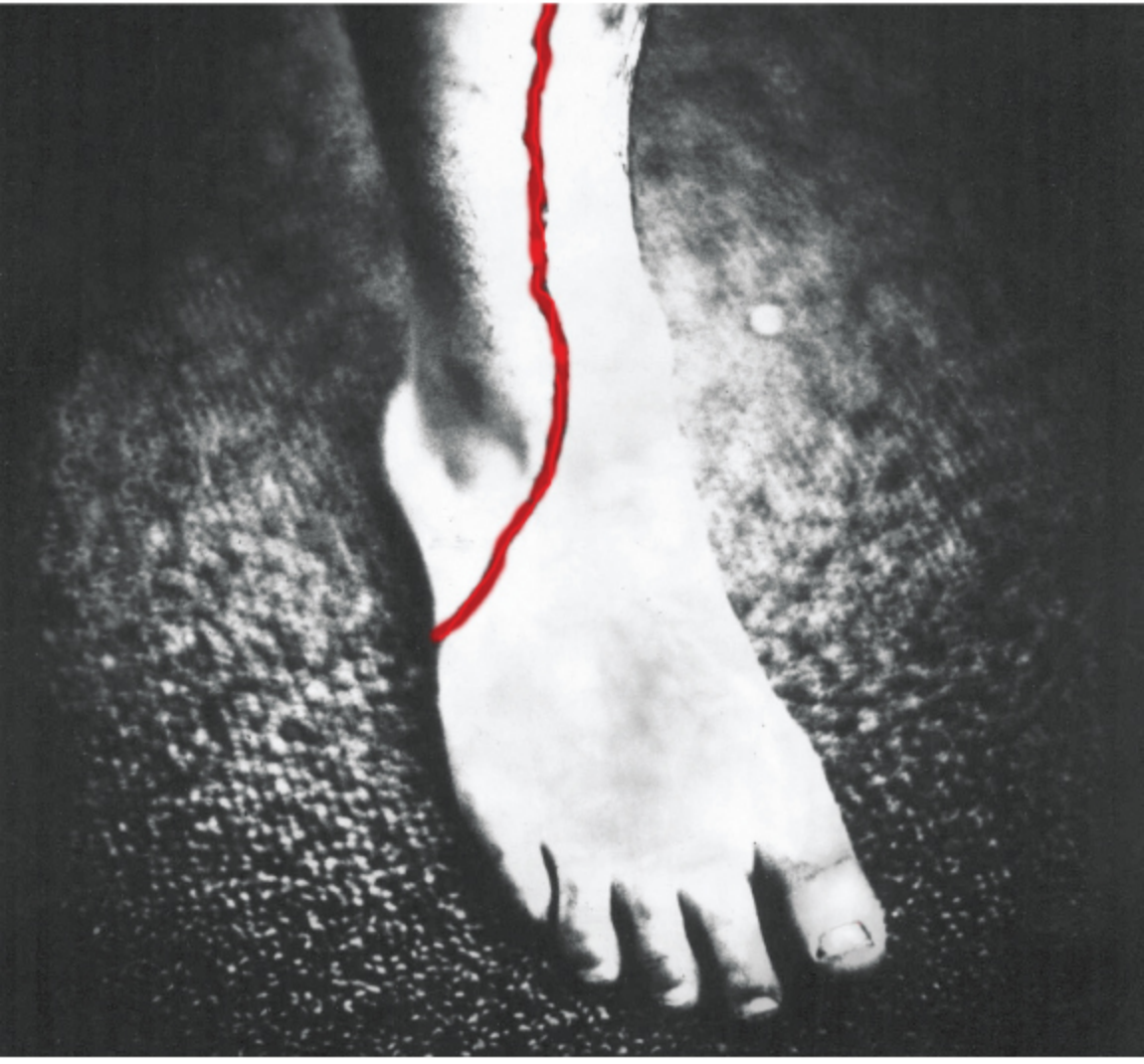
NEW DIRECTIONS IN AMERICAN HISTORY



Entering the Picture

JUDY CHICAGO, THE FRESNO FEMINIST ART PROGRAM, AND THE COLLECTIVE VISIONS OF WOMEN ARTISTS

Edited by JILL FIELDS

ROUTLEDGE

ENTERING THE PICTURE

In 1970, Judy Chicago and fifteen students founded the groundbreaking Feminist Art Program (FAP) at Fresno State. Drawing upon the consciousness-raising techniques of the women's liberation movement, they created shocking new art forms depicting female experiences. Collaborative work and performance art—including the famous Cunt Cheerleaders—were program hallmarks. Moving to Los Angeles, the FAP produced the first major feminist art installation, *Womanhouse* (1972).

Augmented by illustrations and color plates, this interdisciplinary collection of essays by artists and scholars, many of whom were eyewitnesses to landmark events, relates how feminists in multiple locales engaged in similar collaborations, creating vibrant new bodies of art. Articles on topics such as African American artists in New York and Los Angeles, San Francisco's Las Mujeres Muralistas and Asian American Women Artists Association, and exhibitions in Taiwan and Italy showcase the artistic trajectories that destabilized traditional theories and practices and reshaped the art world. An engaging editor's introduction explains how feminist art emerged within the powerful women's movement that transformed America.

With contributions by: Nancy Azara, Tressa Berman, Darla Bjork, Katie Cercone, Judy Chicago, Ying-Ying Chien, Gaia Cianfanelli, Lydia Nakashima Degarrod, Lillian Faderman, Jill Fields, Joanna Gardner-Huggett, Paula Harper, Caterina Iaquinta, Jo Anna Isaak, Jennie Klein, Karen LeCocq, Gail Levin, Laura Meyer, Nancy Marie Mithlo, Beverly Naidus, Gloria Feman Orenstein, Phranc, Terezita Romo, Moira Roth, Sylvia Savala, Miriam Schaer, Valerie Smith, Faith Wilding, and Nancy Youdelman.

Jill Fields is Professor of History at California State University, Fresno. She is the author of *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*.

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ENTERING THE PICTURE

Judy Chicago, the Fresno Feminist Art Program, and the Collective Visions of Women Artists

Edited by Jill Fields

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This book is dedicated to my mother

Valerie Fields

for inspiring a love of the arts in her children and grandchildren,

for working to make the arts flourish in Los Angeles while serving as Mayor Tom Bradley's Education and Cultural Affairs Liaison (1973–1993),

and for championing arts education for all the children of Los Angeles as a member of the L.A. Unified School District Board (1997–2001).

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In late spring of 2000, during my first year of teaching at California State University (CSU) Fresno, I picked up *Sexual Politics: Judy Chicago's* Dinner Party *in Feminist Art History* in search of images for my women's history class lecture on the 1970s. Though I had bought the book at the 1996 Armand Hammer Museum exhibit of *The Dinner Party*, I hadn't noticed before the "Feminist Chronology" compiled by Laura Meyer at the back. As I began to read through it, I was jolted by a 1970 entry: "Judy Chicago establishes the Feminist Art Program at Fresno State College, with fifteen students participating. The curriculum includes feminist consciousness-raising and performance workshops; research into women's history, art and literature; and radical artistic experimentation." The revelation that feminist art history itself, let alone the internationally renowned feminist artist Judy Chicago had anything to do with Fresno, astonished me. I also quickly realized that the thirtieth anniversary of this momentous event was upon us, and I became in that instant determined to do something to about it.

I knew exactly whom to contact. I threw down the book, leapt up from my couch, and called Linda Garber and Jackie Doumanian, who both immediately agreed that we should celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Fresno Feminist Art Program (FAP). Linda was then chair of Women's Studies; Jackie is an artist, yoga teacher, and businesswoman whom I had chatted with briefly while standing in line at the lingerie department of Macy's shortly after I moved to Fresno, and then unexpectedly saw again at the twenty-fifth anniversary celebration for Gallery 25, the women's art gallery I was surprised to find in town. Jackie said she would call around to see if others were interested (they were), and I began to think about what our event should look like. I knew I wanted to invite Judy Chicago and all her Fresno students to speak. At some point we decided to hold the event during women's history month, March 2001.

During the summer, I went on my planned research trip to Rutgers to consult the Feminist Art Institute archives for the epilogue on feminist intimate apparel art in my then-in-process book, *An Intimate Affair: Women, Lingerie, and Sexuality*. Somehow I found out Judy Chicago was going to be in Manhattan for a book signing while I was there. I went to the bookstore, introduced myself, and told Judy what I hoped to do. Delighted to meet a feminist historian from Fresno, she easily signed on, "Sure, I'll come to Fresno."

Fall brought a frenzy of activity. Planning meetings included about a dozen women: artists, curators, museum administrators, and women's studies professors (Joyce Aiken, Jen Bracy, Jackie Doumanian, Kathryn Forbes, Linda Garber, Loretta Kensinger, Jerrie Peters, Jacqueline Pilar, Judy Rosenthal, Sylvia Savala, Suzanne Sloan Lewis, Gina Strumwasser, and Nancy Youdelman). I applied for grants and developed the two-day symposium, while the artists and gallery and museum people went wild and planned six simultaneous exhibits: "Judy Chicago, Prints and Drawings" at the Phoebe Conley Gallery and "Inside: Art by Women in Chowchilla Prison" curated by CSU Fresno dance professor Ruth Griffin at the Richhuti Gallery, both on campus; "Then and Now: The Women of the 1971 Feminist Art Program" shown at the Fresno Art Museum; "Artists from the Feminist Years" at Gallery 25, "Feminist Art in the 21st Century" at Arte Americas; and even "Feminist Art at the Airport," at the Fresno Yosemite International Airport, an especially apt intervention due to the famous Cunt Cheerleaders airport performance thirty years earlier. As if that weren't enough, planning committee members arranged five additional lectures and events that took place throughout the month of March at a variety of Fresno galleries and museums.

The symposium began with Judy Chicago's keynote address, followed by a panel discussion by Fresno FAP students Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, Janice Lester, Shawnee Johnson, Christine Rush, and Dori Atlantis recounting their experiences. Youdelman's and LeCocq's essays in *Entering the Picture* are their subsequent written reflections. Former Fresno FAP student Suzanne Lacy contributed a multi-media presentation on her large-scale public performance work. Joyce Aiken, who directed the Feminist Art Program after Chicago and then her replacement Rita Yokoi left, delivered the second keynote of the symposium. Her talk was augmented by recollections by three of her students, Jackie Doumanian, Jerrie Peters, and Joy Johnson. Laura Meyer provided contextualization with her paper, "From Finish Fetish to Feminism, Fresno Style, or How Judy Chicago and Fifteen Young Women at a Rural California Campus Changed the Course of Art History." Connections between Fresno and the larger feminist art movement were also assessed by Yolanda Lopez, who spoke about her work in "Explorations: Feminism, Art, Citizenship," and Gloria Orenstein, who presented on the salons she created in New York City. The symposium ended with a performance at Arte Americas of women's and girl's poetry curated by Sylvia Savala, whose essay in this volume describes her path to becoming a Chicana feminist artist in Fresno in the 1990s.

I wish to acknowledge the participation of all these women in making the symposium and thus this publication possible. The symposium and book projects benefited from grants awarded by the California Arts Council, the Harry C. Mitchell Trust, and CSU Fresno. It has taken some time to develop the book beyond the symposium, and Routledge senior editor Kimberly Guinta's patience, professionalism, and good will—and that of her assistant Rebecca Novack—aided me enormously during the transition from proposal to manuscript to book. I am especially appreciative of Eileen Boris, Alice Echols, Lillian Faderman, Andrea Pappas, Lynn Sacco, and Jessica Weiss who read the introduction to this book on short notice at various stages of its development. My email exchanges with them, along with all of the book's contributors and sticker genius Sheila de Bretteville, created a wonderful feminist, collaborative structure of feeling that evoked the sensibilities *Entering the Picture* describes. I am grateful also to have many reasons to continue to thank another generous feminist historian, Lois Banner, for her unflagging support and mentorship. My Fresno colleagues in Africana Studies, Chicano and Latin American Studies, History, and Women's Studies especially David Berke, Loretta Kensinger, DeAnna Reese, Malik Simba, Bill Skuban, Jan Slagter, and Victor Torres, have always provided assistance when asked. In addition, my graduate student Melissa Morris's aid with the permissions process was vital. I appreciate too the steadfast support and council of Andrea Scott, Stephanie Barish, Marty Bridges, Dorothy Brinckerhoff, Meryl Geffner, Mary Jean, Laura Della Vedova, and Dorrit Vered. Emily Feigenson, Valerie Fields, Jerry K. Fields, and Constance Young provided editorial assistance at critical moments, as per usual. I am thankful for the interest in my work of the entire Fields, Mate, and extended Barish-Chamberlin families. Ken Mate's editorial expertise, keen visual sensibilities, enthusiasm, sense of humor, and love of Hercules, cooking, traveling, and me (not necessarily in that order) makes so much more possible.

I dedicate this book to my mother Valerie Fields, who instilled a love of the arts in her children through museum visits, conversations about literature, listening to music at home, and trips to the theater and ballet. She made us aware not only of arts appreciation, but arts criticism when she explained her favorite Robert Frost poem, pointed out a Gilbert and Sullivan lyric, took us to the Watts Towers, and commented on Martin Landau's excellent acting in an episode of *The Outer Limits*. Many more people benefited when, as a member of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's staff throughout his entire twenty-year tenure (1973–1993), she served as Bradley's liaison to education, the Commission on the Status of Women (which she shepherded from committee to commission), and cultural affairs. In the latter capacity particularly, and with impeccable integrity and boundless optimism and energy, she shaped public arts policy and fostered civic support for the arts, especially for the museum created during the Bradley administration, the Los Angeles Museum of Contemporary Art. Then, after her election to the Los Angeles Unified School District Board in 1997, she brought this wealth of professional and life experience to leading a successful fight to restore arts funding

for all the children of Los Angeles. She accomplished much more than I have space here to detail. However, the recognition she received from the arts community, public employees' unions, colleagues, elected officials, school administrators, teachers, students, parents, and neighborhood groups upon her retirement further testifies to her numerous civic achievements. We love you Valerie!

