

“Images of Liberty and Power”



**The Centre for
Independent Studies
Sydney
November 29, 2011**



**Dr. David M. Hart
Liberty Fund, Inc.
Indianapolis, IN**



**Top: Delacroix, “Liberty Leading the
People” (1830)
Bottom: Chinese Communist Party Poster**



Questions to keep in mind:

- how has the idea of “liberty” been depicted in art?
- how has the idea of “power” been depicted in art?
- how do we decipher or decode the political content of art?
- what purpose do political ideas in art/images serve?
- do political ideas in art “spoil” or “devalue” works of art?
 - do they turn “art” into propaganda?
- how has art been used in the battle of ideas?

Definition of Terms:

- “liberty” - the absence of coercion; the ability to enjoy one’s justly acquired property without restriction by others
- “power” - the exercise of coercion upon others in order to seize their property or to restrict their liberties

The Idea of Liberty in Art



Nanine Vallain, “La Liberté” (1793-94)

- the depiction of people who are “at liberty”, “enjoying liberty,” or peacefully “going about their business”
- the interpretation of the world/society by artists who have (possibly unstated) “liberal” assumptions about it
- the celebration of “bourgeois virtues”
- the depiction of material with the express purpose of “seeking or promoting liberty”
- the depiction of material with the express purpose of “opposing power” or some other unjust aspect of power

The Idea of Power in Art



- the depiction of “the power holders” and “institutions of power” in society, e.g. “throne” and “altar”, in order to:
 - legitimize their rule
 - justify their actions (e.g. war)
 - be loved/feared by their subjects
 - overawe/subdue their opponents
 - ensure sacrifice to the state/nation

Jacques-Louis David, “Napoléon crossing the St. Bernard Pass” (1805)

Images of Liberty & Power Online



1. at my personal website:

<<http://davidmhart.com/>>

2. at the Online Library of Liberty website:

<<http://oll.libertyfund.org/>>

**Pierre Paul Prud'hon et Jacques Louis
Copia, "Liberty overthrowing the
Hydra of Tyranny" (1793)**

Some Examples to Discuss

Pro-Power:

- Washington & Napoleon in their Studies
- Presidents Day & the Hagiography of Presidential Power
- Rationing & Price Controls in WW2

Australian Interlude I

Anti-Power:

- Cartoons against War & Taxes
- Delacroix on Press Censorship (1814-1822)
- The Ruling Class in the Caricatures of Wade & Daumier

Australian Interlude II

Pro-Liberty:

- Thomas Hollis, John Locke, & Algernon Sidney
- Revolutionary Playing Cards
- Marianne
- Monuments to Richard Cobden & Frédéric Bastiat



The Spirit of Peace
Motto: "Prosperity"
(1793-94)

Favourable Depictions of Power

Favourable Depictions of Power I: The Hardworking Leader “Washington & Napoleon in their Studies”



**Jacques-Louis David, “The Emperor
in his Study in the Tuileries” (1812)**



**Official Portrait (Landsowne):
George Washington (1796)**

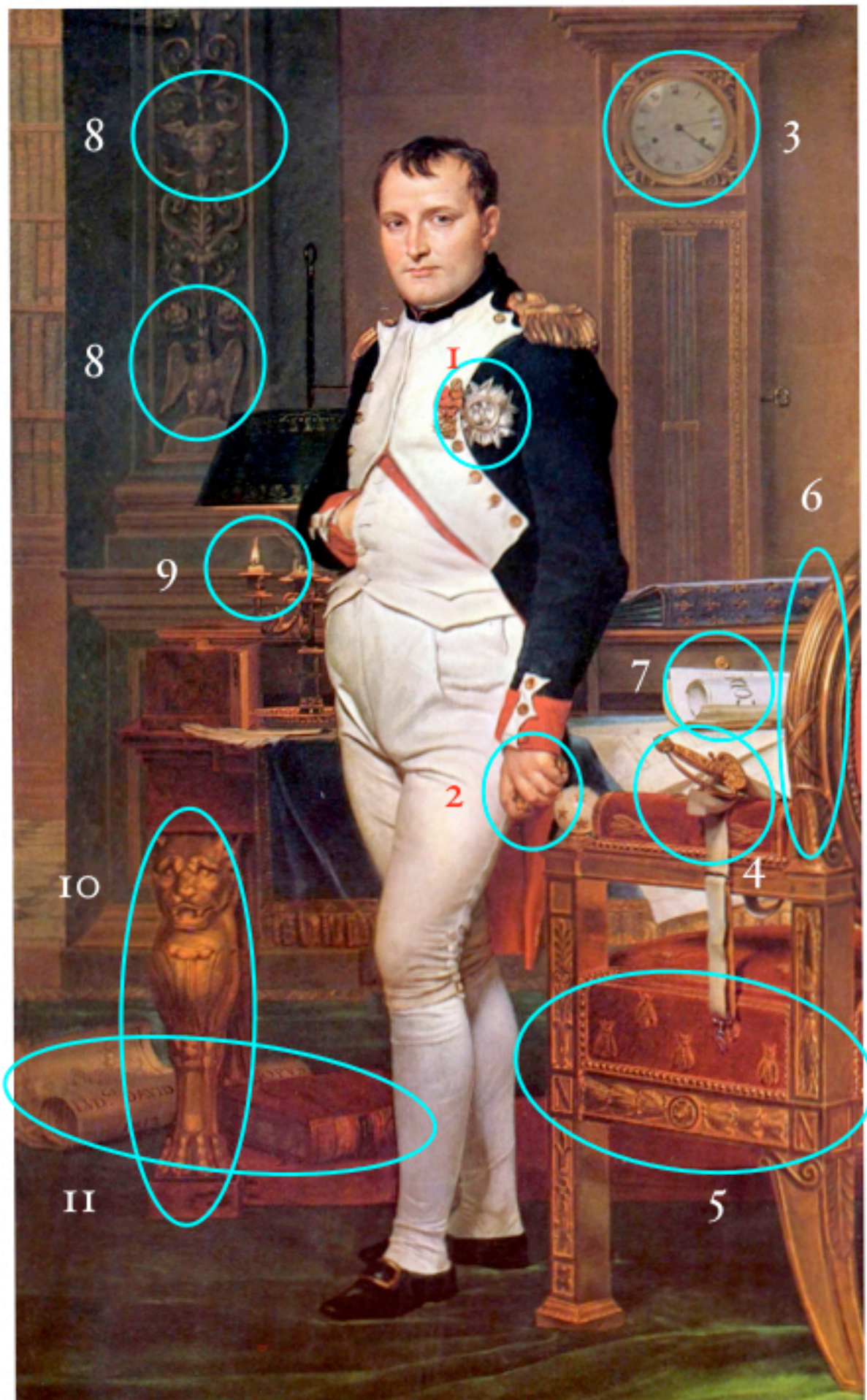


Jacques-Louis David, “The Emperor in his Study in the Tuileries” (1812)

Things to Note

Painting: Jacques-Louis David, The Emperor Napoleon in His Study at the Tuileries (1812).

Source: The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
<<http://www.nga.gov>>



1. He is dressed in the military uniform of the Foot Grenadiers of the Imperial Guard with the Legion of Honour medal
2. in his left hand he seems to be holding a gold object, perhaps an official seal
3. a grandfather clock shows the time of 4.13 (possibly a.m.)
4. there is an upholstered chair upon which is laid his sword.
5. the upholstery shows the imperial bee design and the initial "N" has been carved into the wood
6. the curved back of the chair is carved in the design of the Roman fasces.
7. on the table is a pile of papers, one of which has the word "code" (the Civil or Napoleonic Code).
8. a wall decoration which has the winged head of the Roman god Mercury (the messenger and the god of trade) and an imperial eagle.
9. a candle which has nearly burnt to the end of the wick suggesting that Napoleon had been working all night in his study on the Code.
10. the table shows a leg in the design of a lion (possibly Egyptian)
11. a pile of books and some papers on which the painter David wrote his name and the date of the painting. One of the books is Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*.



Official Portrait (Landsowne): George Washington (1796)

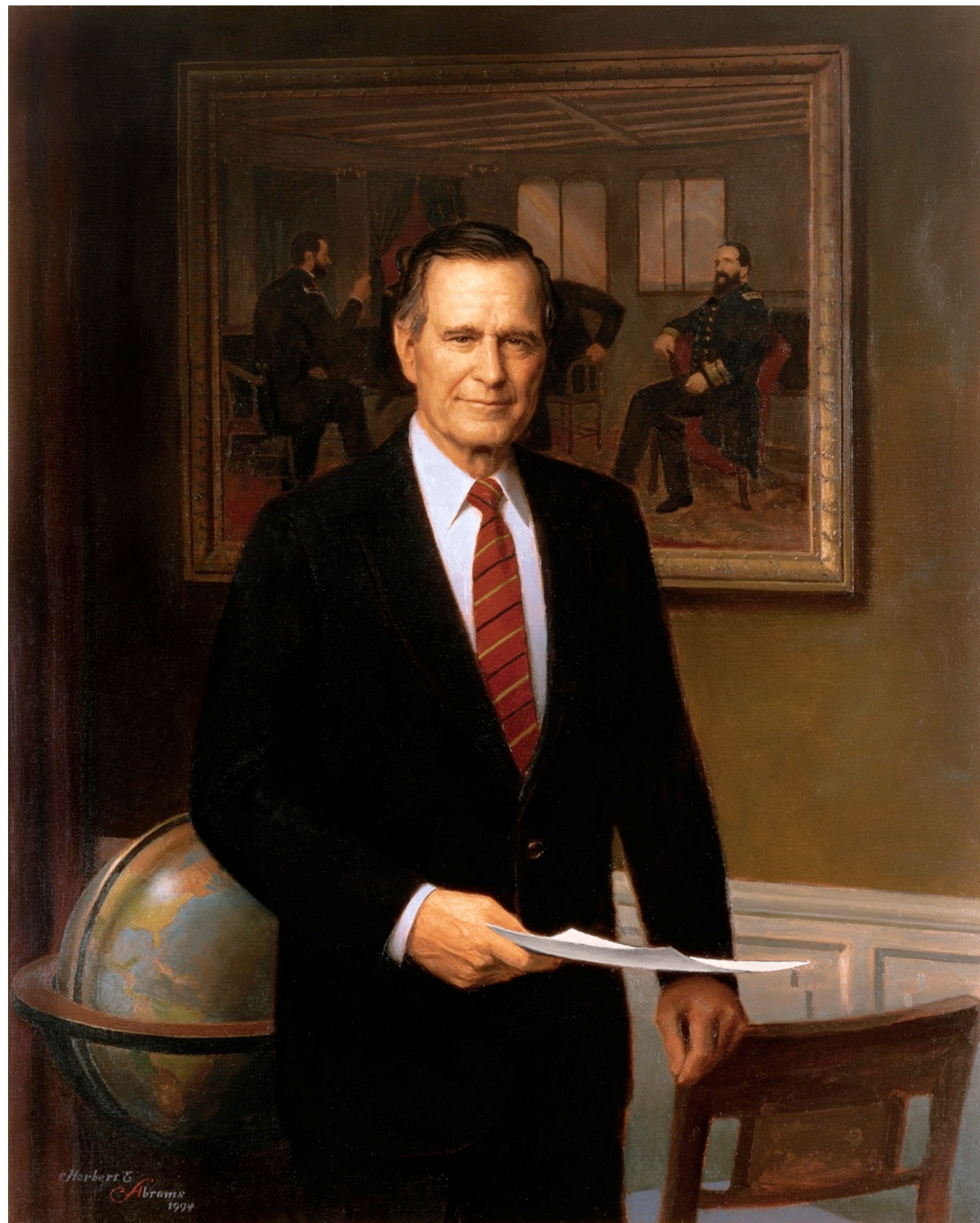


Things to Note

Painting: Gilbert Stuart, George Washington (1796) ("the Lansdowne Portrait").

