and is frequently consulted on questions regarding authenticity. She is currently Manager of the Conservation Science Division at CCI. The goals of the division are: to expand our understanding of the composition, aging and deterioration of heritage materials; to develop improved techniques for conservation treatments; and to advise on the choice of conservation materials through testing and research. She has written and edited numerous publications and has been actively involved with Canadian and international conservation associations.

### Lloyd DeWitt

Lloyd DeWitt is the Curator of European art at the Art Gallery of Ontario and is formerly the Associate Curator of the John G. Johnson Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. DeWitt is an art historian, author and educator specializing in northern Baroque and northern Renaissance Art. Educated in Fine Arts at the University of Guelph and Art History at the University of Massachusetts, he was granted his PhD in Art History from the University of Maryland. Prior to serving eight years at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, DeWitt was a visiting professor at Ursinus College, the Price Fellow at Chemical Heritage Foundation in Philadelphia and lectured at Lasalle University and the University of Pennsylvania. Recently, he organized the 2011-12 exhibition "Rembrandt and the Face of Jesus" for the Louvre, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

### Robert Enright

Robert Enright is the senior contributing editor and film critic for *Border Crossings* magazine and the University Research Professor in Art Theory and Criticism in the School of Fine Art and Music at the University of Guelph, where he teaches in the graduate program. He has contributed introductions, interviews and essays to 80 books and catalogues in Canada, the United States, and Europe, and is a frequent contributor to the arts section of The Globe & Mail. Professor Enright has also written for *frieze*, *Modern Painters*, and *ArtReview*, and is a nominator and contributor to *Vitamin P2* and *Vitamin D2*, both published by Phaidon. Among his books are *Peregrinations: Conversations with Contemporary Artists* (1997), *Eric Fischl, 1970 – 2007* (2008), *Body Heat: The Story of the Woodward's Redevelopment* (2010), *Gordon Smith: Entanglements* (2012) and *The Stage by Donigan Cumming*, to be published by Errata Editions in New York (2014) for their "Books on Books" series. He is also a frequent lecturer at universities and art galleries in Canada and the United States. Professor Enright has curated a number of exhibitions across Canada. He wrote the essay, "Old Futures: Canadian Painting in the Present" for *The Painting Project: A Snapshot of Canadian Painting in Canada* in 2013. In 2005 he was made a Member of the Order of Canada.

### Daniel Fischlin

University Research Chair and Professor Daniel Fischlin's specialty is early modern / Renaissance studies and he is widely published in a number of fields beyond this with some sixteen books published and more forthcoming. He is co-editor of the influential book *Adaptations of Shakespeare: A Critical Anthology of Plays from the 17th Century to the Present*, (Routledge 2000) and is the founder and director of the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare Project (CASP), the largest online resource in the world for the study of Shakespeare's relation to a set of national theatrical practices. In 2007 Fischlin curated the *Shakespeare Made in Canada Exhibit* at the Macdonald Stewart Gallery in Guelph, which housed over 6000 square feet of resources that document the relationship between Canadian culture and Shakespeare. The Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare was at the centre of this exhibit. Fischlin has extensive experience in humanities computing design and innovation and also played a key role in the 2008 film *Battle of Wills* by documentarian Anne Henderson. The film outlines some of the story behind authenticating the Sanders Portrait. Dr. Fischlin serves as the General Series Editor for Oxford University Press's unique re-edition of the Shakespeare plays (*Shakespeare Made in Canada*) from a specifically Canadian point of view, featuring prominent Canadian scholars and authors. The first two editions in the series, *The Tempest* and *Romeo and Juliet*, are being officially launched at this symposium. His forthcoming book with the University of Toronto Press, *OuterSpeares: Shakespeare, Intermedia, and the Limits of Adaptation*, studies Shakespeare's presence in and across multiple forms of new media.