INTRODUCTION

Jill Fields

> Instead of beauty and power occasionally, I want . . . to achieve a world where it's there all the time in every word and every brush stroke.
>
> —Shulamith Firestone, 1967

The Feminist Art Program founded in 1970 at Fresno State by visiting art professor Judy Gerowitz (soon to rename herself Judy Chicago), and begun with the fifteen female students she recruited, is not as well known as the program launched a year later at the California Institute of the Arts (CalArts) in Valencia. Yet surely the exuberant success of that initial program prompted painter and CalArts professor Miriam Schapiro to invite Chicago to bring the Feminist Art Program (FAP) to Southern California. Schapiro had seen for herself in Fresno the startling new feminist art forms and teaching methods Chicago and the "Fresno Girls" were creating, and had also visited with them during their trip to Los Angeles-area museums, galleries, and studios.[1]

Schapiro was not alone in being drawn to Fresno during that historic 1970–1971 school year. Women artists and film makers (and some men) from around the state, in addition to high profile feminist activists like Ti-Grace Atkinson, who flew in to Fresno Air Terminal from New York City, were eager to find out more about the exciting developments taking shape in—of all places—California's rural San Joaquin Valley. As an up-and-coming LA-based artist of note, Chicago's activities drew attention; word also got out after Chicago's own visits to New York City during her Fresno residency. A 1971 special issue of the art journal *Everywoman* on the FAP spread the news further. By the time 4,000 people viewed the collaborative installation *Womanhouse*, the signal art project presented in January and February 1972 during the Feminist Art Program's tenure

at CalArts, and thousands more read about it in *Time* magazine in March, the isolated work of a few dozen female artists had cohered into a fully fledged movement—the feminist art movement. Building upon this rapid trajectory, the feminist art movement has had an enormous impact on the media, forms, and visual imagination of contemporary art and on the status of women artists throughout the world.[2]

It is often difficult to pinpoint moments of origin, and at times even folly to try. Searching for such moments can lead to the construction of a singular, orderly narrative that, despite presenting accurate facts, may lose sight of larger truths and omit events that undermine its cohesiveness. The suggestion by French social theorist Michel Foucault that we instead investigate "genealogies" to understand the past has been utilized effectively since the 1980s, especially by historians who study marginalized social groups and topics relevant to women and gender such as the history of sexuality. Previously, investigating such subjects had been hampered because sources were scattered or fragmentary, and the research findings that made use of them challenged neat, conventional historical narratives and thus lay outside their typical boundaries. Yet even before Foucault's work was widely known, feminist historians had already begun to tell untold stories and investigate hidden histories by drawing on the methods of social history, which directed attention to everyday life and built upon an expansive definition of resistance. They then further developed and deployed feminist and postmodern theories that illuminate the lives of the dispossessed and the disrespected, recuperate subjugated knowledge, and give voice to multiple stories and sources from the past that dominant paradigms excluded. Questions about how to synthesize the results of all this work remain. Nevertheless, despite the difficulties of fully accounting for the multiple voices of the past and integrating new approaches, and whatever our methodology in exploring historical events and cultural texts, facts still matter. Moreover, what makes facts powerful is their analysis and contextualization. Thus, more is revealed in this book than just the facts surrounding the beginnings of feminist art education and the feminist art movement in Fresno.[3]

The essays by artists and scholars collected in this book describe and assess the feminist art movement from its beginnings through today, with particular focus on collective projects, voices, and visions. Section I provides first-hand accounts and later reflections by participants and art historians of the Feminist Art Programs in Fresno and Los Angeles. The importance of Fresno as a significant location and moment in the emergence of the feminist art movement deserves attention not only to set the record straight, but also for the difference this recognition makes in how we think about the development and significance of feminist artists' contributions to contemporary culture, especially in the places they live and work. In addition, the essays in the second and third sections of this volume suggest that remembering the Fresno Feminist Art Program augments understandings about the relationship between the larger women's movement and the feminist art

movement it spawned and was enlarged and enriched by. Furthermore, focusing on what Judy Chicago calls the "Fresno experiment" challenges our thinking about the relationship between the local and the global, a loaded dynamic that typically emphasizes the power and importance of people and events located in large cities. This is especially the case in the realm of art criticism and history, in the stories we are used to hearing about where new cultural forms begin and where artistic production matters.[4]

So, why does Fresno matter? What confluence of circumstances made this Central California city the location for the feminist art innovations recounted in the first section of this book? Couldn't the feminist art movement have "begun" elsewhere–or anywhere? Perhaps, but it is more fruitful to ask why Fresno became the site for Judy Chicago's pedagogical experiments and why what she and her students achieved had the enormous impact that they did.

In 1970, Fresno was not only the agricultural, rural heartland—some would say backwater—it is often mistakenly still considered to be. Some trends have come to Fresno later, but others have begun there, for better or worse. For example, CSU Fresno was originally set up in 1911 on the site of the first two-year college established in the state of California. As Fresno's higher education ambitions took shape, the city was also a hotbed of labor activism by the well-known anarchist union the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who organized agricultural laborers and fought for First Amendment rights while enduring illegal police surveillance and disruption in the 1910s and 1920s.[5] The struggles between the owners and workers in agriculture never ceased. In the 1930s, diverse female cannery workers across California, including Fresno, joined the progressive United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America. Three decades later, Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers successfully challenged Central Valley farmers to increase the pay and improve the working conditions of farm laborers, most of whom had immigrated from Mexico. In 1996, CSU Fresno erected the first statue in the United States of Chavez in the campus Peace Garden, which also honors Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Jane Addams. However, police surveillance of Fresno pacifists persisted; an example of their undercover investigations is memorialized in Michael Moore's 2006 documentary *Fahrenheit 9/11*. The city police force also has been sued successfully for its destruction of homeless encampments, and has been unable to shake the city's reputation as a "meth capital" despite its Special Weapons and Tactics arsenal and the Central Valley's central place in California's well-funded prison-industrial complex. Environmentalists have not faired much better: *Forbes* magazine ranks the self-described "Best Little City in America" third on its list of most toxic US cities for its high levels of airborne particulates and water contaminants.[6]

Fresno is also known for its high unemployment rates even in boom times. But however inequitably distributed, the wealth generated by agriculture and development interests, whose respective captains dominate local politics though

they've clashed occasionally as farmland transformed into suburbia, promoted the arts in Fresno.[7] Nurtured by the growing presence of college professors and their students, the community embraced a full spectrum of the arts, including music, from the initial 1911 Fresno Normal School Glee Club to the passionate patronage of the Fresno Philharmonic founded in 1954,[8] active classical and jazz university music programs, and a number of thriving alternative clubs; modern art at The Fresno Art Museum founded in 1948 and numerous galleries that today host a bi-monthly Art Hop, and performance arts in a lively theater scene that produced Tony winner Audra McDonald. Fresno also prides itself as a place of cultural merit by embracing the legacies of photographer Ansel Adams, and writers like William Saroyan and others who find wide audiences, such as David Mas Masumoto. A flourishing poetry scene emerged in the 1960s, and many fine poets—such as US Poet Laureate Philip Levine—settled in for lengthy careers at Fresno State. Cherished cultural institutions include the African American Historical and Cultural Museum of the San Joaquin Valley founded in 1993, the prominent Arte Americas founded in 1987, and the Underground Gardens, a remarkable, unique, and beautiful maze of underground tunnels and rooms dug by Sicilian immigrant Baldesare Forestiere as his life's work over four decades until his death in 1946.[9]

Public art and architecture also has a prominent role in Fresno history. In 1964, Fresno inaugurated the award-winning Fulton Mall, a walking street designed by noted modernist architect Garrett Eckbo. Fulton Mall is graced by twenty sculptures and fountains that, with the exception of *Washer Woman* by Renoir, are contemporary works by a surprisingly diverse group of artists, many of them locals such as Joyce Aiken, whose interview with Lillian Faderman is included in this book. A recent proposal to destroy the Fulton Mall in a misguided plan for downtown "revitalization" has been countered successfully by Aiken and others, though the fight to "save Fulton Mall" carries on and Aiken is not optimistic. Similarly, though a stunning city hall was erected in 1992, a magnificent Victorian courthouse was torn down in 1966 and replaced by a poorly designed building. And, upon my arrival in 1999, I was delighted to see a fabulous Googie diner on main drag Blackstone Avenue, and dismayed to drive by a few weeks later and see it being demolished. It was replaced by a used car lot. Such are the contradictions of Fresno as ahead, behind, and of its times.[10]

In 1970, the year the Feminist Art Program began, campus unrest was rampant at Fresno State as elsewhere around the country. This disquiet stemmed from the Vietnam War, and also to the challenges university students had been making to the purpose and content of their curriculum since Students for a Democratic Society issued the "Port Huron Statement" in 1962, and established itself as a prime force for social change on college campuses nationwide. The successful opposition to university administrators organized by students 180 miles north of Fresno at UC Berkeley during the Free Speech Movement (FSM) of 1964–1965 built on student activism in the Civil Rights Movement and laid the groundwork for the anti-war protests that grew in number and intensity as the war

escalated. "Free Speech Areas" remain a common legacy of the FSM on many of the twenty-three CSU campuses, including Fresno, Chico, Dominguez Hills, and Los Angeles. The related articulation by students of the urgent need for a "relevant" curriculum led to the creation of alternative university programs across America, including an Experimental College at Fresno State set up in the mid-1960s, and infused plans for the new University of California campus in Santa Cruz, a popular coastal vacation spot for Fresnans. Students and faculty nationwide also fought for new majors in Black, Chicano/a, Ethnic, and Women's Studies. San Francisco State was the site of numerous confrontations beginning in 1967 by anti-war and Black Studies activists, some of whom spoke on the Fresno campus in spring 1968.[11]

Two years later, Fresno State's reactionary administration fired faculty, expelled students, and locked professors out of their offices during the most turbulent year in campus history. Recently created ethnic studies programs were abolished, and then re-established after resistance by students and community supporters. Anti-war and ethnic studies protests and administrative responses included the destruction and seizure of property; subsequent lawsuits against the university reinstated many of the students and faculty who had been dismissed. In 1971, a year after San Diego State founded the first women's studies department in the United States, Fresno State's Women's Studies Program won approval; Lillian Faderman was named its first Coordinator in 1972.[12]

In addition to the catalysts provided by the civil rights, anti-war, and black and ethnic studies movements, the larger women's movement fueled the creation of women's studies as an academic field and as a space for feminist scholars, research, and teaching on university campuses. The 1963 publication of Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique*, release of the President's Commission on the Status of Women Report, and the Equal Pay Act passed by Congress that same year, sparked the return of feminist concerns to mainstream discussion after they had faded in the decades since the suffrage movement's hard-fought success in mobilizing for the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the right to vote in 1920. Afterward labor unions continued the fight for equal pay and treatment through collective bargaining, venerable suffragist Alice Paul found support for the Equal Rights Amendment among groups like the Business and Professional Women, and diverse women continued to organize for peace and other causes important to their communities. However, the 1966 founding of the National Organization for Women (NOW) by Friedan, Pauli Murray, Aileen Hernandez, and a few others launched new legal challenges to workplace gender discrimination that could be imagined because of the judicial successes of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) fighting racial discrimination, and that could be won because of provisions in the 1964 Civil Rights Act that made gender discrimination a federal concern.[13]

NOW's subsequent high profile advocacy for women's rights coincided with the emergence of women's liberation organizations, many of which were formed by university students in the late 1960s. Some of these groups, which became

known as consciousness-raising or CR groups as they quickly spread nationwide, self-consciously distinguished themselves from NOW in terms of their intentionally small-group structure, their intense discussions of personal experiences, their debate and publication of feminist theories, and their counter-cultural proclivity toward direct action which at times incorporated humor as well as anger. CR groups and the wider women's movement also spawned a creative rush of feminist institution building, including women's health collectives, rape crisis centers, feminist bookstores, and battered women's shelters. The transformations these institutions quickly brought to the lives of women who worked in and were served by them, and their critical role in long-term and profound social changes in the United States should not be underestimated.[14]

The creation of the Fresno Feminist Art Program at a university where a CR group had just been formed by two women who applied for and joined the first FAP—Suzanne Lacy and Faith Wilding—and where at least some faculty had already begun discussing how to create a women's studies program, underscores the overlapping people, themes, and goals of the young, ambitious, energetic, experienced, and hopeful women who forcefully challenged the status quo and sought to improve women's lives—their own lives—on so many fronts at once.

Lacy and Wilding's experiences of moving between CR-style group activism and artistic pursuits were not unique to the development of the women's movement nationwide. Yet the significant presence of artists among the founders of women's liberation is one aspect of the early days of the movement that has been overlooked thus far in the important and growing number of historical studies on this topic. For example, sculptor Kate Millett joined NOW in 1966; Shulamith Firestone was an art student when she joined the Chicago Women's Liberation Union in 1967, initially called the Westside Group and identified as the first women's liberation organization in the United States. Later that year Firestone moved to New York City and co-founded New York Radical Women (NYRW); in 1969 she was a founding member of the influential feminist collective Redstockings and then New York Radical Feminists. Artist Florika became a member of NYRW, and participated in 1968 at the first Miss America protest—which incorporated what could be termed performance art—before joining WITCH (Women's International Terrorist Conspiracy from Hell), formed in 1969. Artists Irene Peslikis and Pat Mainardi joined NYRW after hearing about the Miss America protest in a WBAI radio report, and were also founding members of Redstockings; artist Louise Fishman joined Redstockings, then WITCH, and later became active in the New York Feminist Art Institute (NYFAI). Nancy Azara, another Redstocking member, was a co-founder of NYFAI as was Peslikis. Painter and activist Faith Ringgold participated in the 1970 Whitney Museum protest demanding greater inclusion of female and black artists, and joined the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), founded in 1973.[15]

One reason for this feminist turn for those who were students, Pat Mainardi explains, is that female artists who hoped to find in art school a space for self-

expression where they could avoid oppressive circumstances, found instead blatant discrimination. The extraordinary 1997 film *Shulie*, by artist Elizabeth Subrin, a shot-by-shot recreation of a 1967 documentary on the "Now Generation" that features then twenty-two-year-old art student Shulamith Firestone, for example, depicts the patronizing critique by her male teachers of Firestone's paintings. At the New York City art school where Mainardi met Peslikis, administrators openly stated that only male students would get scholarships; female students would pay tuition. Then, upon graduation, they, like other women in their mid-twenties with college degrees who became feminists, couldn't find jobs. Judy Chicago similarly experienced gender discrimination at UCLA, where she earned an M.A. in painting and sculpture in 1964, and afterwards, in the Los Angeles art scene.[16]