Source: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. <www.npg.si.edu/collect/lansdowne2.html>

1. in his left hand he is holding a downward pointing sword
2. his right arm is outstretched in a welcoming gesture
3. behind him to the right is a red upholstered chair with the oval-shaped image of the American stars and stripes, a version of which appears in the Great Seal of the United States (1782)
4. 5 large books on the floor suggesting he has been at work
5. two more books are on the table next to a quill pen and ink, some rolled up papers, and a black feathered hat
6. the table leg in the shape of Roman fasces with what look to be eagles sitting on top
7. there are Roman columns through which one can see some clouds and a rainbow which arches up from just above his right elbow to the top right



**Official Portrait: G.H.W. Bush
(Herbert Abrams, 1994)**

Favourable Depictions of Power II: The Hagiography of Presidential Power “Washington & Presidents Day”



John James Barralet, "The Apotheosis of Washington" (1802-1816)



Unknown, "The Apotheosis of Washington and Lincoln" (1865)

John James Barralet, "The Apotheosis of Washington" (1802-1816)



**Unknown, "The Apotheosis of
Lincoln, greeted by Washington
in Heaven" (1865)**





**Constantino Brumidi, "The Apotheosis of
George Washington" (1865)
Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.**





**The Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C.
(Daniel French 1922)**

Favourable Depictions of Power III: Government as the Wise Planner “Rationing Propaganda WW2”

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

Nº 920315 BM

WAR RATION BOOK No. 3 *Fold if altered*

Identification of person to whom issued: PRINT IN FULL

Sandra *F* *Smith*
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Street number or rural route _____

City or post office _____ State _____

AGE	SEX	WEIGHT Lbs.	HEIGHT Ft. In.	OCCUPATION

SIGNATURE _____
(Person to whom book is issued. If such person is unable to sign because of age or incapacity, another may sign in his behalf.)

WARNING
This book is the property of the United States Government. It is unlawful to sell it to any other person, or to use it or permit anyone else to use it, except to obtain rationed goods in accordance with regulations of the Office of Price Administration. Any person who finds a lost War Ration Book must return it to the War Price and Rationing Board which issued it. Persons who violate rationing regulations are subject to \$10,000 fine or imprisonment, or both.

LOCAL BOARD ACTION

Issued by _____ (Local board number) _____ (Date) _____

Street address _____

City _____ State _____

(Signature of issuing officer)

OPA FORM NO. R-130

"War Ration Book No. 3"
(front) (U.S.A., 1943)



Herbert Roesse, "Rationing means a fair share for all of us"
(American Office of Price Administration, 1943)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OFFICE OF PRICE ADMINISTRATION

Nº 920|315 BM

WAR RATION BOOK No. 3

Fold if
altered

Identification of person to whom issued: PRINT IN FULL

Sandra *F* *Smith*

(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

Street number or rural route _____

City or post office _____ State _____

AGE	SEX	WEIGHT Lbs.	HEIGHT Ft. In.	OCCUPATION

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OPA Form No. R-130

LOCAL BOARD ACTION

Issued by _____
(Local board number) (Date)

Street address _____

City _____ State _____

(Signature of issuing officer)



INSTRUCTIONS

- 1 This book is valuable. Do not lose it.
- 2 Each stamp authorizes you to purchase rationed goods in the quantities and at the times designated by the Office of Price Administration. Without the stamps you will be unable to purchase those goods.
- 3 Detailed instructions concerning the use of the book and the stamps will be issued. Watch for those instructions so that you will know how to use your book and stamps. Your Local War Price and Rationing Board can give you full information.
- 4 Do not throw this book away when all of the stamps have been used, or when the time for their use has expired. You may be required to present this book when you apply for subsequent books.

Rationing is a vital part of your country's war effort. Any attempt to violate the rules is an effort to deny someone his share and will create hardship and help the enemy.

This book is your Government's assurance of your right to buy your fair share of certain goods made scarce by war. Price ceilings have also been established for your protection. Dealers must post these prices conspicuously. Don't pay more.

Give your whole support to rationing and thereby conserve our vital goods. Be guided by the rules:

"If you don't need it, DON'T BUY IT."



**Herbert Roese, "Rationing means a fair share for all of us"
(American Office of Price Administration, 1943)**



PUBLISHED BY THE LIBERAL PUBLICATION DEPARTMENT, 42 PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.

Liberal Party free trade poster 1907



Weimer Purcell, "When you ride ALONE you ride with Hitler!" (1943)

Australian Interlude I



Statue of Mexico Olympic 200m Medalists Tommie Smith & John Carlos at San Jose State University (2005)