### Jane Freeman

Dr. Jane Freeman is a faculty member at the University of Toronto, a Senior Fellow of Massey College, and a member of the Stratford Festival's Senate. Her areas of expertise are oral/written communication, Shakespeare in performance, and Shakespeare's rhetoric. She is past chair of the Stratford Festival's University Task Force and its Education and Archives Committee. Recent publications include a chapter on Robert Lepage, co-written with M.J. Kidnie, in Vol. 18 of the Arden Shakespeare's *Great Shakespeareans* (2013), and a book on which she collaborated with Ursula Franklin, entitled *Ursula Franklin Speaks: Thoughts and Afterthoughts* (forthcoming 2014).

### Anne Henderson

Anne Henderson has been writing and directing documentary films for over 30 years. Her films encompass a wide variety of subjects, but prioritize stories about ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances. She is the recipient of a Genie Award, two Hot Docs Awards, a Gemini, as well as various international film prizes. Apart from *Battle of Wills* (the story of the Sanders portrait), other selected titles include *Water Marks*, a film about murdered west coast poet Pat Lowther; *The Road from Kampuchea*, a portrait of the Cambodian landmine survivor who became the 1999 Nobel Peace Laureate; *A Song for Tibet*, the moving story of a family divided by war and exile; and *Holding Our Ground*, a study of a squatter community in the Philippines where the women take control of their destinies. She has also directed several series for television, including *Women: A True Story* — narrated by Susan Sarandon, *The Human Race* written by journalist Gwynne Dyer, and *Dogs With Jobs*, the popular series on working dogs. Anne is a member of the Writers Guild of Canada and has served as jury chair and jury member for numerous film awards committees.

### John Kissick

Trained as a painter and writer, John Kissick has held numerous academic posts, including Chair of Painting at Penn State University's School of Visual Arts, Dean of the Faculty of Art at the Ontario College of Art and Design from 2000-2003, and for the last eleven years, Director of the School of Fine Art and Music at the University of Guelph. Kissick's exhibition record includes numerous solo exhibitions and public collections. A mid-career survey entitled *John Kissick: A Nervous Decade*, curated by Crystal Mowry, toured Canada from 2010 to 2012 and was accompanied by a major publication. Kissick is also the author of *Art: Context and Criticism* (1992), was editor of the Penn State *Journal of Contemporary Criticism* from 1990-1995, and has written numerous catalogue essays and articles for periodicals.

### Lilly Koltun

Dr. Lilly Koltun, formerly Director General of the Portrait Gallery of Canada, has extensive leadership experience in national collections of Canadian art, photography and archives at Library and Archives Canada. She holds degrees in Art History from the University of Toronto (BA Hons), the Courtauld Institute of Art, England (MA) and St. Andrews University, Scotland (PhD). She has lectured and consulted widely in Canada and internationally, and has authored and edited numerous publications, notably in her specialty of Canadian photography, where in 2011 she won the Ontario Association of Art Galleries award for a short essay on the photography of Justin Wonnacott. In recognition of her cultural contribution to Canada, she received the Commemorative Medal of the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 2002. Recently, she hosted the program *Ottawa's Art Seen* on Rogers Community TV, and currently serves on the board of the Ottawa Art Gallery and continues a long relationship as an Adjunct Research Professor in art history at Carleton University. She is also now pursuing a new direction, that of artist. She is in her fourth year of the BFA studio program at the University of Ottawa and has exhibited video and sculptural work in Ottawa's Nuit Blanche, as well as a painting in a group exhibition of local and international artists. This year, she has also had her first solo show, of sculptures, in Gallery 115 at the University of Ottawa.

### David Loch

David Loch was born and educated in Edinburgh, Scotland and immigrated in 1967 to Canada where he opened the Loch Gallery in Winnipeg in 1972. In the fall of 2002 a second location was opened in Toronto, followed by a third in Calgary in 2005. David (along with Hartley Richardson) was instrumental in establishing The Leo Mol Sculpture Garden, the first sculpture garden in Canada dedicated to one man's work. These unique initiatives were followed by the opening of The Pavilion Museum, which celebrated the works of Ivan Eyre and Walter J Phillips. Both of these museums are located in Winnipeg at Assiniboine Park. David was also the driving force for the placement of nine monumental sculptures by Ivan Eyre at The McMichael Collection of Canadian Art. Plans are presently underway to build another sculpture garden in Calgary for the bronzes of Peter Sawatzky. For over four decades, the family owned Loch Galleries have quietly and confidentially established many of the premier collections of art in Canada. Outstanding among these was the renowned collection of the late Kenneth Thomson. Over the years David has served on many boards and has had a longstanding interest in the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare.