As the history of the women's movement that began in the 1960s is more widely studied, artists' participation deserves a closer look; further research could explain its causes and effects. Moreover, the interplay between female artists and women's rights activists may be traced from the nineteenth century, when, after the end of the Civil War, "women's urgent desire to become artists," as historian Kirsten Swinth puts it, led by 1900 to an "extensive network of female artists seeking . . . to exhibit their work." This phenomenon, and the 1889 founding of the still-active National Association of Women Artists, coincided with the further intensification of suffrage mobilization. By the early twentieth century, female artists like Fresno native Marguerite Zorach could mingle among avant-garde circles in Paris, Greenwich Village, and Los Angeles that included artistic innovators, free love advocates, political radicals, and suffragists. Not only did "virtually all the artists" in these circles engage with feminism, but the "great, mass suffrage campaign of the teens received universal support among women artists." For example, New York modernist painter Theresa Bernstein went to meetings often attended by National American Woman Suffrage Association president Carrie Chapman Catt, participated in suffrage parades, and "recorded her involvement in the suffrage campaign" in a series of paintings. She was not alone in contributing images for the cause—political cartoons were an important suffrage strategy, as were the public performances of carefully planned suffrage parades. In a similar vein, African American artist and club woman Meta Warrick Fuller created politically-informed sculptures after she returned from Paris, such as her 1919 condemnation of lynching, *Mary Turner (A Silent Protest against Mob Violence)*. In 1920, Georgia O'Keeffe joined the National Women's Party (NWP) as a founding member, and at an NWP event in 1926 articulated the difficulties women artists faced: "They have objected to me all along; they have objected strenuously. It is hard enough to do the job without having to face the discriminations, too. Men do not have to face these discriminations."[17]

The concern about cultural representations of women voiced by feminist leaders and organizations who are primarily identified with struggles for equality in work, politics, education, and reproductive rights takes on a new light when reckoning

with the presence of artists within the movement in the later twentieth century as well. Though her main focus is employment and a central target is misguided psychiatric treatment of women, in chapters like "The Happy Housewife Heroine" and "The Sexual Sell" from her bestseller *The Feminine Mystique*, Betty Friedan critiqued the image of women and constructions of femininity in popular culture. In the NOW Statement of Purpose she penned three years later, Friedan put these issues on the feminist agenda in a strongly worded passage:

> In the interests of the human dignity of women, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves. . . . We believe that women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now.[18]

Friedan's understanding of culture as a key aspect of women's oppression in social, economic, and political spheres echoes concerns voiced by Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the nineteenth century, and is a view also shared by artist Shulamith Firestone, who wrote her groundbreaking 1970 book *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* after earning a B.F.A. in painting from the Art Institute of Chicago in 1967. Firestone's book became what Ann Snitow terms a "demon text" of anti-feminists in the 1970s for its now-prescient advocacy of reproductive technologies.[19] However, Firestone's views on motherhood were just one part of a far-reaching analysis that included critiques of Freud, racism, love, and ecology. Her chapters on "(Male) Culture" and "Dialectics of Cultural History" explicitly addressed the male-dominated art world in Europe and the United States. Building upon Simone de Beauvoir's breakthrough *The Second Sex*, published in English in 1953, Firestone outlines how representations of women have been central to Western culture, though women remained marginalized as creators of culture:

> women, and those men who were excluded from culture, remained . . . fit subject matter . . . [P]ainting was male; the nude became a *female* nude . . . But what about the women who have contributed directly to culture? There aren't many. And in those cases where individual women have participated in male culture, they have had to do so on male terms . . . they saw women through male eyes . . . It would take a denial of all cultural tradition for women to produce even a true "female" art.[20]

Though Firestone saw even male avant-garde artists as marginalized, and was skeptical that contemporary artists' use of plastics, mixed media, and happenings was "unreservedly" progressive, she believed she was living "in the transitional pre-revolutionary period" that would lead to the "creation of an androgynous culture" formed by male technology and female aesthetics.[21]

In *Further Adventures of* The Dialectic of Sex, a 2010 collection that thoughtfully reappraises *Dialectic*'s contributions without overlooking its instances of "contradiction, misjudgment, or affront," Stella Sandford acknowledges the binary constructions, which readers today likely identify in the passages quoted above, but also the possibilities Firestone articulated for feminist transformation of gender; thus Firestone relies on a contradictory understanding of gender difference both as biological and unchanging as well as a political, constructed view. Mandy Merck similarly stresses Firestone's eclectically-based advocacy of abolishing sexual distinction, concluding that the book is not "quite the biological reduction so often described, since her concern is how bodies matter culturally."[22] These insights also can be applied to assessing Firestone's views on art and image, which anticipated theorization of a "male gaze," and contributed to the dynamic field of feminist art history and criticism launched in the 1970s. Its beginnings include Judy Chicago's Feminist Art Program project to excavate and reclaim the history of female artists.[23]

Sisterhood Is Powerful is another critical text published in 1970 that included criticism of images of women and essays by artists. Edited by Robin Morgan, the section on "psychological and sexual repression" includes "Media Images 1: Madison Avenue Brainwashing—The Facts," by Alice Embree, an assessment of mass marketing techniques on women, and artist Florika's still provocative "Media Images 2: Body Odor and Social Order." Florika's deconstruction of hair spray, deodorant, insecticide, and cleaning products begins, "The aerosol spray container reveals that the roles of the policeman and the middle-class housewife are interchangeable."[24] The anthology also includes essays by artists and Redstocking members Irene Peslikis and Pat Mainardi, "Resistances to Consciousness," and the much reproduced "The Politics of Housework," respectively. Peslikis explains how to transcend common counterrevolutionary misperceptions, such as "*Thinking that individual solutions are possible*" and "*Thinking that women's liberation is therapy*." Mainardi's humorous and cutting deconstruction of the methods husbands employ to avoid housework and dismiss feminism similarly lists common justifications, such as "Housework is too trivial to even talk about," and "Women's liberation is not really a political movement." In the poetry section, Karen Lindsey's "Elegy for Jayne Mansfield, July 1967" mourns the objectification of this actress before and after her accidental death. In the "historical document" section, which includes statements from Redstockings, WITCH, and The Feminists, an excerpt from Warhol-shooter Valerie Solanas' *SCUM Manifesto*—positioned between the NOW Bill of Rights and the New York Radical Women Principles—has received more attention than other emergent feminist arts commentary due to the Solanas' extreme formulations and notoriety. Nonetheless, radical feminists clearly prioritized representations of women as a problem requiring feminist solutions, and art as a significant strategy in their repertoire.[25]

In addition to their writing, artists Florika, Peslikis, and Mainardi created graphics, posters, and visual art to critique sexism and promote feminist

mobilization. Florika's reworking of a Women's Army Corps recruitment poster is one of two art works in *Sisterhood is Powerful*; the other is a line drawing by Diane Losch that conveys women's isolation in the home and an interior life of suffering. A late 1960s drawing by Peslikis reproduced in *Dear Sisters* urges "Women must control the means of reproduction" by depicting a dystopian reproductive assembly line that uses technology not to liberate women as Firestone hoped, but to exploit them.[26] Feminist poster art flourished in a context of anti-war, Black Power, La Raza, and Third World Liberation counter-cultural artistic production, which included work by artists such as Yolanda Lopez and Betty Kano in San Francisco. The art of these movements drew upon the longer practice and iconography of radical politics that had been intrinsic to twentieth-century revolutions and progressive organizing before and during the New Deal. Moreover, public critique of denigrating images had been identified as a significant tool in opposing racism and anti-Semitism and promoting diversity from the early twentieth century by the NAACP founded in 1909 and the Anti-Defamation League founded in 1913.[27]

This necessarily brief and partial account of artists' participation in the fight for women's rights and the long-held concern by women's rights activists about how representations impact opportunities for social change in some ways has replicated the first wave/second wave periodization that has been an important topic of debate since the mid-1990s. As texts such as the recent collection *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945–1985* show, the waves formulation tends toward elision of women's activism between 1920 and 1963 and later periods of conservative, anti-feminist backlash. Other works have highlighted how wave periodization emphasizes the contributions of white women and thus relegates feminists of color to an inaccurate, background role.[28] However, Benita Roth counters the latter perspective by discussing second wave feminisms in the plural and arguing that women's movements "from the beginning, largely organized along racial/ethnic lines. . . . feminisms were articulated in diverse political communities." Though black, Chicana and white women may have taken "separate roads to feminism" via their distinctive organizations, women's second wave activism as a whole included diverse groups, perspectives, and definitions of feminism. In addition, dynamic exchanges among diverse women fomented change. For example, Lisa Gail Collins compares the black arts and feminist art movements, finding it was "Judy Chicago who most intently wrestled with [de Beauvoir's] findings on the problems of women creators throughout Western history in relation to the struggles of contemporary women artists," though Chicago was inspired to do so in part because of the Black Power movement.[29]

In *Entering the Picture*, these separate roads by participants in the feminist art movement are explored in Section II by Valerie Smith, "Abundant Evidence: Black Women Artists of the 1960s and 1970s" and Terezita Romo, "A Collective History: Las Mujeres Muralistas," and in Section III by Sylvia Savala, "How I

Became a Chicana Feminist Artist," Lydia Nakashima Degarrod, "Searching for Catalyst and Empowerment: The Asian American Women Artists Association, 1989–Present," and Tressa Berman and Nancy Marie Mithlo, "'The Way Things Are': Curating Place as Feminist Practice in American Indian Women's Art." Moreover, Phranc's essay, "'Your Vagina Smells Fine Now Naturally,'" and Nancy Azara and Darla Bjork, "Our Journey to the New York Feminist Art Institute," highlight the integral contributions of lesbians to the women's and feminist art movements. Jewish women's feminist art and activism is present in information by and about Judy Chicago, in essays by Gloria Feman Orenstein and Miriam Schaer, and art works by Chicago, Schaer, and contributor Beverly Naidus.[30]

Overall, the essays in this book suggest methodologies, research topics, and ways to evaluate the intertwined histories of the women's movement and the feminist art movement. Each of the three sections has distinctive elements and moves us forward in time, though their overlapping genealogies, chronologies, and motifs link the sections together. For example, all three sections narrate the unique history of feminist art in Fresno, which flourished after Judy Chicago left, and incorporate essays by feminist artists and feminist art teachers that provide practical examples of pedagogical techniques and exercises for classroom or individual use. And throughout the book, essays explore feminist institution building and collaborative projects, and address issues such as differences among women, intersectionality, the meaning of place, the gendered nature and impact historically of the art/craft distinction, the importance of small-group organization to feminist activism, the strategic articulation of women's experiences, and the tensions between individual and collective accomplishments.

Grappling with the participants' reflections and later considerations of the Fresno and CalArts Feminist Art Program in Section I, for example, raises questions about important movement history themes such as the proliferation, deployment, and results of consciousness-raising, the provocative role of early second wave publications, and the significance of separatist activities. More specifically, differing perspectives on Judy Chicago's early 1970s teaching methods that emerge in the essays by Laura Meyer and Faith Wilding, and recollections by Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, and Suzanne Lacy, speak to the difficulties and psychological toll feminists and all counter-hegemonic activists may experience when challenging fundamental inequities and entrenched interests. Judy Chicago's upbringing in a leftist, Jewish home, encounters with sexism in art school, fierce determination to become a professional artist in an era when few women succeeded in doing so, and entrée in 1960s Los Angeles to a boys' club of up-and-coming artists who themselves cultivated tough-guy personas led to the image if not necessity of confident combativeness so vividly depicted in the 1971 art exhibit announcement where she posed in a boxing ring, with boxing gloves, boots, and shorts. Yet Chicago's move to Fresno—and subsequent teaching—signal her commitment to helping other women enter that struggle better prepared and not leave it

prematurely, and to helping herself by forming a community of women artists so she would not have to battle alone and where their revolutionary art representing female identity and experiences could find receptive audiences (see Plate 1). Some of Chicago's 1970s students responded better than others to the unprecedented, experimental structure she devised and to her urban radical personality. Certainly, it is important to recognize, as Chicago does in Chapter 6 of this book, that the teacher/student relationship holds a different power dynamic than the collective organizing experiences of radical feminists who chose to be involved in new organizations of their own creation. Yet as the history of those organizations' intense theoretical and practical debates, personal clashes, mistakes, achievements, splintering, and flourishing illustrates, even the entirely voluntary and purportedly egalitarian work of intense 1970s feminist mobilization took a toll on some of its most courageous participants. Moreover, though the excess of feminists generally is one well-worn line of attack, what is fascinating in regard to Chicago is the excess ascribed to her from multiple directions: too confrontational, too celebratory; too kitsch, too invested in traditional, Western notions of artistic genius; too narrow, too assimilationist. These criticisms also speak to tensions within feminism about women as leaders of collective actions and their accomplishments as individuals.[31]

Section I begins with an excerpt from Gail Levin's biography of Judy Chicago, which details the artist's move from Los Angeles to Fresno and the initial phase of the Feminist Art Program she began there. Although described by Levin and throughout *Entering the Picture*, Laura Meyer and Faith Wilding's following essay more explicitly outlines some of the key themes of influential and contested FAP-initiated feminist art practices, such as collaboration, "the quest for new kinds of female body imagery" (cunt art), and the use of media associated with femininity, including costume. Additional elements in Fresno FAP artists Nancy Youdelman, Karen LeCocq, and Suzanne Lacy's recollections, and in Paula Harper's 1985 assessment that includes a detailed description of *Womanhouse*, are the development and significance of performance art, the challenge of feminist art to the high art/women's craft tradition distinction, and the attention to domesticity and violence against women by feminist artists. Judy Chicago's essay ends this section with reflections on her teaching philosophy and experiences that incorporate useful descriptions of the types of work her students have undertaken.[32]

Section II moves beyond the Feminist Art Program, beginning with Valerie Smith's important history of black women artists in the 1960s and 1970s. Smith describes artwork and activism that predates, and was also coterminous to events in Fresno and Los Angeles, such as Faith Ringgold's politicized art-making in 1960s New York, more explicitly feminist art focus of the 1970s, and the 1971 founding of "Where We At" Black Women Artists (WWA) by women "marginalized by both the predominantly male Black Arts Movement . . . and the largely white feminist (and feminist art) organizations." In Southern California, Betye Saar's paintings offered revolutionary challenges to popular culture

stereotypes of African American women such as Aunt Jemima at the same time FAP students and teachers were planning and exhibiting their challenges to dominant notions of domesticity and constructions of white femininity at *Womanhouse*. Smith's essay thus enriches our understandings of African American women's artistic and collaborative contributions, underscores the complexities of feminist genealogies, and brings attention to diversity within feminist histories and movements.[33]