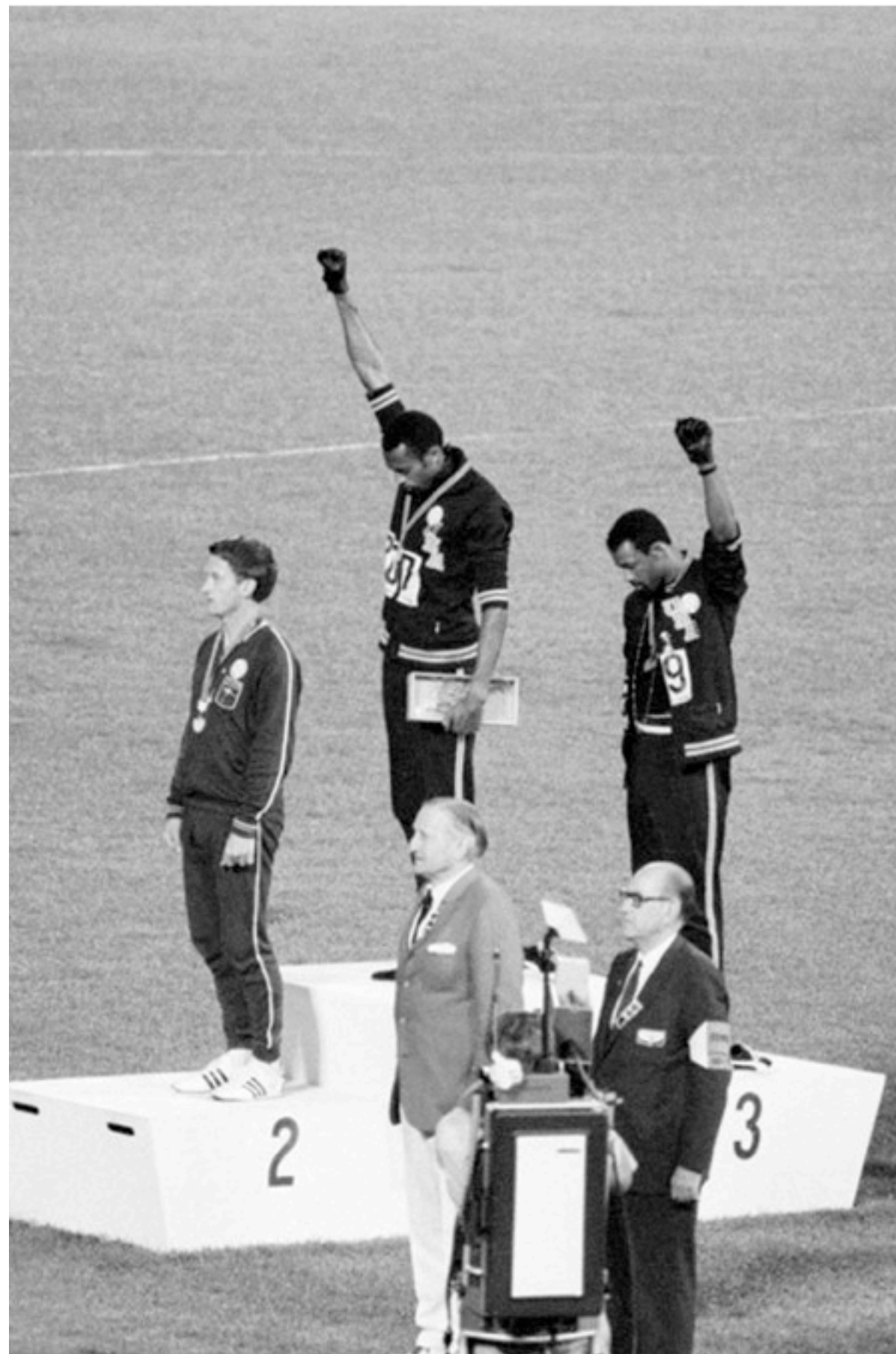


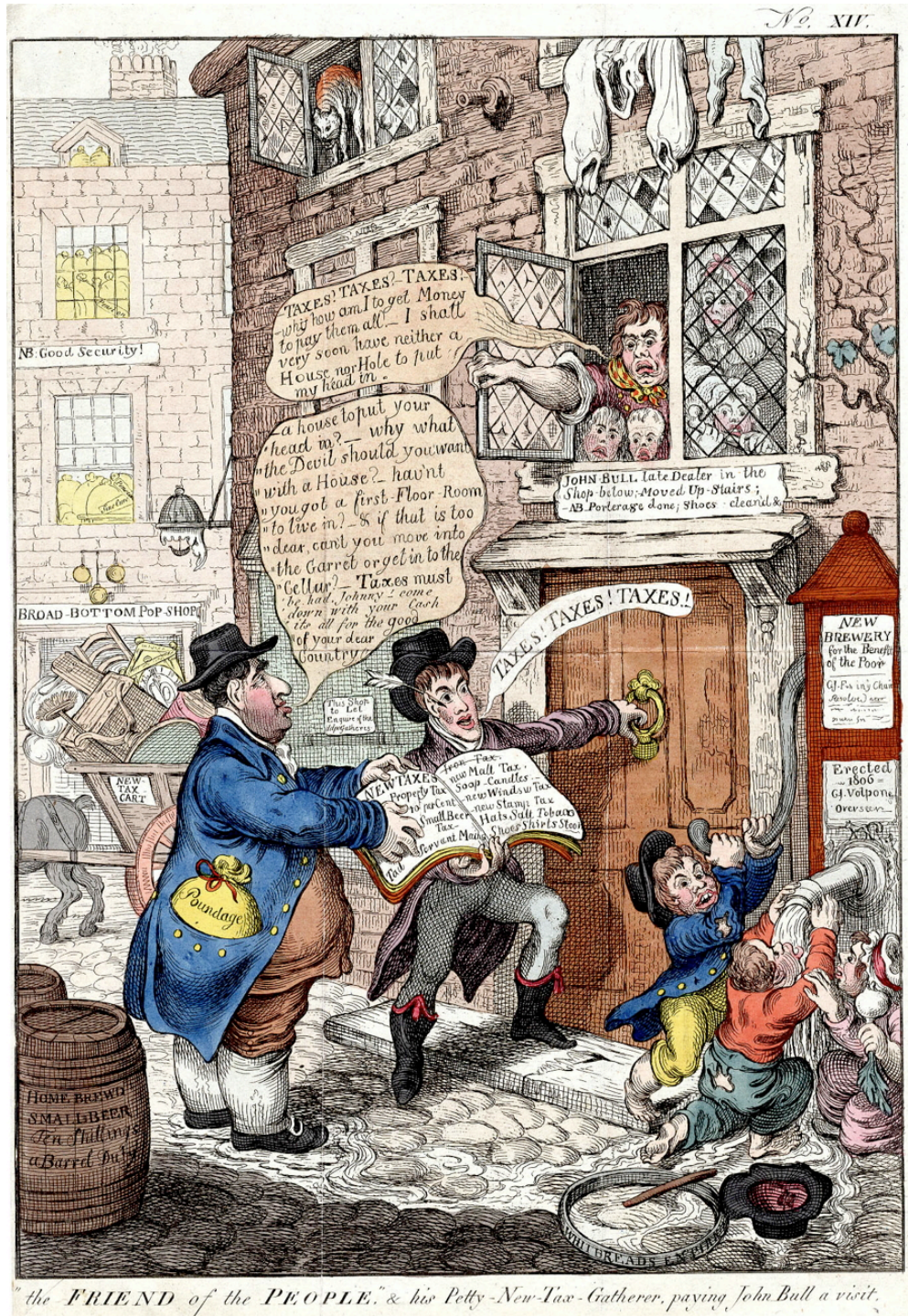
Photo of medal winners including Peter Norman (2nd) (1968)



David Hart's re-enactment (2011)

Critical Depictions of Power

Critical Depictions of Power I: Opposition to Tax Increases in War “Anti-Tax Caricatures”



"The FRIEND of the PEOPLE', and his Petty-New-Tax-Gatherer, paying John Bull a visit" (May 28, 1806)



"The British Atlas, or John Bull supporting the Peace Establishment" (1816) [James Gillray]



"BEGGING no ROBBERY; i.e. Voluntary Contribution; or John Bull escaping a Forced Loan" (1796)



More PIGS than TEATS'—or— the new Litter of hungry Grunters, sucking John-Bull's-old-Sow to death.

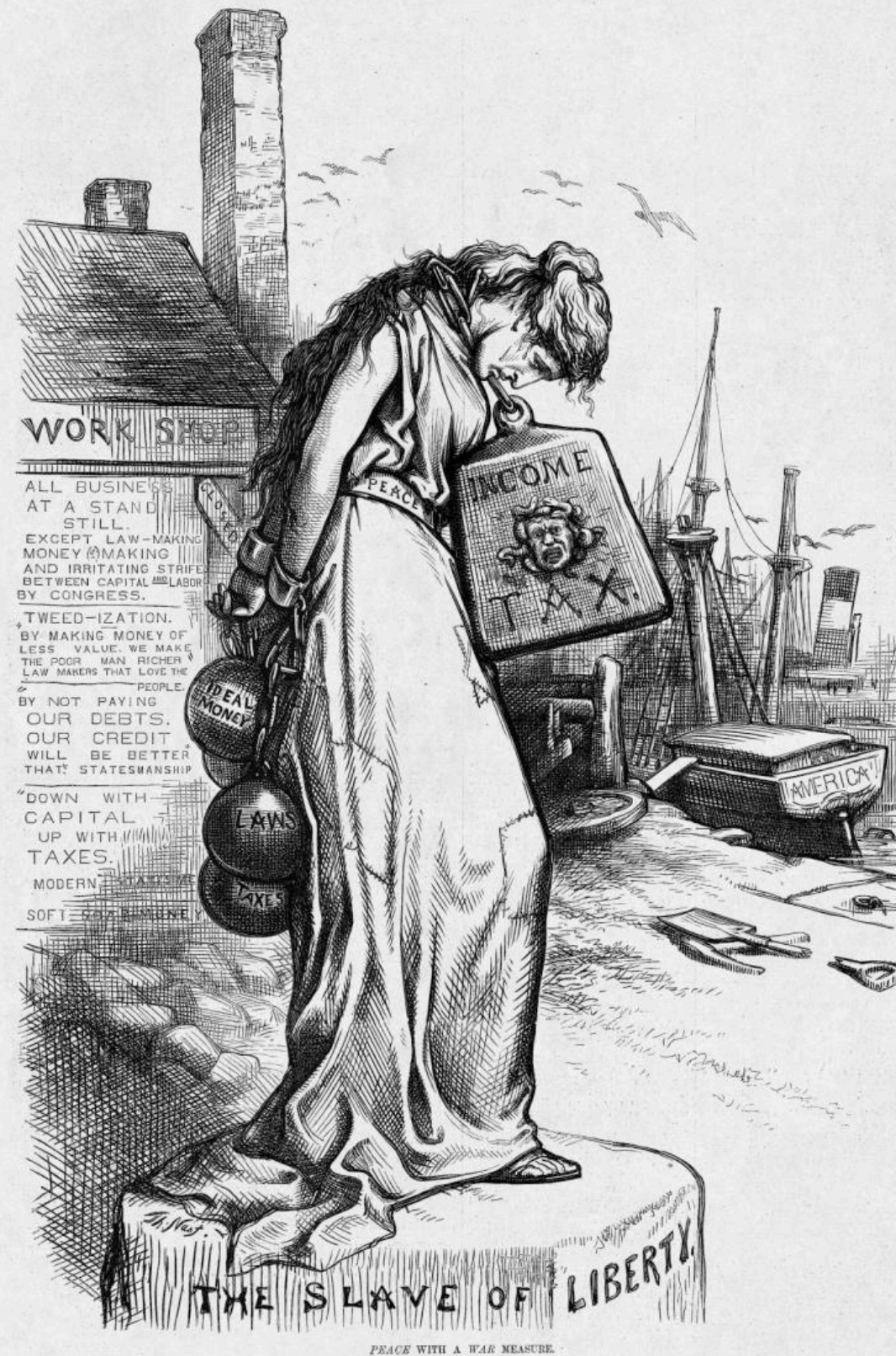
"More PIGS than TEATS, or the new Litter of hungry Grunters sucking John Bull's old Sow to death" (March 5, 1806)



"A Great Stream from a Petty-Fountain; or John Bull swamped in the Flood of new-Taxes; Cormorants Fishing the Stream" (May 9, 1806)



"The British Atlas, or John Bull supporting the Peace Establishment" (1816)
{James Gillray or C. Williams}



PEACE WITH A WAR MEASURE.

Thomas Nast, "Peace with a War Measure" ["The Slave of Liberty"] (1878)

Critical Depictions of Power II: Opposition to Censorship “Delacroix on Press Censorship (1814-1822)”



Eugène Delacroix, "The Censors sent packing" (1822)



Eugène Delacroix, "Crayfish at Longchamps" (1822)



Anon. "Les Journaux en mai 1815" (Newspapers in May 1815)