### Irena Makaryk

Irena Makaryk is Professor of English cross-appointed to Theatre at the University of Ottawa and one of Canada's most prominent Shakespearean scholars. Her special interest is the ongoing "conversation" we have with Shakespeare and the way in which various cultures and periods reinterpret, revise, transform, and employ his works. More generally, she studies the way in which theatre and the classics function in times of great social duress (such as the Russian revolution, World War II, and the war in Afghanistan today). She also works on the great Soviet Ukrainian director Les Kurbas, Soviet modernism and the avant-garde. In 2009 she organized an international conference *Wartime Shakespeare in a Global Context* held at the University of Ottawa in which the Sanders Portrait was featured at the Canadian War Museum.

### Kathryn Minard

Kathryn Minard is a Certified Appraiser specializing in fine art and a Canadian instructor in Appraisal Studies with the International Society of Appraisers. Ms. Minard currently serves on the Art Advisory Committee of the McMichael Canadian Art Collection and the Board of Trustees of the Textile Museum of Canada and has served as a Special Advisor to the Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board. She is the president of Art Advisory.com and Contemporary Fine Art Services Inc. providing independent appraisal, research, advisory and collection management services to private and corporate collectors since 1981.

### Jen Rubio

Jen Rubio is an Acquisitions Editor at Oxford University Press in Toronto. She grew up hearing Shakespeare jokes and Shakespeare references from her bard-loving father, who taught Renaissance literature at the University of Guelph. She studied literature at McGill, McMaster, and Edinburgh University. She played a key role in conceptualizing the new Oxford *Shakespeare Made in Canada* series.

## The Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare: A Research Summary

### Alastair Summerlee

President Summerlee, whose career as a scholar, professor, researcher and administrator spans nearly 30 years, joined the University of Guelph faculty in 1988 as a professor in the Department of Biomedical Sciences. He was named an associate dean of the Ontario Veterinary College in 1992, dean of graduate studies in 1995, associate vice-president (academic) in 1999, and provost and vice-president (academic) in 2000. He has continued teaching while holding administrative positions and was awarded a prestigious 3M Teaching Fellowship in June 2003. He is the only University of Guelph professor to earn the honour while serving as an administrator and is the first president-elect in Canada to be named a 3M Fellow. He was also recognized with a Distinguished Professorial Teaching Award from the U of G Faculty Association in 1991. He holds a B.Sc., B.V.Sc. and Ph.D. from the University of Bristol in the United Kingdom and is a member of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons. In 2004 Dr. Summerlee received the Doctor of Laws (Honoris causa) from the University of Bristol. He has been involved with the Sanders Portrait file since 2004, when the Canadian Adaptations of Shakespeare site, which features the Sanders Portrait on its splash page, was launched at the University of Guelph garnering national and international attention.

### Jenny Tiramani

Jenny Tiramani is a theatre designer, dress historian and teacher. She was Director of Theatre Design at Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, London 1997-2005, receiving the Laurence Olivier Award for Best Costume Design in 2003, for *Twelfth Night*. Her costume designs for opera includes *La Clemenza di Tito* by Mozart, Aix-en-Provence, and *Anna Bolena* by Donizetti, Metropolitan Opera New York, 2011. Jenny's publications as co-author include Janet Arnold's *Patterns of Fashion 4* with Santina M. Levey, Macmillan (2008), and *Seventeenth Century Women's Dress Patterns: Books One (2011) & Two (2012)*, V&A, with Melanie Braun, Luca Costigliolo, Armelle Lucas, Susan North and Claire Thornton. Jenny has taught many UK and USA costume courses as a visiting tutor and has been the Director of the Rutgers University/Shakespeare's Globe Study Abroad Design Course in London since 2001. She is now the Principal of The School of Historical Dress, established in 2009 to teach an object-based approach to the subject. Her work on the Sanders Portrait has been featured in *Costume*.