Jennie Klein's chapter on Rita Yokoi's tenure as Fresno FAP director after Chicago and her students left for CalArts, and Lillian Faderman's interview with Joyce Aiken, who took the reins from Yokoi, relates the surprising—and what may seem the unlikely—story of how feminist art and support for women artists flourished in Fresno at the university and in the community for decades. In addition, the intensive efforts Klein and I undertook to track down information about Yokoi show that reclaiming even recent women's art history continues to be a vital enterprise. There is an ironic element at work here too, as Yokoi herself incorporated such research (begun by Chicago) into her curriculum, and also because one of Chicago's aims in setting up the FAP was to teach female artists how to sustain their professional artistic careers. In addition, Judy Chicago's recruitment of Yokoi as program director provides more evidence about Chicago's concern for maintaining feminist art education in Fresno and other locales, though she moved elsewhere. Joyce Aiken's recollections about her long career as a feminist artist and teacher, and her interactions with feminist artists in New York and nationally, explain the persistence and reputation of the program in Fresno. Aiken also describes how the Fresno FAP heightened opportunities for women artists in the community as its graduates launched Gallery 25, a cooperative women's art gallery, in 1974. In addition, the Fresno Art Museum became the first museum in the United States to devote an entire year to exhibitions by women in 1986–1987, and afterward established an annual one-woman show.[34]

Moving again to Los Angeles, Phranc's lively and wistful recollections of her mid-1970s experiences at the Feminist Studio Workshop and Woman's Building, both co-founded by Judy Chicago, Arlene Raven, and Sheila DeBretteville in 1973, provide insight into the significance of new feminist institutions for those who were welcomed by them.[35] The essays that follow in Section II continue to explore feminist art collaboration and institution building in ever expanding locations, first in San Francisco in Terezita Romo's appreciative assessment of the mid-1970s Chicana women's mural collective, Las Mujeres Muralistas, who created large-scale neighborhood murals that gave prominence to female-centered themes and imagery. Next, Joanna Gardner-Huggett discusses Artemisia, a women's art gallery founded in Chicago in 1973, including the collaborations of women in the mid-west with artists and art workers from both the west and east coasts.[36] Section II ends with three articles focused on collective feminist art projects in New York City. Gloria Feman Orenstein's memoir of the Woman's Salons she organized explains how these gatherings brought women artists and writers

together to share their work and ideas, and her later, similar efforts in international contexts. Orenstein's talk on this topic at the 2001 feminist art symposium in Fresno was so inspiring that Lillian Faderman, Phyllis Irwin, Joyce Aiken, and Jackie Doumanian began hosting salons at their Fresno homes. Katie Cercone recounts the history of the New York Feminist Art Institute (NYFAI) from 1979 to 1990; Nancy Azara and Darla Bjork reflect on their experiences as members and teachers there. Azara, along with Miriam Schapiro and Irene Peslikis, among others, co-founded the NYFAI, attended some of the salons Orenstein organized, and participated in discussions with Shapiro and Judy Chicago in New York about collaboration. Bjork also recalls Chicago's NYFAI workshop on her then-in-development *Birth Project*. Cercone, Azara, and Bjork thus importantly document the exchanges between feminist art organizations and prominent women artists, such as Louise Bourgeois, that are not widely known, and the overlapping of east and west coast feminist art circles, which are often presented as distinct, if not at odds. Azara and Bjork's contribution ends with Azara's instructive overview of her innovative and effective Visual Diary feminist art teaching tool.

Though some chapters in Section III begin in the periods and places covered in previous sections, overall the essays take us further ahead in time and further afield in location. Section III begins with Sylvia Savala's account of becoming a Chicana feminist artist outside of organized feminist institutions and conventional cultural centers, and her later collaborations with Fresno's Gallery 25 and Arte Americas. Savala's engaging essay relays her personal struggles and triumphs with reference to issues of gender, class, and ethnicity, and interrogates the critical question of the difference between women's and feminist art. In an intriguing coincidence, the Asian American Women Artists Association (AAWAA) was founded exactly one hundred years after the National Women Artists Association. Lydia Nakashima Degarrod's exploration of her own multi-faceted identity and the importance of this Asian American women's organization brings forward themes explored in this book about the power of collaboration, the importance of place, and women as sources of inspiration.[37] Miriam Schaer's "Notes of a Dubious Daughter: My Unfinished Journey Toward Feminism," playfully references Simone de Beauvoir's *Memoirs of a Dutiful Daughter*, and thus also the importance of this influential writer to second wave feminism. However, though Schaer may qualify as generationally second wave, her life narrative and art—like many of the feminist artists profiled here and elsewhere—challenge assumptions, if not stereotypes, about what feminist work can encompass and what sensibilities feminists of different age groups may share. Like the wide age range of AAWAA members, Schaer's twenty-first-century feminist art collective is composed of younger and older artists.

Tressa Berman and Nancy Marie Mithlo's essay on Native American women's art addresses issues of identity, place, and gender. The two artists they focus on, Colleen Cutchshall and Shelley Niro, each holds a collective identity grounded

in a specific location, culture, and history. Yet as these authors and artists move from place to place, their work transforms the spaces they inhabit and challenges gendered claims to tribal culture (Cutchshall's installation), and to popular culture and commercialized appropriation of Native values and representations (Niro's film).[38] The next two articles focus on the collaborations of feminist art curators, championed as art workers by art critic Lucy Lippard. Although transformations in just what constituted art and "artistic labor" were already underway, the feminist art movement broadened their definitions considerably.[39] Inspired by the 1996 Los Angeles *Sexual Politics* exhibit featuring Judy Chicago's *The Dinner Party* to curate a similar show in Taiwan, Ying-Ying Chien displayed art by Chicago and by women from Korea, Japan, and Taiwan in a transnational exhibition that focused on women's labor. In her assessment of the exhibit, Chien finds "striking concordances" in materials and themes among the diverse women's art, though also differences in emphases.[40] Jo Anna Isaak contextualizes the resurgence of US and European feminist art exhibitions in the twenty-first century by drawing out a longer history of group exhibitions, including those she curated in the 1980s and 1990s. Italian feminist art curators Gaia Cianfanelli and Caterina Iaquinta describe START, their innovative arts organization that has mounted large-scale exhibitions of work by women across Italy, and provide historical background on the distinctive approaches of Italian feminism and feminist art that inform their work.[41] Here too, we see feminist disregard for center/periphery distinctions. From the Pacific Northwest, feminist artist and teacher Beverly Naidus ends the book with an account of her feminist history and activist art teaching methods at the University of Washington, Tacoma. Naidus describes assignments and exercises that have supported both male and female students to represent their gendered experiences and social criticism. Like Joyce Aiken in Fresno, Naidus is a singular presence on her regional campus, though she aims to encourage others to try her teaching strategies and focus on making art for social change.

Though the essays in this book don't all directly address ways to rethink the role of artists in the women's movement and the impact of collaboration on the feminist art movement, they do suggests new avenues of research. For example, although consciousness-raising groups played a profound role in fomenting activism in so many directions, there have yet to be full studies of their proliferation across America, and their methods, theories, and effects. More community studies, like Judith Ezekiel's about Dayton, Ohio, and Anne Valk's on Washinton, D.C. will surely shed light on this and other topics. The production and dissemination of feminist poster art, visual culture, and journals need further investigation as well. The women's gallery movement deserves the kind of sustained attention scholars have brought to examinations of women's health collectives, as does the relationship between feminist efforts to reclaim knowledge about and explore the pleasures of their bodies with artists' use of vaginal imagery.[42] In addition, comparative studies of how various strands of feminism created women's culture and feminist institutions and also promoted

women's entry into male dominated arenas would further illuminate collective achievements as well as conflicts among women. The depth, breadth, and geographic sweep of the women's movement suggest new frameworks are needed to analyze, for example, multiple and synchronous events such as the 1969 founding of Women Artists in Revolution (WAR) in New York and Dayton Women's Liberation in Ohio; the August, 1970 launching of the Fresno Feminist Art Program and NOW's organization of the massive Women's Strike for Equality, and the protest of black and female artists' exclusion from the Whitney Museum in New York a few months later. Moreover, including feminist art within discussions of wider movement history may challenge, but could sustain, second wave periodizations and notions of generational conflict. Certainly, feminist artists' humor, ironic commentary, development and dissemination of cunt art, confrontational performance art and museum protests, and reworking of feminine artifacts, also known today as "girly culture," undermine generalizations about second wave feminists as staid or narrow-minded and draw connections to innovations sometimes attributed to feminists who came of age in or after the 1990s.[43]

Kirsten Swinth argues that the unprecedented artistic activity by women from 1870 to 1930 transformed the art world. In those decades, female artists contended with concepts of individual self-expression that were marked by essentialist notions of femininity. Nonetheless, as these artists claimed, represented, and exhibited their subjectivity, they reworked gendered conceptions of culture. Women artists, therefore, were critical to the shaping of modernity, even as it retained a masculinist character.[44] Judith Brodsky and Ferris Olin similarly argue that "feminist art pioneered post-modernism" and call for the recognition of "the formative contributions of feminist cultural production" that began in the 1970s. They fear that feminist "innovations have become so thoroughly embedded in contemporary perspectives that their role in introducing these ideas is in danger of being erased," or misattributed to men like the work of women artists in past centuries. Feminist artists' "contributions to a revolution in modes of representations" include:

> the use of specific events, personal experience, and narratives drawn from daily life to challenge abstract expressionism; the use of pleasure and play to protest the oppressions of the status quo; art inspired by and responsive to social, cultural, scientific, and political conditions rather than art for art's sake; the development of embodied narratives tied to the temporalities of daily life rather than art linked to notions of transcendent form; art that plays with scale, foregrounding the human through ludic proportions; complex forms of art making such as installation, site-specific art, video, photography, and books rather than traditional painting and sculpture; art as collaborative practice rather than the product of individual male genius; and art that blurs the boundaries between craft, popular culture, and high art.[45]

Understanding more about the genealogies and locations of these innovations within the context of the larger women's movement is vital for a fuller accounting of feminist history and more nuanced analysis of the conflicts about the place of cultural activism that have shaped feminist movements and their historiography.[46] As feminist artists and new forms of representing women's experiences entered the picture, feminist activism—whether by small group, separate, or conventional organizations, or expressed in foundational texts, posters, feminist institutions, and performance actions—incorporated concerns about images of women, and feminist artists were there.

Notes

1 Chicago's appointment was for one year. Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 68. See also Gail Levin, Chapter 1 of this book.

2 "Miss Chicago and the California Girls," *Everywoman* 2:7 (May 1971); "Bad Dream House," *Time* (March 20, 1972); *Womanhouse: Exhibition of the Feminist Art Program* (Valencia: California Institute of the Arts, 1972). See also Section I of this book.

3 See for example, Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Vintage, 1984), 76–100. There are many feminist evaluations of Foucault.

4 Chicago, *Through the Flower*, p. 96; Laura Meyer, ed., *A Studio of Their Own: The Legacy of the Fresno Feminist Experiment* (Fresno: CSU Fresno Press, 2009); articles by Faith Wilding, Arlene Raven, and Norma Broude and Mary Garrard in Broude and Garrard, eds., *The Power of Feminist Art* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1994), Part I; and Hillary Robinson, ed., *Feminism-Art-Theory: An Anthology, 1968–2000* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). I am grateful to Laura Meyer for generously sharing her FAP image files.

5 http://www.fresnocitycollege.edu/index.aspx?page=230, accessed 2–27–11. A plaque commemorates the 1911 IWW free speech fight in Fresno on the city's Fulton Mall. See also www.iww.org/culture/articles/DJones1.shtml, accessed 2–27–11.

6 Vicki Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930–1950* (Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 1987); www.aclunc.org/news/press_releases/fresno_homeless_residents_win_settlement_over_citys_destruction_of_personal_property.shtml, accessed 2–20–11; Ruth Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); www.csufresno.edu/peacegarden/monuments.htm, accessed 2–27–11; Morgan Brennan, "America's 10 Most Toxic Cities," *Forbes* (February 28, 2011), accessed on forbes.com 3–4–11.

7 One unfortunate measure of their power is the Central Valley's deadly air pollution—Fresno is one of the three worst places in the United States annually for particulate and ozone levels—caused by suburban sprawl, traffic on Highway 99, and agribusiness lobbying that delayed regulation of dairy and farm machinery emissions until 2004. Valley agribusinesses also garner tens of millions of federal dollars annually through farm subsidies that go primarily to recipients of rural corporate welfare: large dairies and major cultivators of corn, wheat, and cotton. In 2009, Fresno County's subsidies totaled $54,551,171; from 2005 to 2009, it was $689,633,639. http://farm.ewg.org/region.php?fips=06019&progcode=total, accessed 2–26–11. Fresno is just one of several San Joaquin Valley counties that receive subsidies. Fresno and Tulare are the two highest agricultural-producing counties nationwide. www.tulcofb.org/index.php?page=agfact, accessed 6–23–11.

8 www.csufresno.edu/music/about/history.shtml, accessed 2–27–11.

9 www.undergroundgardens.com; www.museumsusa.org/museums/info/1152779; http://arteamericas.org/about.html, all accessed 2–27–11.

10 Email from Joyce Aiken, 2–13–11; John Ellis, "$107m Revamp of Courts Planned," *Fresno Bee* (February 12, 2011). John Ellis, "Fresno Courthouse Façade Has Its Fans," *Fresno Bee* (March 1, 2011) includes a 1966 photo of the wrecking ball demolishing the courthouse.

11 http://foundsf.org/index.php?title=S.F._STATE_STRIKE_1968_69_CHRONOLOGY, accessed 2–27–11.

12 Kenneth Seib, *The Slow Death of Fresno State: A California Campus under Reagan and Brown* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1979). Seib's important account does not mention the FAP. For a listing of Women's Studies programs, including seventeen CSU and eight UC campuses, see http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/programs.html, accessed 3–4-11. Emails from Loretta Kensinger, Chair, and Kathryn Forbes, Associate Professor, Women's Studies Program, CSU Fresno (9–1-2010). Fresno's record on women's issues is mixed: the FAP continued until Joyce Aiken's retirement in 1992; the Women's Studies Program thrives. However, despite Fresno State's women's softball team national championship win in 1998, the university's record on Title IX compliance and sexual harassment is troubling. In 2008, for example, three Title IX lawsuits brought successfully against the university for gender discrimination by the female basketball coach, volleyball coach, and longtime athletics administrator resulted in $23 million awards for the plaintiffs. See www.fresnobee.com for more on these suits.

13 Ruth Rosen, *The World Split Open: How the Modern Women's Movement Changed America* (New York: Viking, 2000); Myra Marx Ferree and Beth Hess, *Controversy and Coalition: The New Feminist Movement Across Four Decades of Change* (New York: Routledge, third edition, 2000); and Sara Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End* (New York: Free Press, 2003) provide movement overviews. Kathleen Laughlin and Jacqueline Castledine, *Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945–1985* (New York: Routledge, 2011) includes case studies and bibliographies on women's activism between 1920 and 1963.