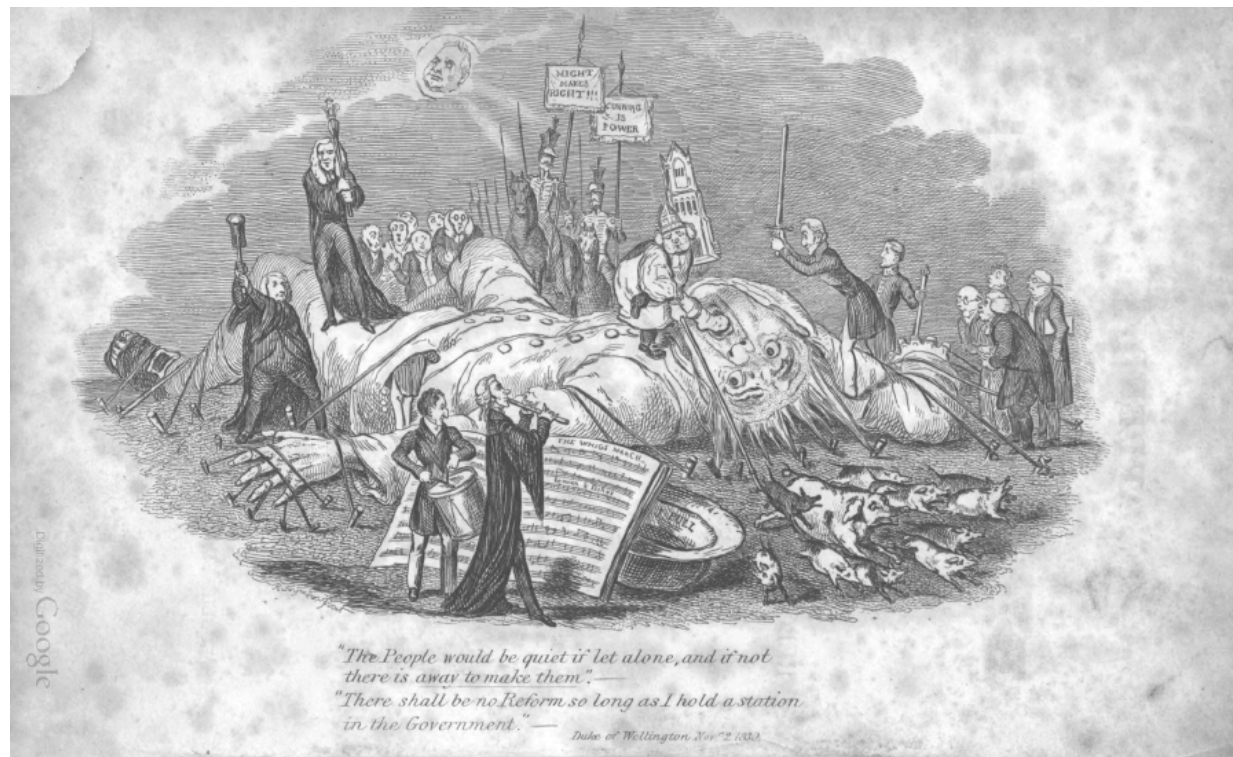


Eugène Delacroix, "Le Déménagement de la censure", Le Miroir, (11 February, 1822)
 (The Censors Moving House, or the Censors sent packing)



Eugène Delacroix, "Les écrevisses à Longchamps (Crayfish at Longchamps),"
Le Miroir, (4 April, 1822)

Critical Depictions of Power III: Opposition to the Ruling Class “The Caricatures of Wade & Delacroix”



“John Bull as Gulliver” (1835)

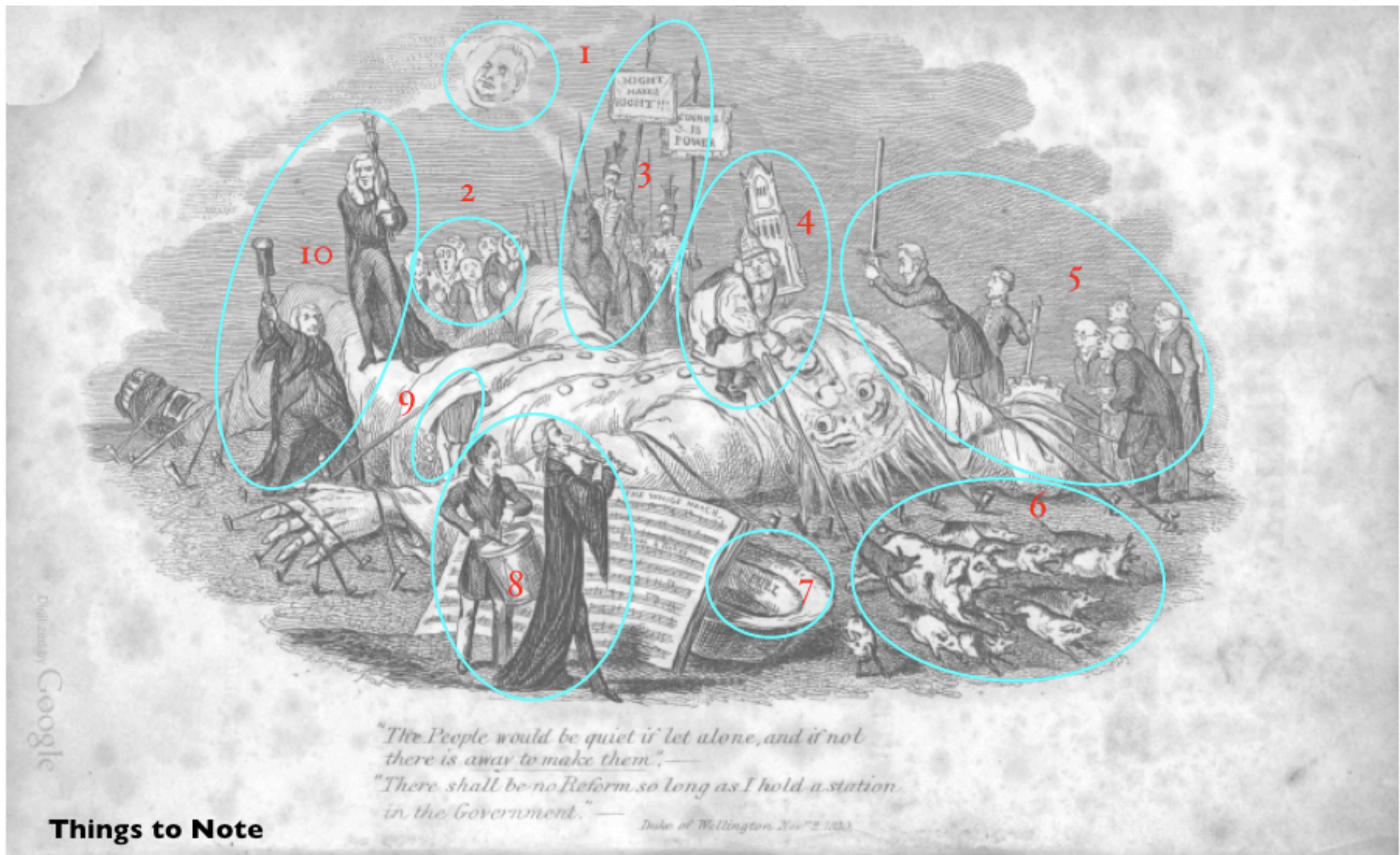


Honoré Daumier, “Gargantua” (1831)



*"The People would be quiet if let alone, and if not
there is away to make them". —
"There shall be no Reform so long as I hold a station
in the Government." —
Duke of Wellington, Nov^r 2 1832.*

"John Bull as Gulliver" (1835)



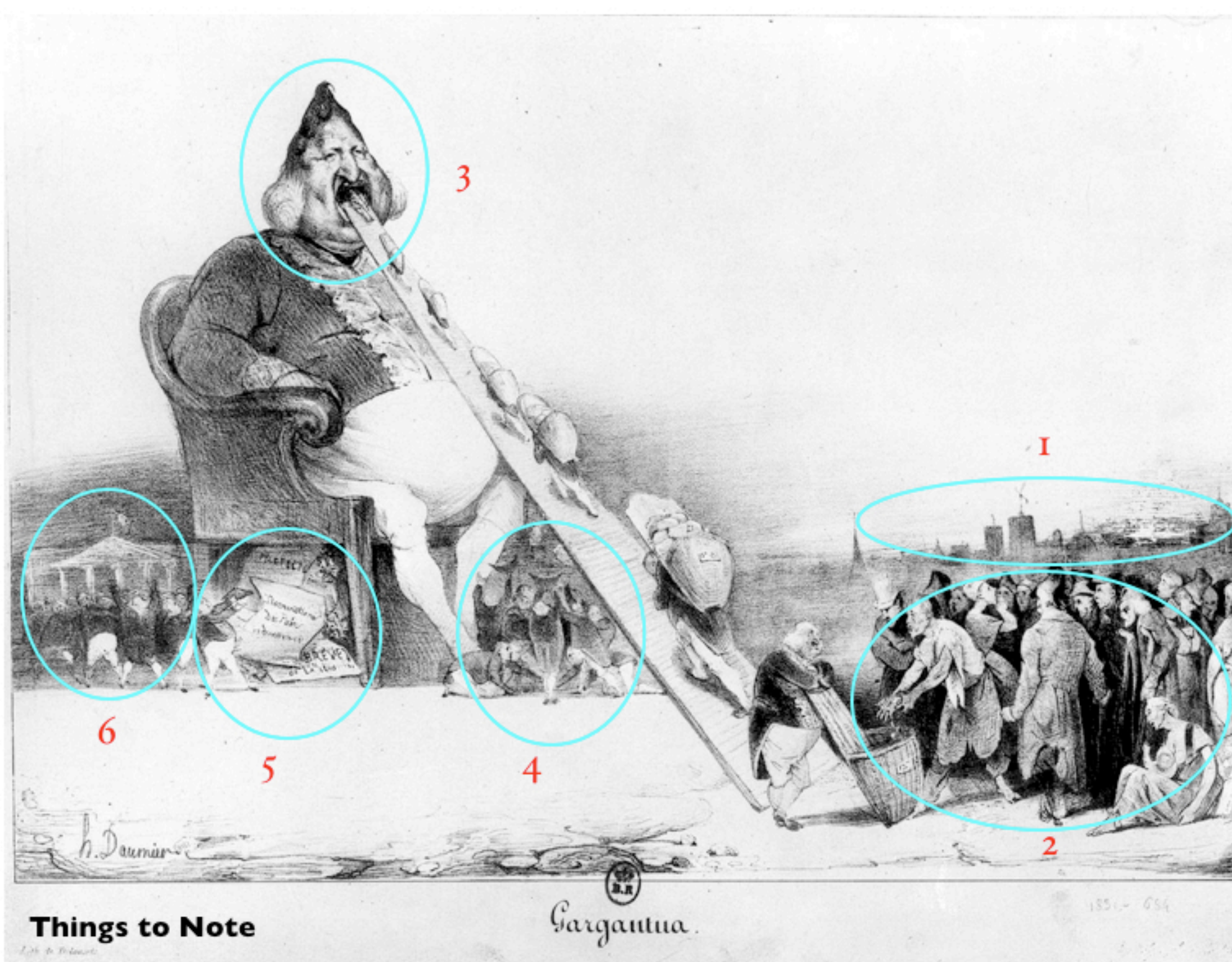
Things to Note

1. a sun with a face looking down on the events below
2. ordinary people looking on in horror
3. the military on horses carrying banners which say "Might makes Right" and "Cunning is Power"
4. a member of the church is pulling his tongue out so he cannot talk or cry out
5. members of parliament (carrying a sword and sceptre) are eagerly standing by
6. livestock (pigs) are fleeing the scene

7. John Bull's hat with his name in it
- 8 a lawyer and his assistant play the fife and drum to the tune of "The Whig March" with the words "loaves and fishes"
9. somebody is rifling through his pocket
10. two lawyers with symbols of their office threaten him
11. the verse below says "The people would be quiet if left alone, and if not there is a way to make them. There shall be no Reform so long as I hold a station in the government" (Duke of Wellington Nov. 1830).