As a help to conference attendees faced with what will be a fascinating day of discovery exploring a range of research findings drawn from many different disciplines, we've included in this program a summary of key aspects of the research on the Sanders Portrait as it currently stands.

### Summary

The cumulative weight of the evidence summarized here (science, internal/art historical, and genealogy/provenance) is unprecedented and makes the Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare the rarest of all art commodities: the only image of Shakespeare painted during his lifetime that has survived the period. No other portrait comes close or has faced the same degree of sustained, interdisciplinary scholarly scrutiny.

### The Science

Thirteen independent, arms-length scientific tests have been carried out on every physical aspect of the Sanders portrait of Shakespeare over the past fifteen years by leading researchers in the field, including the highly respected Canadian Conservation Institute in Ottawa.

1. Dr. Peter Klein of the University of Hamburg, Germany, the world's foremost expert on dendrochronology, conducted the first of these tests in 1994 and determined that 1603, the date painted in red on the upper right-hand corner of the painting is a wholly plausible date of execution of the portrait.
2. Dr. Marie-Claude Corbeil, Senior Scientist at the Analytical Research Lab of the Canadian Conservation Institute (CCI) successfully carried out the next ten tests. The results are conclusive:
  - Materials and techniques of the portrait are consistent with respect to the date of 1603 painted in the top right-hand corner of the portrait.
  - There is no evidence that the date on the portrait was not painted at the same time as the rest of the painting.
  - No anachronisms with respect to the date of 1603 were observed — the original ground and paint layers are completely consistent with the period.
  - No anomalies were noted such as a double or over-painting or alterations to the original paint surface.
  - It is evident that the painter of the Sanders portrait used the distinct technique and style of painting associated with continental techniques circulating in London at that point in time (given the generally poor

quality of early modern English portraiture).

- The type of glue used to adhere the paper label to the back of the portrait is made from a plant starch — rice or potatoes — a finding consistent with an early seventeenth century date.
3. Dr. R.P. Beukens of the IsoTrace Radiocarbon Laboratory at the University of Toronto analyzed a sample of the paper label from the back of the portrait. Dr. Beukens's radiocarbon tests on the portrait with results showing that the label is seventeenth-century vintage: Dr. Corbeil suggests a probable age range for the label of circa 1627-1667, wholly consistent with someone posthumously affixing the label after Shakespeare's death in 1616.
  4. McCrone Associates Inc. of Chicago conducted forensic ink tests on the linen label on the back of the portrait. Their findings show:
    - Ink formation is consistent with the materials and manufacturing methods available in the seventeenth century, the date established for the label by carbon dating analysis at the University of Toronto.
    - A quill pen was used, consistent with the period.
    - Ink is well-integrated into the paper fibers of the label in the manner of iron gall ink, which was the type of ink used in the 17th century.
    - No dyes were detected and no binding medium, such as gum or protein, was identified. No signs of recent additions or alterations to the ink were found.

The science, then, corroborates the Sanders family's oral history, which identifies the portrait as Shakespeare in 1603. This oral history is further corroborated by the label, which names the sitter as Shakespeare, and provides his actual date of birth, "April 23, 1564", and his date of death, "April 23, 1616."

These personal details about Shakespeare were recorded on the paper label on the back of the portrait as follows:

*Shakspeare*  
*Born April 23-1564*  
*Died April 23-1616*  
*Aged 52*  
*This likeness taken 1603*  
*Age at that time 39 ys*

These birth and death details were unknown to historians and the public until they were first published many years later in 1773. The label on the back of the portrait is the only extant document that records Shakespeare's actual birth date as opposed to his date of baptism making it alone an item of major historical significance.

To date, no other document has been found that records Shakespeare's actual birth date. The entry found in the Holy Trinity parish register for Stratford only records Shakespeare's baptism on April 26, 1564. Now illegible, the wording on the label was still visible in 1909, when M.H. Spielmann, a prominent London expert on Shakespearean iconography, transcribed and published the exact wording in *The Connoisseur* (Vol. XXIII January - April, 1909).