14 Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870–1930," *Feminist Studies* 5 (Fall 1979), 512–529 and Alice Echols, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967–1975* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989). Recent studies on feminist collectives include Sandra Morgen, *Into Our Own Hands: The Women's Health Movement in the United States, 1969–1990* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002); Kathy Davis, *The Making of* Our Bodies, Ourselves*: How Feminism Travels Across Borders* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); Junko Onosaka, *Feminist Revolution in Literacy: Women's Bookstores in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2006); and Nancy Janovicek, *No Place to Go: Local Histories of the Battered Women's Shelter Movement* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

15 Echols, *Daring to Be Bad*, p. 317, n. 70; Barbara Love, ed., *Feminists Who Changed America, 1963–1975* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 152 (Florika), 294 (Mainardi), 315 (Millet), 357–358 (Peslikis), 384 (Ringgold); Becky Thompson, "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism," in Nancy Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010), p. 42; Catherine Lord, "Notes Toward a Calligraphy of Rage," in Lisa Mark, ed., *WACK! Art and the Feminist Revolution* (Los Angeles: MOCA, 2007), 444. The NBFO employed consciousness-raising in 1974: Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa, eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Latham, NY: Kitchen Table, 1981), 216.

16 Author interview with Mainardi, 2–28–11. Mainardi wrote the first feminist appraisal of quilts, "Quilts: The Great American Art," *The Feminist Art Journal* (Winter 1973),

18–23. Elizabeth Subrin, *Shulie* (1997). I viewed *Shulie* at Otis Parsons library in August 2010, and in October at *Shifting the Gaze: Painting and Feminism*, The Jewish Museum, New York City (9/2010–1/2011). For more on the 1968 Miss America protest, including Florika's participation, see www.redstockings.org feature, "The Miss America Pageant," accessed 3–4-11.

17 Kirsten Swinth, *Painting Professionals: Women Artists and the Development of Modern American Art, 1870–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 1, 115, 173–179. See also Andrea Pappas's review of Swinth, http://h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=6748; Alice Sheppard, "Suffrage Art and Feminism," *Hypatia* 5:2 (Summer 1990); Deborah Cherry, "Women Artists and the Politics of Feminism, 1850–1900," in Clarissa Orr, ed., *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 49–69; and Margaret Finnegan, *Selling Suffrage: Consumer Culture and Votes for Women* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Lisa Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African American Women Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 65–71. Chapter 3 details the racial and gender discrimination artists in Fuller's era contended with.

18 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963); NOW 1966 Statement of Purpose, http://www.now.org/history/purpos66.html, accessed 2–27–11.

19 Ann Snitow, "Feminism and Motherhood: An American Reading," *Feminist Review* 40 (Spring 1992), 34. See also Lauri Umansky, *Motherhood Reconceived: Feminism and the Legacies of the Sixties* (New York: NYU Press, 1996).

20 Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: William Morrow, 1970), 156–159 (page numbers refer to Bantam edition, 1971).

21 Ibid., 188, 190.

22 Mandy Merck and Stella Sandford, eds., *Further Adventures of* The Dialectic of Sex*: Critical Essays on Shulamith Firestone* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 7, 14. See also chapters 6 and 9 by each co-editor, respectively.

23 As autobiographical elements of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* has yielded insights of that text, it seems germane to consider *The Dialectic of Sex* with reference not only to the then twenty-five-year-old Firestone's rebellion against her religious Jewish upbringing and family pressures, but also in light of her nascent artistic career. Elizabeth Fallaize, ed., *Simone de Beauvoir: A Critical Reader* (London: Routledge, 1998); Ruth Evans, *Simone de Beauvoir's* The Second Sex*: New Interdisciplinary Essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); Toril Moi, "The Adulteress Wife," *London Review of Books* 32:3 (February 11, 2010), 3–6.

24 Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement* (New York: Bantam, 1970), 191.

25 Ibid., pp. 337, 450, 496, 514–519. For an appreciation of Solanas as a proto-third wave feminist who anticipated the sex/gender distinction, see Catherine Lord, "Wonder Waif Meets Super Neuter," *October* 132 (Spring 2010), 135–163. Lord states "the ideas articulated in *SCUM* did not cause Solanas to make an attempt on a man's life. The shooting derived from the logic of psychic disintegration, *not* from the logic of satire. To insist upon a feminist reading of *SCUM* is neither tantamount to condoning murder nor a dismissal of queer theory" (154). Moreover, Lord argues the reputations of William Burroughs, Norman Mailer, Louis Althusser, and Carl Andre were not similarly tarnished by their violent behavior (158). However, Firestone in "I Remember Valerie," in her *Airless Spaces* (New York: Semiotext(e), 1998), 130, states, "I thought it was a big mistake to recognize Valerie as one of us, a women's liberationist, let alone to embrace her book as serious feminist theory."

26 Losch's drawing is untitled; Florika's is captioned "Actual U.S. Army Ad Brought to a Higher Level of Struggle by Florika," *Sisterhood is Powerful* first insert page, front and back; Rosen, *The World Split Open*, p. 225. She interviewed Peslikis, pp. 46, 134, 200. Irene Peslikis, "Women Must Control the Means of Reproduction" and "Friends of the Fetus," in Rosalyn Baxandall and Linda Gordon, eds., *Dear Sisters: Dispatches from*

the Women's Liberation Movement (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 134, 148. Author interview with Pat Mainardi, 2–28–11. Susan Brownmiller, *In Our Time: Memoir of a Revolution* (New York: Dell, 1999), 49, 55, 65, notes meetings at Pesliskis' loft and describes Florika's collages "putting Vietnamese women in an ad for Chanel No. 5. [Florika] also led an action against Revlon's corporate headquarters, called Revlon Napalm."

27 Karen Davalos, *Yolanda M. Lopez* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2008), 31; Julia Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers: Radical Practice in the Vietnam War Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Carlos Francisco Jackson, *ProtestARte: Chicana and Chicano Art* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009); T.V. Reed, *The Art of Protest: Culture and Activism from the Civil Rights Movement to the Streets of Seattle* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Bradford Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Helen Langa, *Radical Art: Printmaking and the Left in 1930s New York* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

28 Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994); recent works include Bettye Collier-Thomas and V.P. Franklin, *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement* (New York: NYU Press, 2001); Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*; Hasia Diner, Shira Kohn, and Rachel Kranson, *A Jewish Feminine Mystique? Jewish Women in Postwar America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2010); Laughlin and Castledine, *Breaking the Wave*. Eileen Boris proposes feminist "strands" in Laughlin et al., "Is it Time to Jump Ship: Historians Rethink the Waves Metaphor," *Feminist Formations* 22:1 (Spring 2010), 79, 86, 90–97.

29 Benita Roth, *Separate Roads to Feminism: Black, Chicana, and White Feminist Movements in America's Second Wave* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). See also, for example, Alma García, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Sonia Shah, ed., *Dragon Ladies: Asian American Feminists Breathe Fire* (Boston: South End Press, 1997); Deborah Gray White, *Too Heavy a Load: Black Women in Defense of Themselves* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999), Annie Valk, *Radical Sisters: Second-Wave Feminism and Black Liberation in Washington, D.C.* (Champaigne-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008); Vicki Ruiz with Ellen Carol DuBois, eds., *Unequal Sisters: An Inclusive Reader in U.S. Women's History* (New York: Routledge, fourth edition, 2008).

30 See also Harmony Hammond, *Lesbian Art in America: A Contemporary History* (New York: Rizzoli, 2000); Lord, "Notes"; Lisa Bloom, *Jewish Identities in American Feminist Art: Ghosts of Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Joyce Antler, "'We Were Ready to Turn the World Upside Down': Radical Feminism and Jewish Women," in Diner et al., *Jewish Feminine Mystique*, pp. 210–234.

31 Jennifer Baumgardner, "That Seventies Show," *Dissent* (Summer 2002), www.dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=586, accessed 3–4-11; Bloom, *Jewish Identities*, chapter 2; Gail Levin, *Becoming Judy Chicago* (New York: Harmony Books, 2007). Lucy Lippard similarly considered herself "one of the boys" when she became a professional art critic before identifying as a feminist in 1970. Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, pp. 129–130, 153. See also *!Women Art Revolution*, directed by Lynn Hershman Leeson (New York: Zeitgeist Films, 2010).

32 See also Laura Cottingham, *Seeing Through the Seventies: Essays on Feminism and Art* (Amsterdam: G+B Arts, 2000) and *Womanhouse* (directed by Johanna Demetrakas, 1974).

33 For more on this topic, see for example, Lisa Gail Collins, *The Art of History: African American Women Artists Engage the Past* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002), Lisa Farrington, *Creating Their Own Image: The History of African American Women Artists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

34 www.fresnoartmuseum.org/about/council_of_100.htm, accessed 3–4-11.

35 See also Laura Meyer, "The Los Angeles Woman's Building and the Feminist Art Community, 1973–1991" in David James, ed., *The Sons and Daughters of Los: Culture and Community in L.A.* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 39–62; Terry Wolverton, *Insurgent Muse: Life and Art at the Woman's Building* (San Francisco: City Lights, 2002).

36 For related works, see Karen Mary Davalos, *Yolanda M. López* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 2008); Laura Pérez, *Chicana Art: The Politics of Spiritual and Aesthetic Altarities* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); and, on Judy Baca among others, Amalia Mesa Bains, "Calafia/Califas: A Brief History of Chicana California," in Diana Burgess Fuller and Daniela Salvioni, eds., *Art/Women/California, 1950–2000* (Berkeley: UC Press, 2002): 123–140.

37 See also Karen Higa, "What Is an Asian American Woman Artist?" in Fuller and Salvioni, *Art/Women/California*, pp. 81–94; Valerie Matsumoto, "Asian American Artists in California," in Gordon Chang, Mark Dean Johnson, Paul J. Karlstrom and Sharon Spain, eds., *Asian American Art: A History, 1850–1970* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2008), 169–199.

38 See also Jolene Rickard, "Uncovering/Recovering: Indigenous Artists in California" and Theresa Harlan, "Indigenous Visionaries; Native Women Artists in California," in Burgess and Salvioni, *Art/Women/California*, pp. 187–200.

39 Bryan-Wilson, *Art Workers*, pp. 127, 129, 138, 151.

40 See also Maura Reilly and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Global Feminisms: New Directions In Contemporary Art* (London: Merrell, 2007).

41 See also Judith Russi Kirshner, "Voices and Images of Italian Feminism," in Mark, *WACK!*, pp. 384–399.

42 Lisa Hogeland, *Feminism and its Fictions: The Consciousness-Raising Novel and the Women's Liberation Movement* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Judith Ezekiel, *Feminism in the Heartland* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2002); Valk, *Radical Sisters*; Anne Enke, *Finding the Movement: Sexuality, Contested Space, and Feminist Activism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). Judith Brodsky, "Exhibitions, Galleries, and Alternative Spaces," in Broude and Garrard, *Power of Feminist Art* and Joanna Inglot, *WARM: A Feminist Art Collective in Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Weisman Art Museum, 2007) includes information about galleries nationwide. A chronology of all-women group exhibitions follows Jenni Sorkin, "The Feminist Nomad: The All-Woman Group Show," in Mark, *WACK!*, pp. 458–472, 473–499.

43 Cristine Rom, "One View: The Feminist Art Journal," *Woman's Art Journal* 2:2 (Fall 1981), 19–24. Ezekiel, *Feminism in the Heartland*, p. 1. See also Section II, Broude and Garrard, *Power of Feminist Art* and works by the Guerrilla Girls.

44 Swinth, *Painting Professionals*, pp. 1–4, 168, 201–206.

45 Judith Broksky and Ferris Olin, "Stepping out of the Beaten Path: Reassessing the Feminist Art Movement," *Signs* 33:2 (2008), 330–331.

46 E.g., Echols, *Daring to be Bad*; Redstocking feminists thought Women's Caucus for Art members were opportunists because they narrowly focused on finding opportunities to exhibit their work. Mainardi interview, 2–28–2011.

SECTION I

Emerging: Views from the Periphery

1

BECOMING JUDY CHICAGO

Feminist Class

Gail Levin
Abridged by Melissa Morris

A new twist in a typical old-boy network transplanted the urban activist, idealist, and budding feminist—Judy Gerowitz—from sprawling, restless Los Angeles to the more compact and centered Fresno. Isolated amid the densely cultivated fields, orchards, and monster dairies of the Central Valley, Fresno was a stark contrast to Los Angeles. Calibrated to georgic and bucolic industry, Fresno State College had grown from its origin in 1911 as a normal school—training mostly women as teachers for the prosperous farming region. [. . .] The department of fine arts was favored by a local philanthropist and trustee who worked in ceramics herself and had facilitated a new edifice for the arts building that was under construction when Judy came on the scene. The art department's men—both traditionalist and more vanguard—could hardly have foreseen that her ambitious drive would transform their classrooms and campus so dramatically.

Heinz Kusel had chaired the art department since 1967, just three years after it granted him the master's degree.[1] [. . .] Kusel had imported such talents as Wayne Thiebaud and Vija Celmins only to see them move on, leaving him with two vacancies to fill. When the department organized a group show in July 1969, it included an unconventional sculptor from UCLA, Oliver Andrews. Though invited to give a talk, Andrews delivered a demonstration, flying one of his "sky fountains" made from Mylar and balloons. The spectacle so impressed the faculty that they asked him to recommend any students of his to fill their vacant positions. He had been a favorite teacher of Gerowitz, whom he suggested, along with her classmate and friend Susan Titelman. Both received and accepted offers, Gerowitz beginning in the 1970 spring term.[2]

It says a lot about the influence of Andrews and Kusel's principled daring that Kusel would hire someone who came across as "a very aggressive, very hostile feminist," acting on his judgment very specifically that "she was nonetheless

interesting and dynamic." Indeed, he used his power as chair to overrule his colleagues' objections and give his new hire free rein in her teaching. He also prided himself on the result: "Despite severe opposition, I decided she would be good for the department and I hired her. I allowed her to create a strictly Women's Art Program. It became the first of its kind in any university and a key contribution to the beginnings of the whole feminist movement in America."[3]

[. . .]