Honoré Daumier, "Gargantua" (1831)

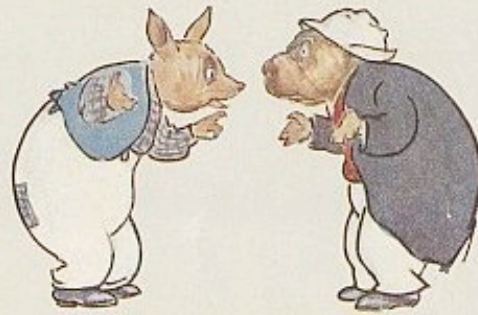


Things to Note

1. in the distance we can see sun-lit buildings which suggest productive economic activities - windmills and a port
2. the taxpayers have been gathered to empty their pockets into baskets - note the man in rags putting his money in the basket and the haggard women with a baby sitting down, suggesting poverty
3. Daumier has drawn an unflattering picture of the king being fed his tax money - literally a "tax eater" (for this HD spent time in prison)
4. some well dressed men (with tricorne hats) collect coins which have fallen to the ground
5. from the king's commode fall documents granting honours and privileges
6. with these documents in hand the men rush off to the National Assembly which is shrouded in darkness

Australian Interlude II

READY EARLY IN SEPTEMBER



The Magic Pudding

Being the Adventures of Bunyip Bluegum.



Written and Illustrated
By NORMAN LINDSAY



The Magic Pudding



Norman Lindsay, The Magic Pudding 0

Favourable Depictions of Liberty

Favourable Depictions of Liberty I: Symbols of Liberty

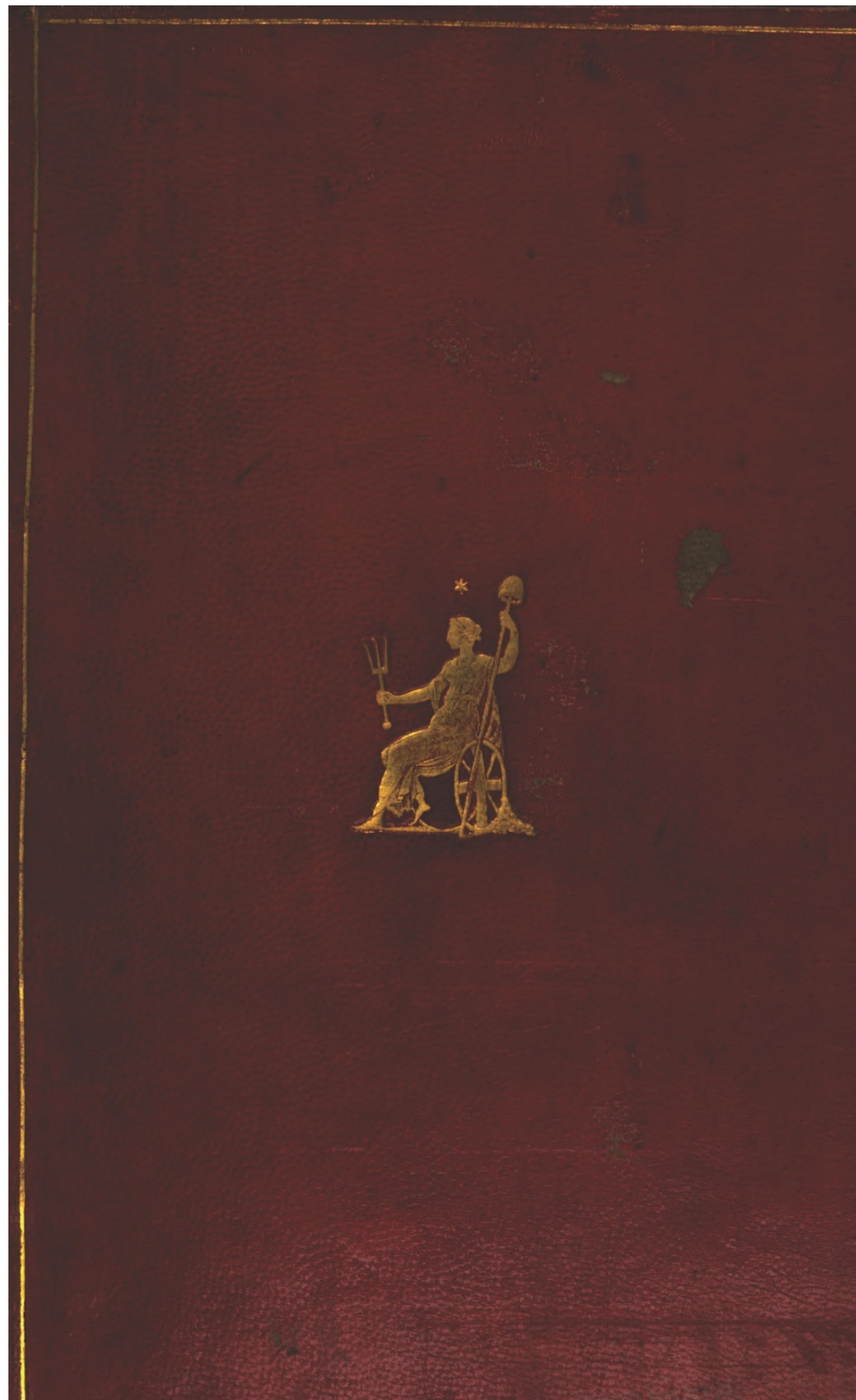
“The Iconography of Thomas Hollis”



"Thomas Hollis, by Giovanni Battista Cipriani [c.1767]



The Mature John Milton (1760)



Cover of Hollis' editions



Cover of Hollis' editions



Cover of Hollis' editions



Cover of Hollis' editions

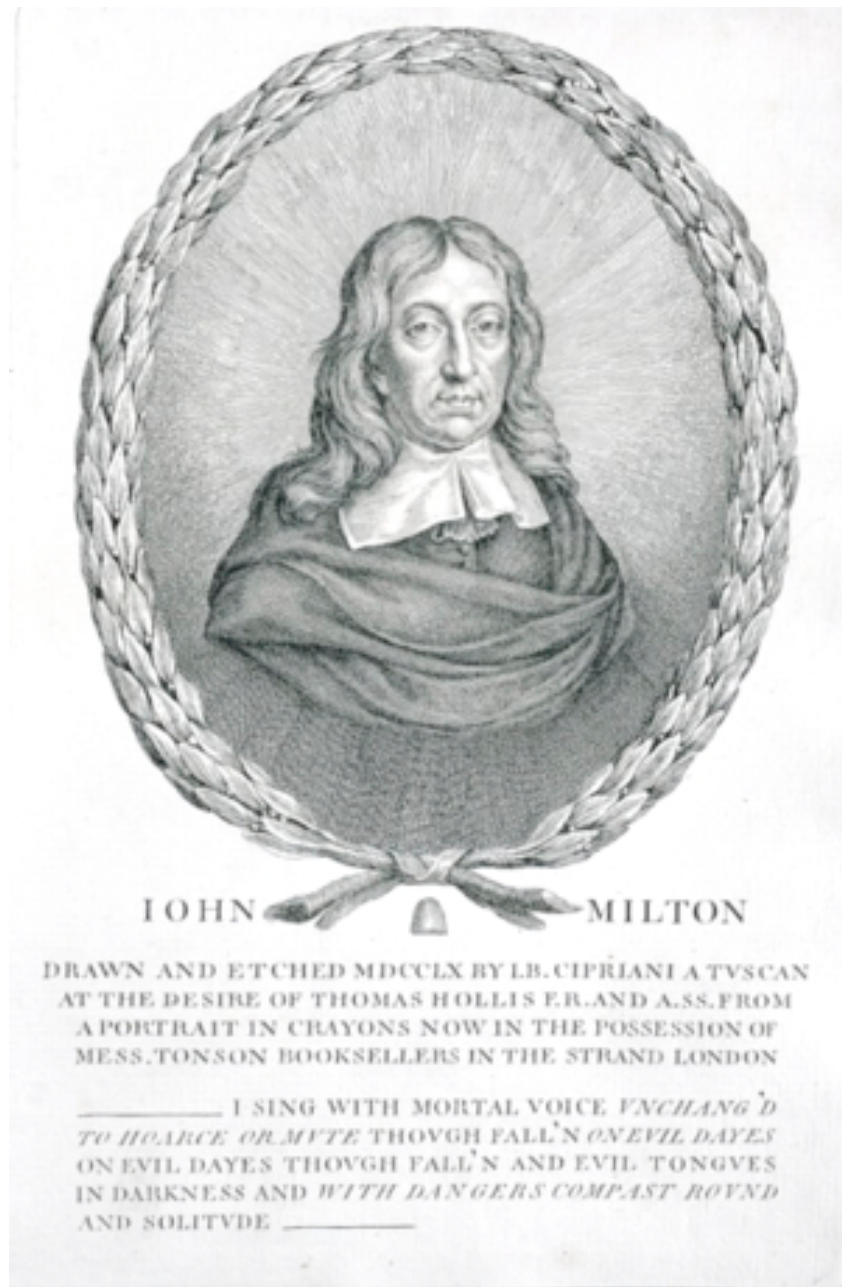
TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT
BY IOHN LOCKE

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX ESTO

LONDON PRINTED MDCLXXXVIII
REPRINTED, THE SIXTH TIME, BY A. MILLAR, M.
WOODFALL, I. WHISTON AND B. WHITE, L. RI-
VINGTON, L. DAVIS AND C. REYMERS, R. BALD-
WIN, HAWES CLARKE AND COLLINS; W. IOHN-
STON, W. OWEN, I. RICHARDSON, S. CROWDER,
T. LONGMAN, B. LAW, C. RIVINGTON, E.
DILLY, R. WITHEY, C. AND R. WARE, S. BAKER,
T. PAYNE, A. SHUCKBURGH, I. HINXMAN
MDCCLXIII