### Internal Evidence

Jenny Tiramani, former director of theatre design at the Globe Theatre in London, founder of The School of Historical Dress, and the foremost living expert on Elizabethan and Jacobean dress, has analyzed in detail the clothing and hairstyle of the sitter portrayed in the Sanders portrait. After exhaustive study and research, Tiramani confirmed that the following items are consistent with the 1603 date of the Sanders portrait for someone of Shakespeare's rank and social status.

- The doublet with silver thread ornamentation is consistent with someone of Shakespeare's newly acquired rank and social status: Shakespeare's company of actors became the King's Men in 1603 a significant elevation in social status that would have had significant consequences for Shakespeare in terms of his right to wear clothing of the sort he is shown wearing in the Sanders Portrait. The sitter's dress is wholly consistent with what is known about sumptuary laws from the period.
- A comparison of the undercoat worn by the sitter in the portrait is consistent with early seventeenth century theatre portraits.
- The sitter's hairstyle is consistent with the fashion worn by young courtiers during Shakespeare's era

Lloyd DeWitt, Curator of European Art, at the Art Gallery of Ontario, in his examination of the portrait concludes that the oak paneling and the style of portraiture are wholly consistent with Elizabethan English portraits. Moreover his analysis strongly supports the understanding of the portrait as a "friendship portrait" made between people who knew each other.



Further, DeWitt suggests that the method of construction of the panel is indicative of an English point of manufacture rather than the next most likely candidate, Dutch. This point of manufacture is consistent with the pigments, the ground preparation, and every other material aspect of the painting.

### Genealogy

Sustained genealogical work over more than twelve years by Pam Hinks, a leading expert on Worcestershire/Warwickshire family histories in England, concerning the Sanders portrait (note that these findings have not been made known to the general public) trace an unbroken line of 13 generations from the current owner, Lloyd Sullivan back into Shakespeare's own lifetime.

It is important to understand that the genealogical research conducted by Ms. Hinks began with Mr. Sullivan in Ottawa and moved backward in time from him: the fact that the work and evidence led directly back into the small clump of villages in and around Stratford but also directly into the heart of London where Shakespeare was known to have been living is important. No other portrait is even remotely close in terms that associate its provenance (via a specific family) with this level of proximity to Shakespeare.

The genealogy shows Sanders family members having clear, demonstrable relations with Shakespeare's family and his immediate circle. The key character in this is John Sanders, Lloyd Sullivan's ten times removed great-grandfather, about whom the following is known:

- John Sanders (senior), attorney, was born in 1559 in the Hamlet of Upton Warren, Worcestershire, England. The hamlet of Upton Warren is situated some 24 miles from Stratford in Worcestershire.
- John Sanders married Elizabeth Caldwell of St. Modwens, Burton upon Trent, Staffordshire. They raised their family in Upton Warren but later moved to London during Shakespeare's era of influence.
- John died on Sept. 3, 1643, and was buried at St. Botolph's Church, Aldersgate Street, London, a few steps away from where Shakespeare was living in 1603 (at the corner of Silver and Muggle streets just within the London Wall).

Instances that link Mr. Sullivan's direct line of relatives into the Shakespeare circle include:

- Dorothy Saunders, a relative of Sullivan, who in 1594 married John Throckmorton — an example of a number of marriages involving these families over the decades. Throckmortons also married Ardens, and it

was one of those aristocratic Ardens, Mary, who in 1557 became the wife of a John Shakespeare, and seven years later gave birth to a boy christened William.

- In 1592, Phillip Sanders, John Sanders I's brother, married one Anna Heminges. She was the cousin of none other than John Heminges, born just two years after Shakespeare in Droitwich (Droitwich Spa), near Stratford-Upon-Avon, making John Sanders I and John Heminges cousins-in-law. John Heminges later became an actor in Shakespeare's company, one of Shakespeare's closest artistic and business associates, and in 1623 co-edited and published the famous First Folio of the Bard's plays.
- Also, in 1613, Thomas Heminges (John Heminges' second cousin) married Jocossa Sanders, Phillip and Anna Sanders' daughter at Ombersley, Worcestershire, England.