Gerowitz interpreted the move as a further logical step in building a life understood as unfolding through successive stages. First came "values and attitudes, my sense of what I could and what I couldn't do [that] were developed in the 50s when I was a teenager." On top of that came "the whole advent of the hippies and the revolution and the Left . . . the Panthers, the Blacks," which she saw "had really changed the nature of our society and our values"—change that dictated change, also for her: "I felt that I had built my identity and my art-making as a person—as an artist—on the framework of reality that I had been brought up in, and now that framework had changed, so I wanted some time out, to look around, and find out what was appropriate now. I sensed that what I could do now differed from what could be done twenty years ago."[4]

Judy had responded strongly to the early writings of the women's movement, which confirmed and seemed to valorize her own feelings. She described how she "shuddered with terror reading Valerie Solanas's book and some of the early journals. . . ." She admitted that she found Solanas "extreme" but "recognized the truth of her observations. . . ."[5] "'Great Art' is great because male authorities have told us so," wrote Solanas in 1968 with satirical hyperbole, having just referred to "'Great Art,' almost all of which, as the anti-feminists are fond of reminding us, was created by men."[6]

Judy's quest for a new "framework of reality" began with a critique of the old: "it has been the male experience that has always stood for the human condition . . . like Hamlet or Godot." A different premise and goal would shape her quest: "In terms of my aspirations as an artist, I needed to find a way to embody the human condition in terms of female experience, and that required that I study women's art. I wanted to find out if other women had left clues in their work that could help me. I wanted to explore my experiences as a woman openly and somehow wed those to the sophisticated techniques and skills I had as an artist."[7]

As a first step this new aim "required moving away from the male-dominated art scene and being in an all-female environment where we could study *our* history separate from men's and see ourselves in terms of our own needs and desires, not in terms of male stereotypes of women."[8] On another occasion she described her new mission in bluntly personal terms: "I . . . tried to begin to undo the damage I'd done myself competing in the male art world. I wanted to make my paintings much more vulnerable, much more open."[9]

[. . .]

Her feminist agenda and her outspoken manner did not escape the men who perceived her as hostile and aggressive when she began teaching at Fresno in early 1970. Her first lectures, one eyewitness recalls, were booed by some of the guys: "People hated Judy; they were so threatened."[10] [. . .] Her developing feminism shaped both her art and her teaching. In her mixed classes that first term, she tried saying, "Okay now, none of the men talk; only the women talk."[11] From this she would move to the next stage in her quest and create "a year-long class for girls who wished to be artists."[12]

[. . .]

A woman in that first class, Fresno-native Vanalyne Green recalls "Judy asked us what images we wanted to make work out of. I had an image of a female manikin on a circular track, going around and around. She asked if I knew that was a woman's image and I lied and said yes, I did. Of course at that stage I didn't have a clue what feminism was. I was mesmerized by Judy. Later I asked to be part of the Feminist Art Program she was starting. She accepted me but warned that we would have conflicts," which they did. Green rebelled, says a fellow student, Laurel Klick, when really challenged by her teacher, who retorted: "Don't be mad at me. I'm not your mother." Klick recalls too how that first class suffered attrition, as students one by one dropped out because the teacher demanded so much: "She took us seriously and made us accountable."[13]

By late spring Judy's mother reported: "She seems to be somewhat recharged in her role as professor, especially as she feels that she can make a contribution to women who are trying to become 'liberated.'"[14]

[. . .]

Early in the summer, Gerowitz legally adopted the name Judy Chicago "as an act of identifying myself as an independent woman."[15] Her mother spread the news to her friend Pearl, expressing amazement. She was also impressed that Judy had taken out an ad in *Artforum* announcing why she had done it.[16]

The *Artforum* ad in October 1970—a full page placed by the Jack Glenn Gallery for her show at the still relatively new California State College at Fullerton, Orange County—featured a head shot (shown twice, once reversed) of Chicago wearing a headband and dark glasses with a companion text: "Judy Gerowitz hereby divests herself of all names imposed upon her through male social dominance and freely chooses her own name: Judy Chicago."[17] Beneath this box another one reads: "Judy Gerowitz One Man Show Cal State Fullerton October 23 THRU November 25." The name "Gerowitz," was crossed out and the name "Chicago" was written above it in script. Likewise, "Man" was crossed out and "Woman" written above it in script.

A second ad in *Artforum*—run without charge by the editors—followed in the December 1970 issue.[18] This one used the photograph of her posed in a boxing ring, her dealer listed as "Manager, Jack Glenn." Five years later Chicago recalled the boxing pose with what her male interviewer called a "vehement giggle": "It was a joke, but it took on mythic proportions . . . It was like, 'Hold

on guys, here they come!'"[19] The poster had meant to spoof the macho announcements, posters, and ads typical of some of the "wild men" who showed at the notorious Ferus Gallery.

The new name and the Fullerton show unhinged *Los Angeles Times* critic William Wilson, who earlier had had appreciative things to say about works by Judy Gerowitz. He led with the changed name, quoted the bit about "divesting" herself of "all names imposed upon her through male social dominance," and then indulged himself in the first of what would swell in the years ahead into a chain of petulant sneers: "It is a nice gesture of liberation. I hope its seriousness is not diluted when she is introduced socially as Miss Chicago. Well, it's not as touchy as if she had picked Judy America."[20] Then he tried getting back on track: "Enough of that. Despite feminist statements in the catalogue, Judy Chicago's art bears no relationship to names or Women's Lib. Its exhibition has been installed with economy and brilliance by Cal State Fullerton gallery director Dextra Frankel."[21]

[. . .]

The name change was right in your face, an unmistakable target, but the catalog, though ignored by Wilson, provided plenty of further feminist content. Frankel described Chicago as "a leader in the vanguard West coast art scene" and underscored her feminist quest. Chicago furnished a "Dedication to the Grinsteins" (Stanley and Elyse, her devoted patrons in Los Angeles), followed by a list compiled from her reading in women's history. The first of many honor rolls of both contemporary and historical women with ties to feminist thought, it reached its fullest form nine years later in *The Dinner Party*.

Although the list was still in formation, Chicago clearly had already focused on women who struggled to abolish slavery: Susan B. Anthony, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and the Grimké sisters, who called female slaves their "sisters" and affirmed, "Women ought to feel a peculiar sympathy in the colored man's wrong, for like him, she has been accused of mental inferiority, and then denied the privileges of a liberal education."[22] Chicago, imbued with her father's values, had started with civil rights and the NAACP before broadening her concern to include equal rights for women as well. Her own background and experience prepared her to absorb Shulamith Firestone's argument in *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution*, which declared women's need to "face their own oppression."[23] This first list also reveals her concern with women artists, such as contemporary painters DeFeo and O'Keeffe and filmmakers Clarke, Varda, and Zetterling. She would expand the lists into a virtual canon as she kept reading classic and contemporary fiction by women along with feminist texts.

[. . .]

The new name and emphatic agenda riled not only Wilson but an *Artforum* reviewer, Thomas H. Garver, who declared that Chicago had "taken advantage of a California law which permits anyone to have one alias without complex court approval."[24] Turning to the display—"The paintings, fifteen in all, dominate

the exhibition although they are not her best work." With a manner condescending at best, he pontificated, "One tends to regard Judy Chicago as more an intuitive than intellectual artist, and the other works in the exhibition demonstrate this quality more adequately."[25] He compared her domes on tabletops to a male artist—"suggestive of the pearlescent lacquered plastic forms of Craig Kauffman"—using the comparison to put her down.[26]

To protest Garver's inaccuracies, Chicago wrote to editor Phil Leider: "It is important to note that I changed my name legally. I did not use an alias. I elected to use the legal process because married women are nonpersons legally and I wanted a name of my own."[27] As for the women cataloged, "The list of women's names included painters, writers, political activists and women who have distinguished themselves by struggling for the rights, dignity, and identity of women in and out of the arts. I consider these women as representatives of my history and was proposing in the catalog that my work must be understood within the context of this struggle."[28] Never slack to explain where others erred or traduced, Chicago brought her unfolding creed as a woman and artist up to date:

> These misperceptions and omissions arise from a misunderstanding of my art and of the way my femaleness relates to my art. In my work, my name change and my catalogue I make explicit my commitment to an Art that is emotional, direct, sensate and derives from my psychic and emotional struggle to realize myself as a female. I believe that *Pasadena Lifesavers*, the fifteen paintings included in my show, fully fulfill my commitment. To understand these paintings, one must approach them with a willingness to experience reality through the physical and emotional framework of a female.[29]

While male reviewers seemed to operate by the rule "If you don't like the message, shoot the messenger," artist Miriam Schapiro—an acquaintance and a teacher at CalArts—"brought her class to my show," Chicago later recalled, welcoming an evident rapport: "it was obvious that she could 'read' my work, identify with it, and affirm it"[30]—not a simple accomplishment, since Chicago saw the *Pasadena Lifesavers* as "reflecting the range of my own sexuality and identity, as symbolized through form and color, albeit in a neutralized format." Although in fact they were opaque to male viewers, she herself had felt "frightened by the images, by their strength, their aggressiveness."[31]

Schapiro had arrived at her feminist insight and outlook by a circuitous route. After the birth of her son and only child in 1955, she struggled to reconcile her dual desires to be both mother and artist.[32] Resuming work in 1957, Schapiro took part in the *New Talent Exhibition* at the Museum of Modern Art, showing canvases painted in a gestural abstract expressionist style. Yet because her work in the abstract expressionist mode left her discontented, she began searching for a more personal style, experimenting in the early 1960s with a series of hard edged shrine paintings that embody female forms such as the egg.

[. . .]

Meanwhile the 1970 fall semester opened at Fresno State, and Chicago launched her pioneering art program for women. Her growing sense that dominant male structures and attitudes inhibited women from expressing their female perspective in art had led her to get Kusel's permission to conduct fulltime a separate course of study open to women alone. She and fifteen recruits would eventually seek and renovate an old off-campus site—"a space of our own," as she called it after Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*—to escape "the presence and hence the expectations of men" and to explore connections between women's history and visual work.[33]

For recruits, Chicago sought women determined to become artists who were "aware of themselves as women" and "able to be emotionally honest with themselves & others."[34] For the first two months Chicago focused on helping her students deal with "the ways in which their conditioning as 'women' prevented them from setting real life goals, from achieving, from acting on their own needs."[35] Nancy Youdelman remembers a lot of talk about sex, bad experiences, and how men took advantage of women. Other students, Chris Rush and Doris Bigger (aka Dori Atlantis), who describe themselves as "hicks from Fresno," remember that Chicago "was pretty confrontational with everybody."[36] At the term's first meeting, which was held off campus in the basement of a student's home, everybody was just chit-chatting when Judy "blew up" and rebuked them: "If you were a group of men artists, you'd be discussing your work. You'll have to change."[37] Rush describes the year in the program as "like a whirlwind—the most exciting of my life."[38]

[. . .]

By contrast, Vanalyne Green recalls, "As with some of the other women in the group, I believe that I suffered from post-traumatic shock syndrome for several years afterward. This is not to negate the great parts of the experience of working with Judy. I have often wondered if I would have found my way of out a provincial life in Fresno, California, without the experience of being in a year and a half of classes with Judy."[39]

Chicago's experimental pedagogy kept inviting comparisons with the consciousness-raising practiced in the women's movement—a group activity in which each participant "shares and bears witness to her own experience in a non-judgmental atmosphere. It is a political tool because it teaches women the commonality of their oppression and leads them to analyze its causes and effects."[40] Yet Chicago "didn't know about classical consciousness raising then" and prefers to describe her own practice as "going around the circle and including everyone, which is something I started doing when I first started teaching in the sixties, prior to the women's movement." For her, this carefully controlled activity is "connected to content search in terms of art-making," while it also enables each participant to be heard uninterrupted and to have her say. It became central to the work produced in the Fresno program. "I was really pushing those girls. I

was really demanding of them that they make rapid changes in personality. . . . I gave the girls an environment in which they could grow."[41]

According to Vanalyne Green, "I want to think that such aggressive tactics wouldn't have been necessary—the phrase 'personality reconstruction,' for example, that Judy used to describe her pedagogy, resonates with my experience. I called in sick one day, and Judy asked me what was wrong. I wasn't actually sick at all; I was lying. I didn't want to go because I was so uncomfortable with the class. She suggested that either one or the other students could bring some food for me or that one of them could come and get me. Such tactics terrified me, although now I see the reasoning. She was suggesting that we be accountable, that we communicate rather than withdraw."[42]

Chicago devoted the third and fourth months of the school year to finding and equipping a studio so that the students could literally isolate themselves from the men and work in a female environment. [. . .] Once they settled on a cavernous old theater at the intersection of Maple and Butler on the edge of town, the students—dressed in their boots—began to transform it. During the week students were expected to work in the studio from four to eight hours each day, besides having individual conferences with Chicago. A group met on Mondays to read novels by women as well as the "works of Ti-Grace Atkinson, Roxanne Dunbar, Simone de Beauvoir, Anaïs Nin, and other women writers."[43] Chicago was "also brilliant about historical context," recalls [Suzanne] Lacy. "The woman read incessantly. Whenever she wants to know about something, she sits down and plows through scores of books."[44] In the reading group they focused on how the novels served them in terms not only of literature but of their "personal struggle for identity" and "an understanding of our history as women."[45]

[. . .]

The studio space—some five to six thousand square feet, Karen LeCocq remembers—included a big kitchen where Wednesday-night dinners took place and what they called the "rap room," with carpet samples glued to the floor and varicolored pillows, where discussion kept on after meals.[46] The rap room could make you feel both uneasy and at ease, report LeCocq. She recalled the experience as "soul searching, gut wrenching, tumultuous, cleansing, exhausting, exhilarating" and the space as "suffocating and uncomfortable one moment and nurturing and comforting just a short time later."[47]

[. . .]

Chris Rush also felt intimidated by Judy, whom she recalls stressing both a "commitment to art" and "pressure not to be too feminine, not to shave your legs."[48] Another student, Jan Lester, agrees that the students in the Fresno program dressed in work boots and coveralls and refrained from wearing makeup, shaving their legs, or plucking their eyebrows. The situation was "something almost cultlike . . . We had this sense that we were doing something important," adding, "Judy made everyone in the program believe that they could do whatever they wanted to do."[49]

[. . .]

In the months before they got the studio ready, nobody made much art, a student recalled, but they were encouraged to write autobiographies and derive images, using any medium they wished—drawing, painting, sculpture, mime, dance, performance—from their own experience, "e.g. being used sexually, walking down the street & being accosted, etc."[50] The experiment produced results that astonished its designer: when the women "talked about feeling invaded by men," Chicago reported, she had them "make images of those feelings. They brought this work to the class, and I nearly fainted. Everything was so direct. It was imagery that had to do with a whole area of female experience we had never talked about . . . like really feeling raped and violated and used and all that."[51]

That fall Chicago assigned a research project in art history. Each student was told to select a woman artist from history whom she would research and then act out in a performance. [. . .] The students began their research in the fall, several months before January 1971 when art historian Linda Nochlin's now classic article "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" appeared in *ARTnews*, which some of the students recall reading.[52] [. . .] Already in December 1970 a few of Chicago's students performed for a graduate art seminar at the University of California at Berkeley. By then some of them were progressing, while others lagged.