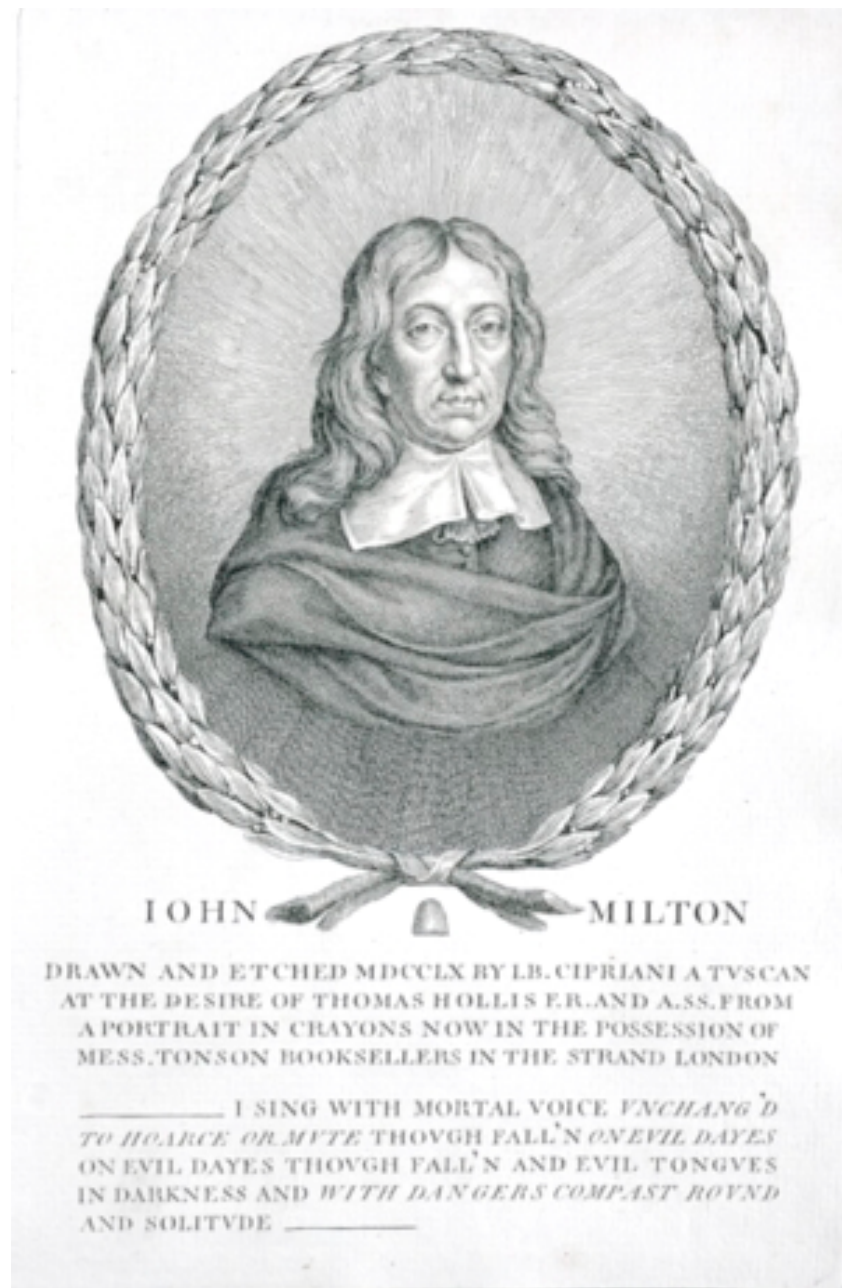
IOHN LOCKE



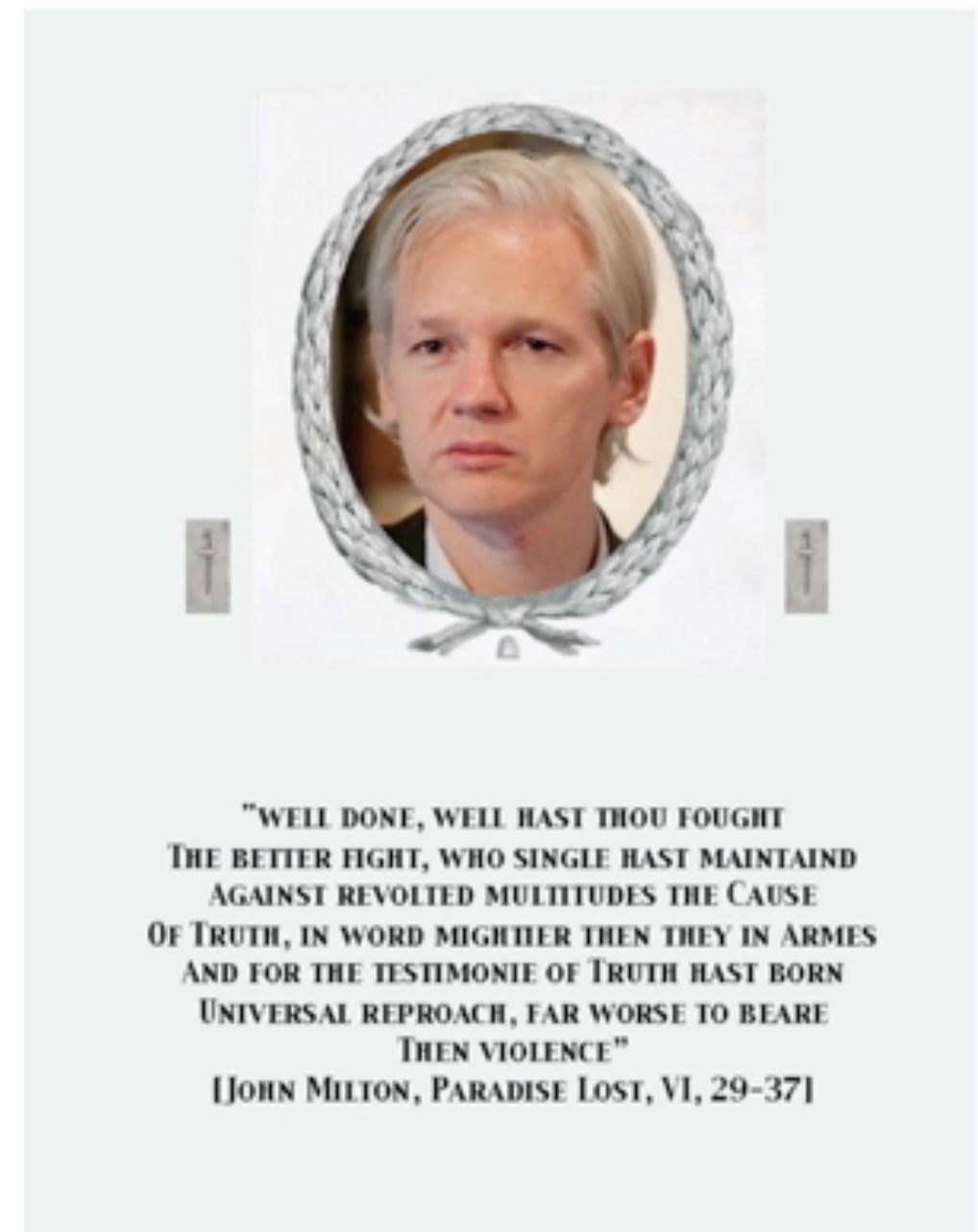
The quotation comes from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, line 25

Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
Within the visible Diurnal Spheare;
Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole,
More safe **I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd**
To hoarce or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes,
On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darkness, and with dangers compast round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
Purples the East: still govern thou my Song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.

The Mature John Milton (1760)

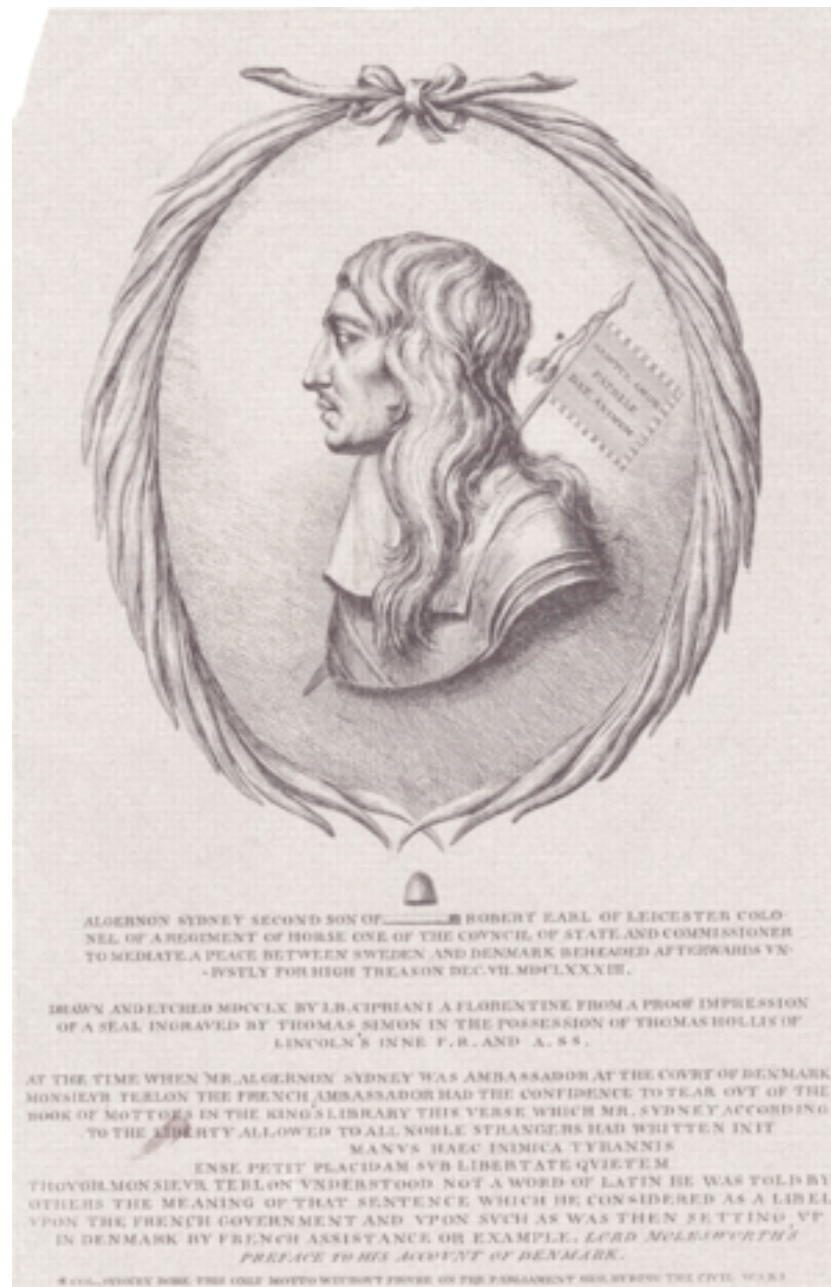


The Mature John Milton (1760)