The will of another Sullivan relative, Mathew Sanders, provides a likely provenance in the mid-eighteenth century. Mathew Sanders, the son of John Sanders (born April 10 1653 in Droitwich, the same village where Heminges was born), at his death on 9 September 1745 at age 61, left a will in which he deeded "eight pictures."

No other portrait associated with Shakespeare can make as direct a genealogical claim or argument. No other portrait or portrait owner has this sort of direct and intimate link into Shakespeare's own historical moment, cultural milieu, and family. It is important to remember that the only possible reason to account for the portrait ending up in Mr. Sullivan's possession (and this is based on intergenerational familial provenance) is that the Sanders family kept the portrait as part of its legacy through transmission of the object within the family.

### Recent Findings

Recent work conducted by University of Guelph researchers has added to the historical contexts that describe close affinities of relation between Shakespeare and his associates and the Sanders family and its direct line to Mr. Lloyd Sullivan, the portrait's current owner.

### Creation of the Painting: Some Context

A primary issue regarding the creation of the painting is the lack of any records regarding its creation. Unlike royal portraiture, which has at least a modicum of a chance of being recorded in account books, it is unlikely that the creation of the Sanders Portrait would have resulted in a documentary trace in personal account books.

The reason for this is twofold. First, personal account books for Sanders, Heminges and Shakespeare simply didn't survive. They were not considered important enough at the time to keep, even if they existed in the first place. The only exceptions to this general rule are well explored because of their exceptionality (viz. the Manningham Diary, the Henslowe Papers). Second, painting, even portraiture, was considered a task more akin to manual labour in the early modern period and had little in common with today's associations with high culture. That is to say that a painter was simply another manual labourer and the monies spent on the creation of a painting would not be any more worthy of note than monies spent hiring a carpenter to fix a roof. Thus, even if Sanders had kept a diary of personal expenses, there's no reason to suspect that the diary would make any special note of the portrait.

#### Geographic Connections and Immigration

It is a well-established phenomenon of social geography and anthropology regarding immigrant populations that when they arrive in a new city or town, they tend to live in the same geographic areas as each other. It is therefore unsurprising to find that in 1603 William Shakespeare, John Heminges, and John Sanders, all new immigrants from towns an average of eight miles apart in the west country in and around Stratford, lived only a few minutes' walk from each other in London in adjoining parishes.

#### Social Networks

Up until recently, the final connection between the Sanders family and Shakespeare has been largely speculative. Recent research at the University of Guelph conclusively documents the relationship that connects Sanders to Shakespeare through John Heminges, co-creator of the First Folio and a member of the Grocers' Company. Heminges and John Sanders' son (John Sanders II), an early ancestor to Lloyd Sullivan, were both active members of the Grocers' guild throughout the early 1600s. John Sanders II joined the Grocers in 1615 (and presented silver commemorative spoons to the company at that time). At the same time, even though Heminges was a working actor, he also was deeply involved in the day-to-day business of the Grocers' Company. It would have been impossible for the two men not to have been intimately acquainted with each other, not only because their families came from neighbouring villages in the Midlands, but also because they would have had significantly overlapped business interests.

#### Bequests and Wills

John Sanders I did not leave a will that can be found. Even though he was a lawyer and served the Talbot family, this isn't unusual for the period insofar as only about 20% of the population ever left a will or testament of any kind. Effectively, most of his possessions would have passed to his eldest son, Richard Sanders, who is the direct ancestor of Lloyd Sullivan, the current owner of the painting. Surviving wills of the period very rarely mention paintings of any sort, thus even if John Sanders I had left a will, it would be surprising if he mentioned anything about the painting. The fact that the portrait is unsigned and therefore "anonymous" is also wholly consistent with period practices for art. Most of the National Portrait Gallery images associated with writers and other artists are not attributed. None of these anonymous images have anywhere near the level of provenance associated with the Sanders Portrait.