The occasion prompted Chicago to articulate a programmatic point: "That night after the seminar I told them I wasn't going to relate to them on an emotional level anymore," she recounted to an interviewer. "I had begun to understand that it's very easy for girls to continually be involved with their feelings, and it's much harder for them to move over to a work ground."[53] She intended for the students to transfer their dependency from her to "the structure of the group itself," wanting "to build an environment for women to function in—not a hierarchy with me as leader. In fact, the whole point was to move away from that kind of structure."[54] If the group environment worked, it would benefit and sustain not only the students but her own artistic growth. "I wanted to do what no woman has ever done," Chicago wrote, "& that is to transcend my femaleness—to ascend to a level of *human* identity that women have been unable to reach because they are frozen into the roles of women as enumerated by a patriarchal social structure."[55]

[. . .]

The experiment with transferring responsibilities from teacher to students triggered insecurity, and Chicago found herself faced with unexpected and seemingly uncontrollable "crying jags, depressions, and self-deprecating remarks." When the laboratory seemed to spin out of control Chicago turned to Schapiro: "I just laid it all on her, everything that had happened that day and how terrible and how scary it was."[56] The resulting talk really helped, Chicago felt, and laid the groundwork for the ensuing "partnership" of the pair.

In November, Schapiro made a well-documented visit to Fresno, where she spoke to Chicago's students and observed the new program for herself. "Judy and I spent a lot of time talking about the problems of teaching. She was . . .

breaking down the role barriers between teacher and student." Schapiro was impressed by the students' performance pieces expressing their feelings, "their environmental works made out of autobiographical material," and their development of "new definitions of female iconography."[57]

[. . .]

For Schapiro the students put on a "rivalry play," written by Nancy Youdelman, in which "a glamorous hooker and the fat matron" confront each other violently at a bus stop, when the hooker drops cigarette ash in the matron's popcorn. [. . .] The players dressed fit-to-kill thanks to Youdelman's fascination with costumes—ever since high school she had collected Victorian clothes. She and Jan Lester had dressed up and posed for photographs, which won Chicago's encouragement. [. . .] Part of the Fresno program's big studio became the costume area, and costumed performances became routine.

[. . .]

Besides recourse to Schapiro and the dramatic therapy of the visit, Chicago addressed her students' tension with five assignments: "evaluate in writing the course and one's own growth in it; read Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* and relate this to one's own struggle; formulate goals for personal growth for the remainder of the year; decide on a work project for the coming month; and make a calendar of daily activities for that month."[58] Chicago then met with each student individually to discuss the assignments and repeated the meetings each month.

[. . .]

Trips to Los Angeles also ensued. Vanalyne Green recalls "an experience that completely opened me to becoming an artist. Judy took us on a field trip to the then Pasadena Museum of Art. I knew zilch about contemporary art, and stood in front of a Kenneth Noland painting, stymied and intimidated. I asked her to help me understand the painting. She told me to stand there and see how the painting made me feel. It was the beginning of my life as an artist and art lover (though the artist part took a long while to develop)."[59] Chicago's impact on her student's development was much greater than she realized at the time, as Green says: "Suddenly I realized that I didn't need critics or interpreters to comprehend art: I had my own sensate responses to form and color, and I could have a direct relationship with a work of art. This was a staggering realization. Pure liberation. You could hear the doors opening, and I was stone sober."[60]

Among the most memorable destinations was Miriam Schapiro's studio in Santa Monica. Faith Wilding drove her VW bus down from Fresno, packed with students. That night Jan Lester remembers that they visited the charming Spanish house where Schapiro and Brach lived. One of the students asked "'What's that wonderful smell?' It was the scent of orange blossoms, but Schapiro replied: 'money.'" This, Lester recalls, was "the moment when Schapiro suggested that Chicago bring the Feminist Art Program to CalArts."[61]

The story was not so simple. Chicago's husband had already been teaching at CalArts when Schapiro's husband, Paul Brach, the dean, asked her if she would

like to teach there too. Her reply—"Yes, but I would teach only women"—provoked his immediate refusal and the query, was she out of her mind? His wife's reports from Fresno and further reflection changed his mind. Chicago recalls that they decided to bring her program to CalArts, and "Mimi began preparing the way, talking to the deans and getting it accepted as an idea."[62] At some point, Chicago's initiative got the name that would prove historic: Feminist Art Program.

The ferment of the experiment in Fresno inspired Chicago, who with characteristic self-awareness determined to start her first journal—precisely on March 8, 1971—its first page headed in firm script, "*This book belongs to Judy Chicago*," along with the Kingsburg address. A second thought betrays itself in capitals printed above "Judy Chicago"—"COHEN"—the asterix referring down to a note: "⋆*who changed her name but not her fundamental identity*."[63] By then—little over a year after starting the new curriculum at Fresno—she was growing ever more aware that she had created a radical new departure that needed to be recorded and merited a place in history rather than women's usual fate of getting erased: "I want to begin to establish regular contact with the growth of the first Feminist Art ever attempted," she wrote in what could be the first documented use of the phrase.[64]

Chicago framed the experiment at Fresno and her own development in the wider cultural context, realizing that "the Women's Liberation Movement represented (for me) support to make overt all the feelings, beliefs, and ideas I had lived with covertly since the day I had begun to consciously make art and consciously to struggle with my conditioning as a woman in order to make art."[65] In that moment "it finally occurred to me that I could say what had been unsayable and do what had been undoable. I was going to try to come out of hiding into the bright light of the day and expose what it *really* was to be female in a society that held the female in contempt."[66]

[. . .]

Chicago's primal desire was "to build an environment *based* on my needs as a woman and as an artist." She explains, "My first step was to change my name—thereby seizing control of my identity and making it my own. My second step was to give several lectures in which I told of my struggle as an artist and the difficulties I had encountered because I am a woman." In one of these, delivered at California State College (Los Angeles) in early 1969, she had introduced metaphoric comparison with male combat, declaring that she was "preparing to go to war against the culture."[67]

[. . .]

The very success of the experiment with her students also created a dilemma that Chicago would feel ever more acutely in varying forms in the following years: the imperative to be in her studio making her own art and yet the want, commitment, and need to be with her students in the supportive environment of their collaborative work. She began to wonder where her primary loyalty was. "I keep feeling like I *should* be working. The idea that one's *whole life* is one's

work is very difficult to come to terms with."[68] Yet at the moment even her work owed something to the collective, for she was producing a series of collages based on "cunt" images that she felt were influenced by her student Faith Wilding's drawings. These eventually became a series of twenty-six alphabet collages, one for each letter, using the cunt form—entered as a landmark in the journal: "It's a breakthrough for me to move from cunt as subject to cunt as formal device."[69] Wilding has recalled that her "cunt art" began when they tried to "analyze, confront, and articulate our common social experiences; it was not a set of predetermined images based on essentialist notions about women's sexuality."[70] (See Plate 2.)

[. . .]

Both Chicago and the collective took encouragement from the other artists and feminist writers who came to Fresno to speak or perform. Roxanne Dunbar, who came on March 22, was touring college campuses, speaking about "women's liberation, capitalist exploitation, racism, the Vietnam War, other national liberation movements, and the necessity for revolution."[71]

Feminist writer Ti-Grace Atkinson followed Dunbar by two days. Suzanne Lacy recalls that she recruited four women (Doris Bigger, Cay Lang, Vanalyne Green, and Susan Bond), who dressed as cheerleaders in pink—similar to one of their earlier performances spoofing themselves—with letters across their chests spelling "C-U-N-T." "Off the plane came forty or so Shriners as we were screaming, 'Give us a C, give us a U,'" recalls Lacy. "Ti-Grace Atkinson stood there sort of bemused while we were performing madly for her. It was quite a night."[72]

At the all-women party after the talk, the feisty, diminutive hostess took issue with the statuesque guest, in a clash of proportions epic enough to merit space in the new journal—"a ferocious argument which ended in my telling her to fuck off. I do, of course, deeply respect her. She is a strong, courageous woman. . . . Nonetheless she made me furious. She put us all down & came on with a holier-than-thou number."[73] Core dissent in regard to men contributed to the tiff. Lacy remembers that Atkinson was "very down on men," while "Judy has never been down on men; she has seen feminism as a two-gendered activity. Most of us had made choices to lives with a man."[74]

[. . .]

At about this time too Chicago completed her *Cock and Cunt Play*, in which two women wear outlandish costumes designed to personify a giant Cunt and a colossal Cock, both sewn in pink vinyl by Shawnee Wollenman.[75] In the film Faith Wilding dons the Cock costume and Jan Lester the Cunt. Chicago continued work on her *Cunt Alphabet* collages and some abstract paintings on plastic, even though Lloyd told her he thought abstract art was "counter-revolutionary." She was not yet dissuaded, not yet able, in her own words, to "'transcend' the cunt."[76] (See Plate 3.)

Chicago used this same language in a letter to the admissions committee at CalArts, justifying the need for the school to accept a critical mass of her students

FIGURE 1.1 *Cunt Cheerleaders* (1971). L–R: Cay Lang, Vanalyne Green, Dori Atlantis, Sue Boud. Photograph by Dori Atlantis. Reprinted with permission of Nancy Youdelman and Dori Atlantis.

from Fresno: "We all have to begin together . . . We must unearth the buried and half-hidden treasures of our cunts and bring them into the light and let them shine and dazzle and become Art."[77] She went on: "With Miriam Schapiro as my partner, I am going to bring down the program for women that I began this year at Fresno State College. I went away from Los Angeles to start this program because I was afraid that no one in Los Angeles would give me a chance to do what I wanted to do, i.e., to begin to build an environment in which women could feel free to make the art that derives from their beings."[78]

To justify bringing her students from Fresno into the program at CalArts, Chicago documented some of her results: "To go on with what we have begun, we have to bring all of our beginnings with us. We cannot afford to let go of anything we have begun—not of our work in the studio, not of our films, or our tapes, not of our studies of women writers, nor of that starting of a Female Art History, and most of all we cannot let go of each other. For we are the beginning of a new world, a world in which women can be together and be themselves and let themselves be seen in the world."[79]

[. . .]

As the first year of what had come to be called the Feminist Art Program was winding down, Judith Dancoff . . . together with Chicago, Schapiro, and the students, worked up a special issue of the newspaper, *Everywoman*. Chicago

explained her willingness to experiment in so many areas: she credited "the women's movement—new options were opened so that I could actually think about using my talent in a variety of ways which had simply not been possible before."[80] To the movement she had already given credit as a supportive context in which to realize herself, and about the Fresno experiment, she would reflect, "I became aware of the women's liberation movement, and I immediately understood what that meant . . . I realized that I could actually begin to put out all this information I had about my own struggle, my own perceptions, and I also understood that the structure as it existed in the art world and the world as a whole had no provisions for that kind of information."[81]

In mid-April the program staged a Rap Weekend, inviting visitors to observe the work produced. Chicago expressed anxiety lest the women who came might think less than well of what had been achieved in the course of a year. In the end Chicago judged the Rap Weekend very stimulating but "exhausting." [. . .] On display was Faith Wilding's environment, which she had made by "creating a life sized figure of herself dressed as a bride with her midsection cut open with cow guts spilling out. With each showing of the piece, she had to go back to the slaughterhouse and obtain fresh cow guts. Another feature of her environment was the bloody Kotexes that trimmed the walls at ceiling height."[82] There followed plays, films, slides, and art history testimony that "resurrected women artists from the past & let them tell their stories," along with a history lecture on women artists.

Afterward came informal raps—brief discussions—then dinner, followed by a performance by Vicki Hall, who had recently received her B.A. and M.A. in sculpture from UCLA and was teaching introductory sculpture at Fresno. Chicago recalls that Hall "cast penises and applied them to the women performers, then had them all lift their operating gowns (it involved medical procedures). I thought the audience was going to have a collective heart attack."[83] About two hundred people were there.

"At the time I was in Fresno I didn't know much about feminism," says Hall, "but the idea of protesting my treatment at UCLA really appealed to me, and from there I came up with various performances and installations that explored, among other things, women's victimization. . . ."[84] "I am sure," she adds, "the question about women's position, which was something that had always bothered me, was more on my mind because of Judy and the Feminist Art Program." [. . .]

On balance, the enthusiasm of the spectators—mainly other women artists—and the aesthetic accomplishments of the students pleased Chicago, who understood that the theatrics were not meant to be formal theater but rather a mingling of "live action & performance with films, slides voices, taped voices, sounds, music, light."[85] The results reaffirmed her program to "recreate women from the Past whose lives have been distorted by men's history books. I want women from all ages to mingle on the stage, telling their stories, comforting each other."[86]

Chicago concluded that "the really exciting part of this is over for me. I have done what I set out to do. I have begun the structure whereby women's work will finally be able to reveal in itself & women will be able to assume their rightful place. It's real now—I don't doubt it any more. From now on, I hope that it will grow quickly. Several women at the weekend were turned on to starting classes for women. I was only 1 person in the Fall, there are probably 12 or 15 of us now."[87]

Moving some of the students to CalArts while leaving others behind was proving problematic. Although Chicago considered some of those left behind less serious about their work, she made an effort to train her successor at Fresno, Rita Yokoi. While meeting with those who would remain, Chicago admitted to being tired of dealing with everyone's emotional problems. One student had become intimately involved with at least two of the male professors in the art department—exactly the kind of behavior that Chicago had hoped to prevent when she created the program.[88] She wanted her students to become artists themselves instead of falling into the more typical roles of wives or mistresses for the male artists. Schapiro advised her to "de-escalate," and she told herself that she had to do so now. She wrote in her journal: "GRRRRRRRR! It is both a privilege & a pain in the ass to have been born a woman at this time in History—a privilege because we may change History—a pain in the ass because I'd like to be *FREE*!"

[. . .]

Chicago had already begun to plan with some of her students the "structure for artmaking next year" and "begun to implement it. I & the girls have begun the creation of 25–30 female characters, either from history or representative of fantasy images of women. We *will* prepare costumes, characterizations, & testimony for each one, & then let them mingle in an environment of high level emotional intensity." She had in mind to stage "the trial of Joan of Arc with a jury of her peers—i.e. women from all times in history."[89] She saw this leading "not only to theater but to films, books, slide images, photo pieces, etc. That part of my work is going well. I love it. I've found myself."[90]

[. . .]