The quotation comes from Milton's Paradise Lost, VI, 29-37

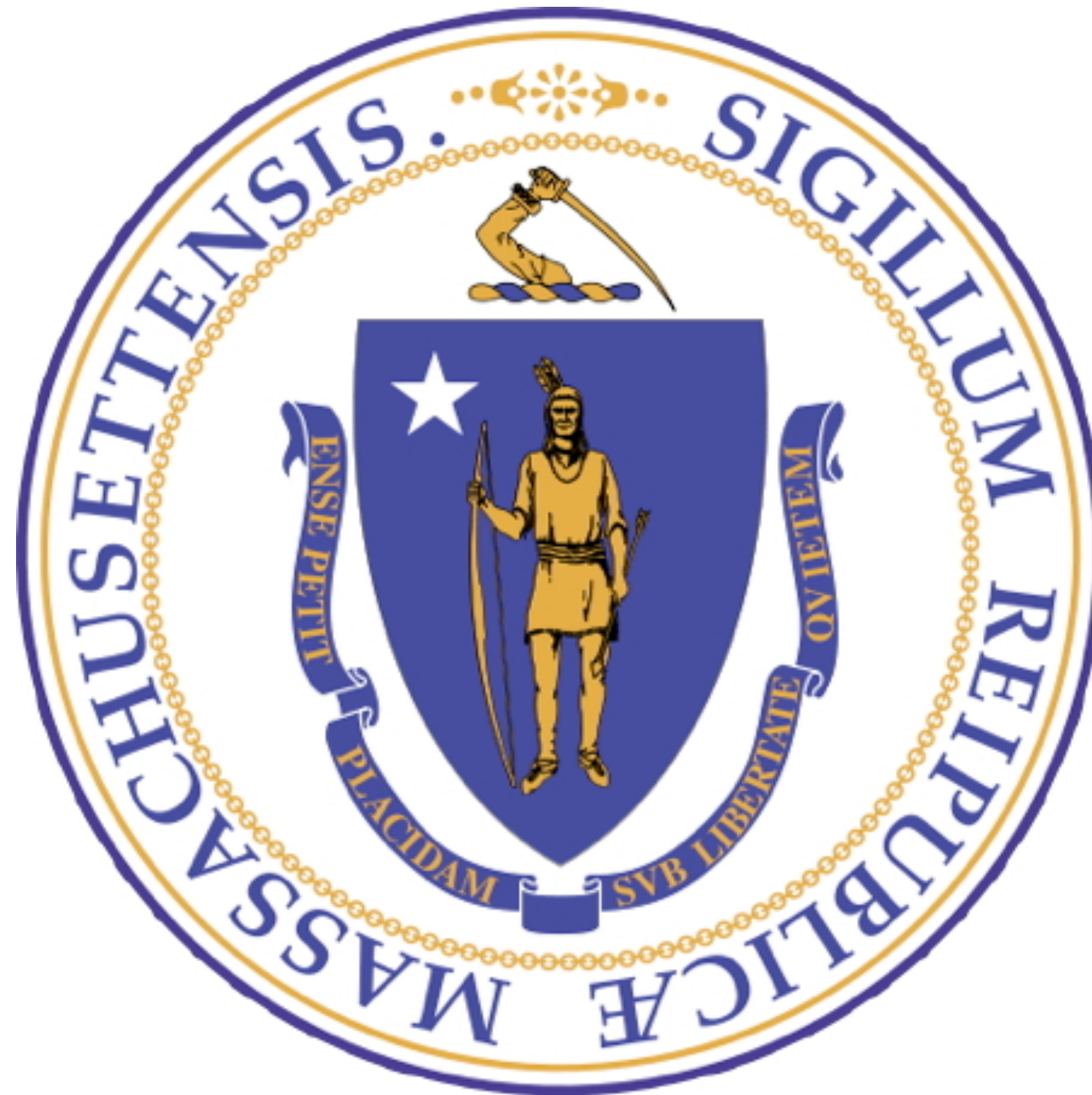
"well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintaind
Against revolted multitudes the Cause
Of Truth, in word mightier then they in Armes
And for the testimonie of Truth hast born
Universal reproach, far worse to beare
Then violence"



Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) (facing left)



Algernon Sidney (1622-1683) (facing right)



The motto Sidney wrote for the King of Denmark can be translated as "this hand, hostile to tyrants, seeks with the sword a quiet peace under liberty". The motto was adopted by the State of Massachusetts as its official motto in 1775.

Favourable Depictions of Liberty II: Symbols of Liberty “Revolutionary Playing Cards (1793)”



The Spirit of Peace
Motto: "Prosperity"



Liberty of the Professions
Motto: "Industry"

Advertisement for a new set of
Republican playing cards,
created by Citizens Jaume and
Dugourc of Paris in 1793-94

PAR BREVET D'INVENTION.

NOUVELLES CARTES DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

PLUS DE ROIS, DE DAMES, DE VALETS; LE GÉNIE, LA LIBERTÉ, L'ÉGALITÉ LES REMPLACENT:
LA LOI SEULE EST AU-DESSUS D'EUX.

Si les vrais amis de la philosophie et de l'humanité ont remarqués avec plaisir, parmi les types de l'Égalité, le *Sans-Culotte* et le *Nègre*; ils aimeront sur-tout à voir LA LOI, SEULE SOUVERAINE D'UN PEUPLE LIBRE, environner l'As de sa suprême puissance, d'ont les faibles ont l'image, et lui donner son nom.

On doit donc dire, Quatorze de LOI, de GÉNIE, de LIBERTÉ ou d'ÉGALITÉ; au lieu de Quatorze d'As, de Rois, de Dames ou de Valets; et Dix-septième, Seizième, Quinte, Quatrième ou Tierce du GÉNIE, à LA LIBERTÉ ou à L'ÉGALITÉ; au lieu de les nommer au Roi, à la Dame ou au Valet: LA LOI donne seule la dénomination de MAJEUR.

Aux Jeux où les Valets de Trefle ou de Cœur ont une valeur particulière, comme au *Reservy* ou à la *Mouche*, il faut substituer L'ÉGALITÉ DE DEVOIRS ou celle DE DROITS.

CES CARTES sont fabriquées par U. JAUME et J. D. DUGOURC. Le Dépôt général est rue Saint-Nicolas, N°. 11, à PARIS.
On y trouve tout ce qui concerne les Jeux; et l'on se chargera des Commissions pour les Départemens, relativement à ce genre.

Spirit (la Génie) replaces Kings (Rois)



The Spirit of War
Motto: "Force"



The Spirit of Peace
Motto: "Prosperity"



The Spirit of the Arts
Motto: "Taste"



The Spirit of Commerce
Motto: "Wealth"



The Spirit of Peace
Motto: "Prosperity"

Liberty (la Liberté) replaces Queens (Dames)



Liberty of Religion
Motto: "Fraternity"



Liberty of Marriage
Motto: "Modesty"



Liberty of the Press
Motto: "Enlightenment"



Liberty of the Professions
Motto: "Industry"



Liberty of the Professions
Motto: "Industry"

Equality (l'Égalité) replaces Knights/Knaves (Valets)



Equality of Duties
Motto: "Security"



Equality of Rights
Motto: "Justice"



Equality of Ranks (Classes)
Motto: "Strength"



Equality of Coloured People (Races)
Motto: "Courage"



Equality of Coloured People (Races)
Motto: "Courage"

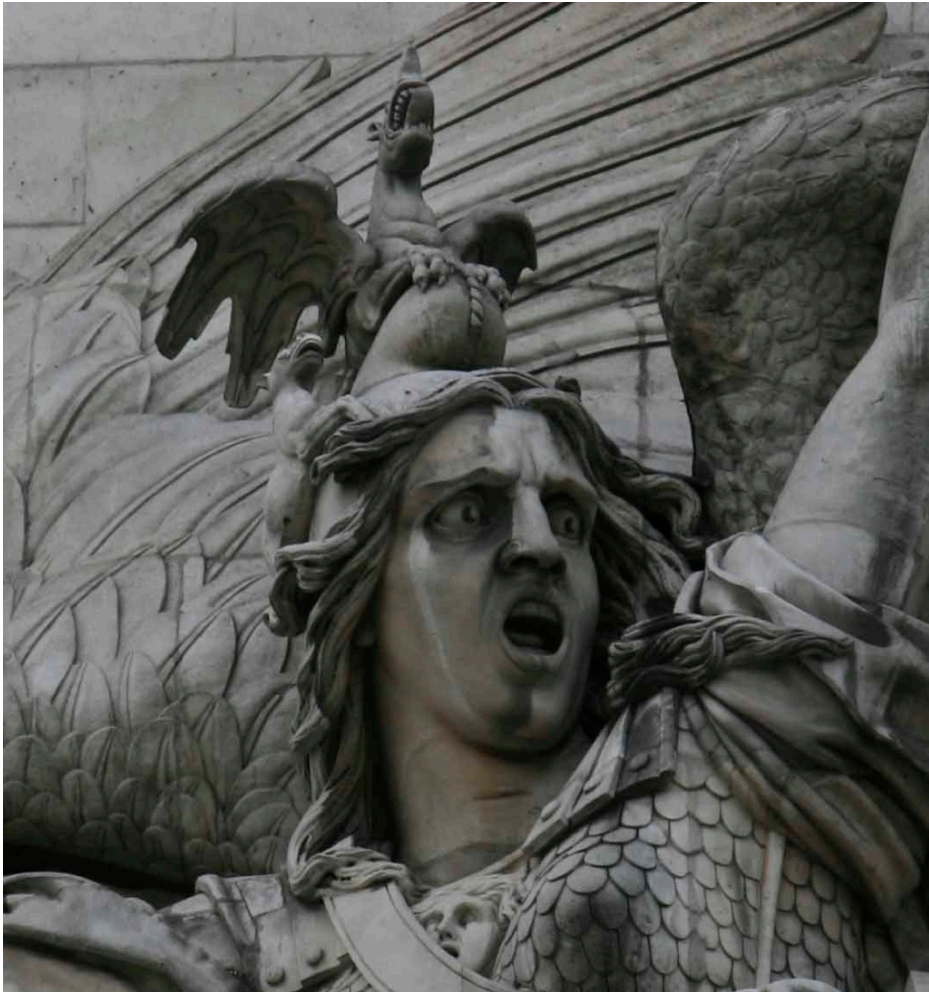
Favourable Depictions of Liberty III: The Personification of Liberty “Marianne”