#### Heminges' Will

In their study of wills associated with members of the playhouse and entertainment industry of London for the period 1558-1642, E. A. J. Honingman and Susan Brock note only two wills that mention "pictures." The first is Edward Alleyn's will that established Dulwich College and provided for all parts of the college, including pictures. The second is the will of John Heminges, which specifically states that the paintings in his possession are of his close friends and family, to be distributed upon his death. If nothing else, the will of John Heminges shows that it was possible for a man of the same background and socio-economic position as John Sanders I to collect paintings of his friends and family members. If the collection was an idiosyncrasy unique to Heminges, then it is possible that the Sanders Portrait entered the family through Heminges upon his death in 1630. If Sanders (too) shared the passion for paintings, then it is possible that Sanders painted the image himself or commissioned the painting in 1603 to celebrate the elevation of William Shakespeare to his position as leader of the King's Men. At this time Shakespeare and his fellow actors were given the title of Grooms of the Royal Chamber and were allowed to dress in accordance with their newly elevated status.

It is important to understand Heminges' connection to the Sanders family through inter-marriage and through business affiliations. Heminges is the person most associated with commemorating Shakespeare's life through the publication of the 1623 Folio and it is clear that commemoration of Shakespeare mattered a great deal to Heminges and his circle, which included

the Sanders family, all upwardly mobile, educated, and thriving business people from the Midlands who were successful in London.

### John Sanders II and John Sanders III

The Grocer, John Sanders II, went on to have a stellar career in London, eventually rising to the position of Alderman. His career seems to really escalate in the 1630s, shortly after the death of Heminges. Though he was still living at the Aldersgate Street address that his father had settled in years before in 1638, in 1633 he had already been granted a coat of arms by the Office of Heralds — a notable achievement. Later in his career, he served as the Deputy Governor of Londonderry. John Sanders III had an equally illustrious life in London where he was a freeman of the Painter-Stainers' Company, having entered it within a month of John Sanders II's death. There is a great deal of information about John Sanders III in the records of the Painter-Stainers' Company records, as well as personal records in other archives.

It is remarkable that within two generations of John Sanders I a close relative becomes a master painter in the Painter-Stainers' Company, and that the son of John Sanders III also served in that company. Members were the professionals specifically allowed to apply stains and paints to wood and canvas surfaces. Throughout the direct line back from Mr. Sullivan multiple instances of family members either being amateur or professional painters or of family members owning paintings (including at one point in time Constable's Salisbury Cathedral painting) are in evidence.

### Conclusion

In summary, the statistical and historical probabilities that bring together this much evidence, all consistent and all pointing in the same direction, overwhelmingly support the Sanders Portrait's claims. That science, art history, costume research, and provenance would come together to this degree with no inconsistencies, and this after many years of work by a wide array of otherwise unconnected researchers, is unprecedented.

It is clearly time to move the portrait from private to public ownership and to do this with full regard for its extraordinary global historical value. The legacy of making this move will be to bring an utterly unique object to the permanent attention of the global communities that have been, and continue to be, touched by Shakespeare's artistry.

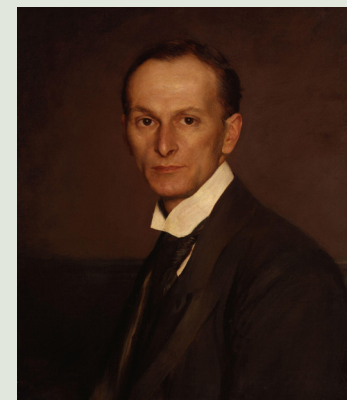
## A Note on the Label Affixed to the Back of the Portrait

In the upper center of the Sanders Portrait, glued to the oak paneling, one can see the decaying remains of the label that was affixed to the portrait in the 17th century — sometime after Shakespeare's death. The label names the sitter as Shakespeare, and provides his date of birth, "April 23, 1564," and his date of death, "April 23, 1616." This makes the Sanders Portrait the only painting of Shakespeare that explicitly names him on the painting itself.