In the meantime Chicago planned a trip to New York, where she would meet Schapiro and they would spend time together with "the radical women" and go see a show of women artists organized by Lucy Lippard, now an established critic, whom Chicago had known since her stay in New York in 1959.[91]

On their last day in New York, Chicago, Schapiro, Lippard, and sculptor Jackie Winsor went with Grace Glueck, an art reporter for *The New York Times*, to see a show organized by Lippard at the Aldrich Museum of Contemporary Art in Ridgefield, Connecticut of twenty-six New York women who had never been shown before. After her write-up of the Aldrich show, Glueck, who claimed that she saw "unmistakable gynecological references" in some of the "biomorphic abstractions," gave the Feminist Art Program its first mainstream publicity in the

East: "Meanwhile, back to the Misses Schapiro and Chicago (a show of work by the former has just closed at the André Emmerich Gallery here). Both teach at the big Disney-backed California Institute of the Arts in Valencia; both are pioneering in a brand-new art endeavor titled—brace yourself—Feminist Art Program." Her article continued: "The program, which *has* to be the world's first, deals with women artists' 'reality as women,' says Miss Schapiro, who is married to Paul Brach, painter and dean of the art school. Designed to provide a framework for the understanding of women's art, it will involve such disciplines as art history, art criticism, art making and art education." Glueck went on to highlight issues raised by the new program: "'We've been asked why we want to start a ghetto,' says Judy Chicago, a sculptor married to a sculptor, Lloyd Hamrol. 'But we're not interested in "high" art, built on male tradition. It's the beginning of education for women, by women, about women. We'd like, in fact, to take over women's colleges and blast their male structures.'"[92] Glueck went on to describe how the two artists worked with students on research for women's art history, quoting Schapiro that she and Chicago had gotten so far into it that they would have opened up an office someplace else had CalArts not come through with funding for their program.

The day and entire sojourn closed with a cocktail party at Whitney curator Marcia Tucker's loft, where Chicago was pleased to learn Tucker would be starting a small program for women artists at the School of Visual Arts in New York the next fall. She was hopeful that such programs would "pop up everywhere."[93] There were already other links between Chicago's feminist activities and those taking place in New York. With Lippard she had organized the W.E.B. (West-East Bag), "an information network for women in the art world," with branches in a number of cities and slide registries on the work of women artists in New York, L.A., and San Francisco.[94]

[. . .]

Perhaps it was age, but Chicago was growing ever more aware of "the limits of existence": "My femaleness is every day being revealed to me as a scar on my humanity in the sense that until the ideas of 'masculine' & 'feminine' are wiped out of our consciousness there is no possibility to be free. The constant resistance, antipathy, hostility, which erupts against every action of ours sometimes becomes overwhelming. It is as if the whole society is bent upon preventing women from gaining their rightful place in the world."[95]

Uneasy insight fueled resolve to renew her quest for a path of her own forged by experimenting with her female collaborators and not dictated by men in advance, at whatever risk: "I understand that for women to be truly free would mean the total restructuring of the society so as to enfranchise the half of the world that remains disenfranchised. [. . .] If I make art like I used to I will be merely going around & around about the nature of female identity. If I ignore that issue or put it aside I could make Art qua Art as men have defined it, e.g. dealing with ideas, the nature of materials, etc. & that really is not interesting to

me."[96] As a way out, she saw that she needed to "pursue the path I have begun this year—to make Art out of it. In doing that, we will at least feel at peace while we work, but we will alienate many people who, at first, supported us, for ideas about women reach to the deepest level of the psyche & produce irrational responses. There is no where to go but on, but I am afraid."[97]

As before, Chicago gave combat to fear by way of intellectual growth. She was reading deeper into the work of Simone de Beauvoir, whose work she initially had not liked. She concluded: "the battle to become visible is indeed what it's all about. We seem to attract attention when we dispute our role, because then we're in dialogue tacitly with men, but we're invisible when we deal with our own reality & address other women. Oh, to be free of the implications of my body form!"[98]

[. . .] Themes raised in the Rap Room had given her a glimmer of what she wanted to do in her own future paintings: "images that would be angry, painful, speaking of brutalization & invasion & destruction of self." She expected to draw upon those feelings in the next year's female collective and then make images out of them.[99]

[. . .]

Back in L.A., Chicago and Schapiro found themselves overwhelmed when some sixty women out of the total two hundred on campus turned up to apply for the Feminist Art Program at CalArts in the fall. Later Brach telephoned and screamed at Chicago, under pressure from other faculty who felt threatened by women wanting power at the school. What the women wanted was control of admissions to their own program and some help learning to use some of the available equipment "without being put down." They also requested a female film crew in the film department, "a couple of workshops in critical studies" to accompany their program, and a sector directed by Sheila de Bretteville in the design department.[100] CalArts was divided about the new program, with some faculty and students supporting it and others hating the very idea, but everyone was talking about it.

After this tussle Chicago returned to the Fresno studio for the students' final program. They had felt tremendous pressure because people from CalArts would attend. At dinner with the core group that was going on to CalArts, they faced the fact that the following fall they would no longer be able to function independently and do whatever they wanted as they had in Fresno. Now, with the program expanded, there would be a professional art historian, a designer, and others to deal with. As Chicago looked ahead, she sighed and told herself: "But we'll never have this year again, unfortunately."[101]

The final program, held on a Saturday night, drew about 150 men and women, including Allan Kaprow, John Baldessari, and others from CalArts. The students placed their art on exhibit, with environments by Wilding and LeCocq. Jan Lester recalls that she made a "very outré soft sculpture of a woman in a horrible shade

of pink. Her vagina was red velvet. Her face was an oval mirror, meant to suggest that men wanted sex as a reflection of themselves. It was rude, crude and sexually graceless. Baldessari came up and stuck his cowboy boot into her vagina."[102]

Also in the audience was Paula Harper, then a graduate student in art history at Stanford, who would eventually be hired as the art historian for their program at CalArts. The students' performances included the "C-U-N-T" cheerleading, which Harper recalls as "so hilarious, so bold, so funny . . . to me it was irresistible." The students then handed out "Friend of the Cunt Kisses:" to those men "who had supported us at Fresno State & at CalArts."[103] [. . .]

They did performance pieces, including Chicago's *Cock and Cunt Play* and the *Rivalry Play*, now amplified with a longer fight sequence before the final mutual murder. More mayhem ensued with a *Slaughterhouse* piece that "ended with Faith being strung up like a cow & covered with blood, then the last image was a slide superimposed on her body," with accompaniment by Chicago's voice, which became "the instrument of my rage."[104] The audience clapped and cheered.

Chicago was amazed at how rapt the audience was throughout the forty-five-minute art history lecture. She had previously received criticism that their art history of women had errors and was unprofessional. But having relied upon the information collected by the students in just a few months, she was proud that they finally had a "female art history" and confident that it could be perfected later on.

A performance piece by Vicki Hall was last and the most provocative, eliciting both praise and criticism from the audience and participants. Judy and Lloyd were in it, but Mimi and Paul declined to take part. Hall's idea was to have six males and six females of authority, who would, for the duration of the piece, relinquish their authority. Participants were tied up and blindfolded and had their mouths taped. They were then touched, kissed, or pinched. The idea was evidently to break down the barriers of the theater and give sensuous pleasure to the participants, but some of the gestures, perhaps inflected by latent hostility, began to look like sadism to the disturbed audience. Hall says that this was not her intention and that her basic concept was about "initiation and the barriers or prohibitions to touch, to experience and to act." Chicago was glad in the end that the piece really "struck nerve endings" that the other pieces did not.[105]

[. . .]

Harper recalls that she especially liked Chicago, appreciated her directness—"you never wondered what was really on her mind. She was brilliant, funny, fast, good-humored, temperamental, warm." She felt that Schapiro was "energized" by Chicago, who looked to Schapiro as having "made it in the art world."[106]

[. . .]

Hints of deeper and contrary currents would be set aside, deferred, so high were the expectations and hopes.

Notes

1 Heinz Kusel, *Heinz Kusel Between Experience and Reflection: The Story of a Painter as Told to Thomas Kusel* (Auburn, Calif.: Destiny, 2004), 297.
2 Oliver Andrews, "Los Angeles Art Community: Group Portrait." Interview by George M. Goodwin. Oral History Program Transcript, 82. UCLA, 1977. He referred to her by the name Judy Chicago. Her first surviving résumés, however, list "California State University (1969–1971)," JCCSL, Box 1, Folder 2; she again listed it on an early résumé as, "Fresno State College, Asst. Professor 1969–71," JCCSL, Box 16, Folder 8, for the Guggenheim grant application. Chicago may have believed that she had started in Fresno the fall of 1969 (as on her CV for the "Lively Word" speakers' bureau, on which she listed "1969 Married Lloyd Hamrol. Became assistant professor at Fresno State College [until 1971]. Performed her first *Atmospheres*"). She may also have decided that starting her job in the fall of 1969 made her look better. This is also the date in the catalog Judy Chicago and Dextra Frankel, "Invisible Twenty-One Artists Visible," in Twenty-One Artists—Invisible/Visible (Long Beach, Calif.: Long Beach Museum of Art, 1972), 22. It may be that she wanted to indicate concisely that she had taught in Fresno for more than one school year.
3 Kusel, *Heinz Kusel*, 32.
4 Judy Chicago and Judith Dancoff, "Judy Chicago Interviewed by Judith Dancoff," *Everywoman* 2, no. 7, issue 18 (7 May 1971), 4.
5 Judy Chicago, *Through the Flower: My Struggle as a Woman Artist* (New York: Penguin Books, 1975), 59.
6 Valerie Solanas, *Scum Manifesto* (New York: Olympia Press, 1968), excerpted in *Feminism-Art-Theory: An Anthology, 1968–2000*, ed. Hilary Robinson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 12.
7 Judy Chicago, "Two Artists, Two Attitudes: Judy Chicago and Lloyd Hamrol Interview Each Other," *Criteria: A Review of the Arts* 1, no. 2 (November 1974), 9.
8 Ibid.
9 Judy Chicago, "Judy Chicago Talking to Lucy Lippard," *Artforum* 13, no. 1 (September 1974), 60.
10 Nancy Youdelman to author, 6 December 2005. Youdelman recalls Faith Wilding (who was there) saying that there were hecklers—guys who were threatened and became angry and vocal. Youdelman is now a sculptor; Wilding is a performance artist.
11 Judy Chicago, "Interview by Hazel Slawson," typescript (c. 1972), 3, JCCSL.
12 Judy Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 3.
13 Vanalyne Green to author, 10 December 2005. Laurel Klick to author, 8 February 2006.
14 May Cohen to Pearl Cassman, 19 May 1970, JCCSL.
15 Chicago, *Through the Flower*, 62–63.
16 May Cohen to Pearl Cassman, 5 November 1970, JCCSL.
17 This ad appeared in *Artforum* 9, no. 2 (October 1970), 20.
18 Boxing photo ad, *Artforum* 9, no. 4 (December 1970), 36.
19 Judy Chicago quoted in Jonathan Kirsch, "The Flowering of the Artist," *Coast* 16, no. 6 (June 1975), 37. JCCSL, Box 1, Folder 42.
20 William Wilson, "Judy Chicago Exhibition at Cal State Fullerton Gallery," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 November 1970, pt. 4.
21 Ibid.
22 Gerda Lerner, *The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Women's Rights and Abolition* (New York: Shocken Books, 1971), 193, 161–62; see also Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 26.
23 Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1970), 29.

24 Thomas H. Garver, "Judy Chicago, Art Gallery, California State College, Fullerton," *Artforum* 9, no. 5 (January 1971), 92.
25 Ibid., 92–93.
26 Ibid., 93.
27 Judy Chicago to Phil Leider, n.d., January 1971, published March 1971, JCCSL, Box 9, Folder 8.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
30 Chicago, *Through the Flower*, 64.
31 Ibid., 56.
32 Miriam Schapiro, conversation with author, July 1997.
33 Chicago, *Through the Flower*, 70–92; Judy Chicago, *Beyond the Flower: The Autobiography of a Feminist Artist* (New York: Penguin, 1996), 23.
34 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 3.
35 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 4.
36 Dori Atlantis and Chris Rush to author, 1 April 2004.
37 Ibid.
38 Chris Rush to author, 1 April 2004.
39 Vanalyne Green to author, 19 December 2005.
40 Faith Wilding, *By Our Own Hands: The Woman Artist's Movement in Southern California, 1970–1976* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Double X, 1977), 10.
41 Judy Chicago to author, 25 July 2005. Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 8–9.
42 Vanalyne Green to author, 19 December 2005.
43 Susan Stocking, "Through the Looking Glass with Judy Chicago," *Los Angeles Times*, 9 July 1972, 44. JCCSL, Box 1, Folder 39.
44 Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 17.
45 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 7.
46 Karen LeCocq, *The Easiest Thing to Remember: My Life as an Artist, a Feminist, and a Manic Depressive* (Bloomington, Ind.: 1st Books, 2002), 54.
47 LeCocq, *Easiest Thing*, 62.
48 Chris Rush to author, 1 April 2004.
49 Jan Lester Martin to author, 7 April 2004.
50 Unidentified "Tape of a Conversation with Judy Chicago," JCCSL.
51 Ibid.
52 Linda Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *ARTnews* 69, no. 9 (January 1971), 23–39+. See Faith Wilding, "Women Artists and Female Imagery," *Everywoman* 2, no. 7 (7 May 1971), 18. Wilding notes that their research on women artists began "from the beginning of the [school] year."
53 Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 15–16.
54 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 4.
55 Ibid., 5.
56 Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 13.
57 Miriam Schapiro, "Miriam Schapiro Interviewed by Judith Dancoff," *Everywoman* 2, no. 7, issue 18 (7 May 1971): 3. Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 14.
58 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 6–7.
59 Vanalyne Green to author, 19 December 2005.
60 Ibid.
61 Jan Lester Martin to author, 7 April 2004.
62 Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 15.
63 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 8 March 1971, 1.
64 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 8 March 1971, 1. Historians have not yet identified who first used this phrase. Instead, Hilary Robinson postdated Chicago's article in

the Feminist Art Program's issue of *Everywoman* 7 from the spring of 1971 to 1972, making it seem a year later than it actually was. Hilary Robinson, *Feminism-Art-Theory: An Anthology, 1968–2000*, 294.
65 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 8 March 1971, 2.
66 Ibid.
67 Chicago, "Chicago Interviewed by Slawson," 2.
68 Chicago, *Personal Journal*, vol. 1, 13 March 1971, 12.
69 Ibid., 22 March 1971, 15.
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