Nanine Vallain, “La Liberté” (1793-94)



**François Rude, “The Departure of the
Volunteers of 1792” (1833-36)**



François Rude, “The Departure of the Volunteers of 1792 (La Marseillaise)” (frieze on l’Arc de Triomphe, Paris 1833-36)



Nanine Vallain, "La Liberté" (1793-94)



Prudhon, “La Liberté a renversé l’hydre de la tyrannie, et brisé le joug du Despotisme” (1793-94)



F. Bonneville , “En liberté comme toi : la République fran. d'accord avec la nature l'ont voulu : ne suis-je pas ta soeur ? (1794)



Antoine-Jean Gros, “La République” (1794-95)



Eugène Delacroix, "Liberty Leading the People at the Barricade" (1830)



Thomas Crawford, “The Statue of Freedom” (Freedom Triumphant in War & Peace) (1863), dome of the U.S. Capitol, Washington



Edouard Laboulaye/Frédéric Bartholdi, “The Statue of Liberty” (La Liberté éclairant le monde) (1870s)



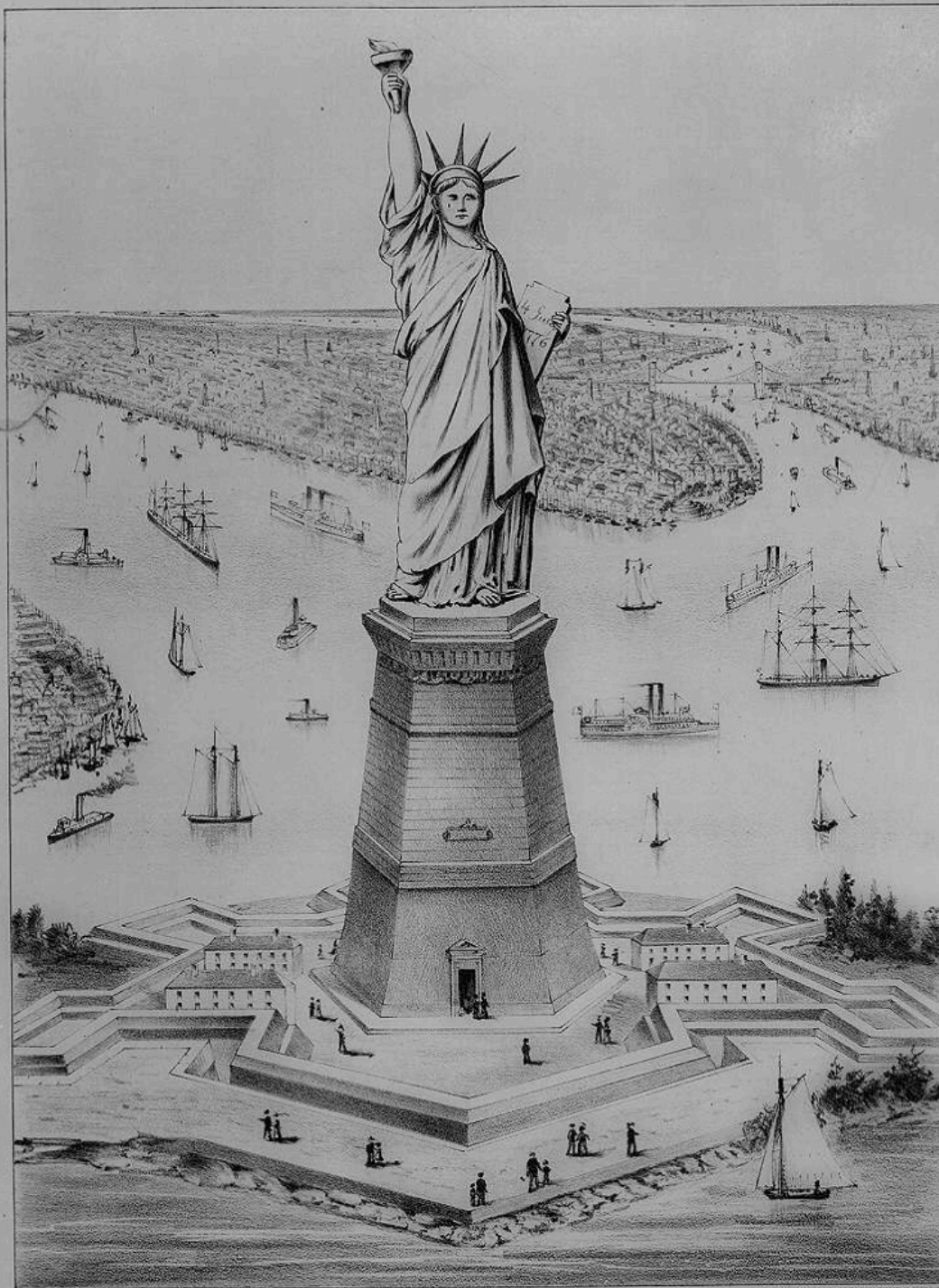
Constructing “The Statue of Liberty” (1870s)



**Paul-Joseph-Victor “La Statue de la Liberté,
Rue de la Chazelles” (1884)**



The Paris World Fair (1878)



PUBLISHED BY CURRIER & IVES, 15 NASSAU ST. N.Y.

COPYRIGHT 1885 BY CURRIER & IVES, N.Y.

**THE GREAT BARTHOLDI STATUE.
LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.
THE GIFT OF FRANCE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.**

TO BE
ERECTED ON BEDLOE'S ISLAND, NEW YORK HARBOR.

The statue of bronze, 148 ft. in height, is to be mounted on a stone pedestal 150 ft high, making the extreme height 298 ft. The torch will display a powerful electric light, and the statue thus present by night as by day, an exceedingly grand and imposing appearance.

LC-USZ62-2040
JAN 10 1885

Engraving announcing the Statue of Liberty



Edward P. Moran, “The Unveiling of the Statue of Liberty” (1886)

Favourable Depictions of Liberty IV: Monuments to Liberal Heroes “Bastiat & Cobden”



Richard Cobden by W. and T. Wills (1868)



**Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) by
Gabriel-Vital Dubray (1878)**



A monument erected in memory of Frédéric Bastiat (1801-1850) in the town of Mugron in S.W. France (1878). The sculptor was Gabriel-Vital Dubray (1813-1892).



Le Monument élevé à la mémoire de l'économiste Bastiat sur la place
de Mugron.

(Dessin de M. Bocourt, d'après la photographie de M. Soubaigné.)

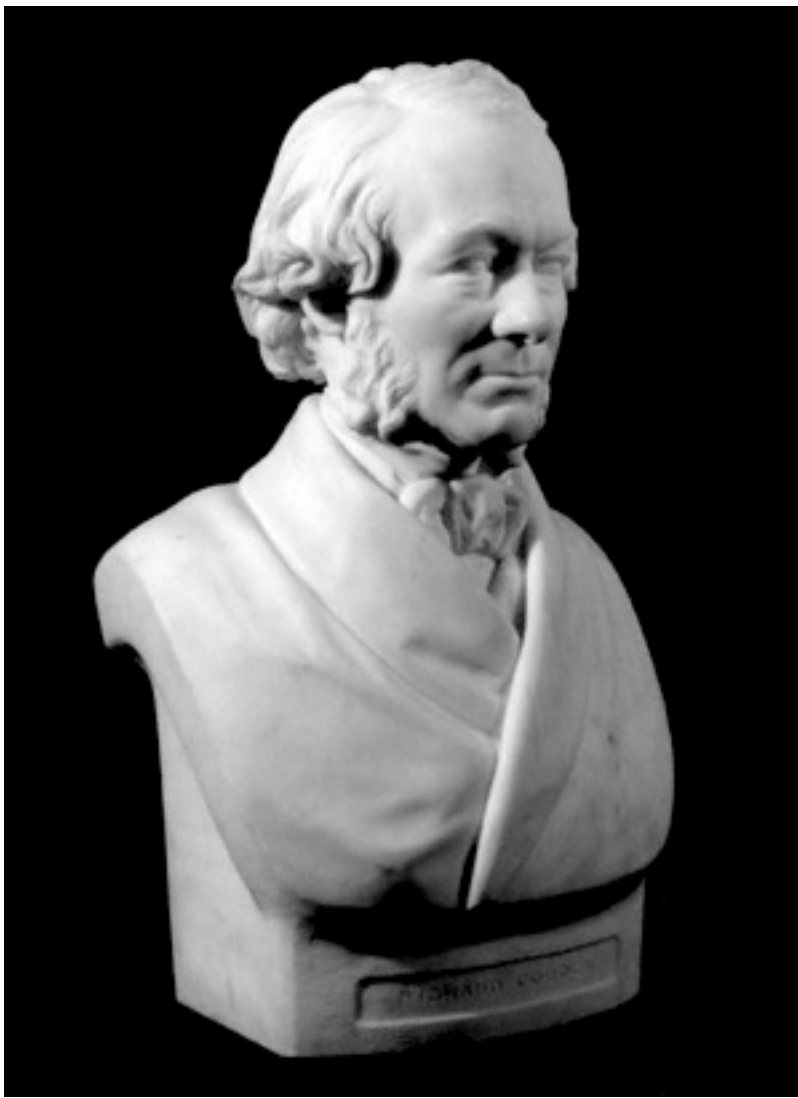
Engraving from the magazine *Le Monde illustré* which appeared shortly after the inauguration of the monument in Mugron on 23 April 1878



A statue erected in memory of the English free trade advocate Richard Cobden (1804-1865) in Camden Town, London (1868). The sculptors were W. and T. Wills.



David Low, "Spring Renovations" *Evening Standard* 16 March 1931



A bust of Richard Cobden

**A medal made to celebrate Richard Cobden:
obverse has the head of Cobden
reverse has the motto "Free Trade, Peace, Goodwill
among Nations", the statement "Cobden Club founded
1866", and a wreath of ears of wheat (or "corn")**





That's all Folks!