The following personal details about Shakespeare were recorded on the paper label on the back of the portrait:

*Shakspeare*  
*Born April 23-1564*  
*Died April 23-1616*  
*Aged 52*  
*This likeness taken 1603*  
*Age at that time 39 ys*

These birth and death details were unknown to historians and the public until 1773 when George Steevens first published the baptism record and inferred from it April 23, 1564 as Shakespeare's birth date (see Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* 94). The label on the back of the portrait, then, is also the only extant document that records Shakespeare's actual birth date as opposed to his date of baptism making it an item of major historical significance. To date, no other document has been found that records Shakespeare's actual birth date. The entry found in the Holy Trinity parish register for Stratford only records Shakespeare's baptism on April 26, 1564.



Marion Harry Spielmann,  
 by John Henry Frederick Bacon.  
 © National Portrait Gallery, London.

Now almost illegible, the wording on the label was still visible in 1909, when M. H. Spielmann, a prominent Victorian art critic and scholar who was also an expert on Shakespearean iconography, transcribed and published the exact wording found on the label in *The Connoisseur* (Vol. XXIII January - April, 1909). All physical components of the label have been independently tested (the material of the label, the glue, and the ink used to inscribe it) and have been found to be consistent with a 17th century dating.

## Credits

The conference conveners express their most sincere thanks to the following people, organizations, and offices for their generous support in making this unique event happen: The President's Office (University of Guelph); The Offices of the Vice-President and Associate Vice-President of Research at the University of Guelph; the College of Arts Dean's Office (University of Guelph); the School of English and Theatre Studies (University of Guelph); the School of Fine Art and Music (University of Guelph); the Graduate Student Association (University of Guelph); and to Claire Alexander, David Baldwin (Archivist, London Metropolitan Archives), Lori Barnsley; Nathalie Barton (InformAction Films); Sue Bennett; Stephanie Butler; Dr. Don Bruce; Mr. Raymond L. du Plessis Q.C.; Dr. Alan Filewod; Mr. James Hale-Sanders; Dr. Kevin Hall; Kathryn Harvey; Dr. Sally Hickson; Ms. Pam Hinks; Mr. Tim Hinks; Jennie Hissa; Dr. John Kissick; Dr. John Livernois; Nick Loess; Jennifer Lorette; Dr. Stuart McCook; Arni Mikelsons (Northern Village); Angus Neill (Felder Fine Art); Lori Nicol-Hauri (Frederick Travel); Alyssa Ottema; J. M. Petrie, Rouge Croix Pursuivant (College of Arms); David Stover (CEO, Oxford University Press); Mr. Lloyd Sullivan; Dr. Alastair Summerlee; Lydia Summerlee; and David Taylor.

We thank all the symposium speakers for their generous participation, informed commentary, insight, and willingness to share their expertise. The range of remarkable contributors to the symposium attests to the depth and exceptional talents of Canada's research and creative communities.

We express our deepest gratitude to the many archivists, librarians, and curatorial staff at the following research venues whose resources have played an important role in the work presented at the conference: the British Library; the College of Arms (London); the Guildhall Library and Archives (London); the Inns of Court (Inner Temple); Lambeth Palace; the London Metropolitan Archives; the National Archives (Kew); and the University of Guelph Library and Archives.

We thank Robert Fripp and Toyah Willcox for their exceptional hospitality and insights during an extended research trip to the U.K.

Especial thanks are extended to the City of Worcester and its Mayor, Pat Agar, for welcoming us to the city and making city archives available to us.

Fanfare Musicians: Colin Couch (Tuba); Gary Diggins (Trumpet)

For more information on the Sanders Portrait please visit:  
[www.canadianshakespeares.ca](http://www.canadianshakespeares.ca)

Cover art:

Agas, Ralph. *Image of Civitas Londinium*. 1570-1605. Lithograph - restored. Maps of Old London. 1908. By Adam and Charles Black. Restored by Mike Calder and posted on Wikimedia Commons.

*Sanders Portrait of Shakespeare* (1603). Oil on wood panel. Owned by Lloyd Sullivan.





