7-2021

Select Heresies Issues Published from 1977-79: Situating the Individual in Late Second-wave Feminism

Audra Verona Lambert

Select *Heresies* Issues Published from 1977-79: Situating the Individual in Late Second-wave Feminism

By Audra Verona Lambert

SELECT *HERESIES* ISSUES PUBLISHED FROM 1977-79: SITUATING THE INDIVIDUAL IN LATE SECOND-WAVE FEMINISM

By

Audra Verona Lambert

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Master of Arts in Art History and Visual Culture

at

Lindenwood University

The author hereby grants Lindenwood University permission to reproduce and to distribute publicly paper and electronic thesis copies of the document in whole or in part in any medium now known or hereafter created.

Audra Verona Lambert _____ June 2021
Author

Professor Kelly Scheffer _____ June 2021
Committee Chair

Dr. Jonathan Walz _____ June 2021
Committee member

Dr. Trent Olsen _____ June 2021
Committee member

Select Heresies Issues Published from 1977-79 : Situating the Individual in Late Second-wave Feminism

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Art and Design Department in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Art History and Visual Culture at Lindenwood University

by

Audra Verona Lambert

St. Charles, Missouri

July 2021

ABSTRACT

SELECT *HERESIES* ISSUES PUBLISHED FROM 1977-79: SITUATING THE INDIVIDUAL IN LATE SECOND-WAVE FEMINISM

Audra Verona Lambert, Master of Art History, 2021

Thesis Directed by: Prof. Kelly Scheffer, MA

Heresies was a grassroots second-wave feminist publication based in New York City that produced issues from 1977-93. The publication was spearheaded by recognizable feminist artists and critics, and it designated one issue to each theme, covering topics such as *The Great Goddess* (1978) and *Sex Issue* (1981), soliciting contributions from feminist writers and artists to engage with each issue's specific subject matter. To contextualize the environment of late stage second-wave feminism, *Heresies* issues were published a half-decade after feminist milestones like the Roe v. Wade decision (1973) and the Equal Rights Amendment vote (1972).

Heresies, as a critical theory-driven, self-published magazine, dissected some of the most debated aspects of second-wave feminism on its pages, led by figures critical to second-wave feminist art including Suzanne Lacy, Lucy Lippard, Harmony Hammond and others. This paper focuses particular attention on three issues of *Heresies*: *Lesbian Art & Artists* (Issue #3), *On Women and Violence* (#6) and *Third World Women* (#8), identifying means by which feminists sharing certain traits, such as sexual orientation, could assert their viewpoints as individuals by means of self-determination: servingas editors and contributors of these particular issues. By analyzing individualwriters' and artists' contributions to these three specific issues, it becomes clear that *Heresies* stimulated a means of debating feminist perspectives and empowered contributors to share their individual truths.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to my thesis committee chair Professor Kelly Scheffer, MA, for her work in steering this thesis toward its final form. I'd also like to particularly thank Joyce Kozloff and Randy Rosen for their part in illuminating *Heresies'* part in charting the direction of late-stage Second-wave Feminism. Thanks to my thesis committee and the Faculty at Lindenwood University for supporting my Master's studies. I am also grateful for my partner Michael Barraco who has supported me throughout the writing of this thesis. Finally, thank you to all the feminists who advocated social equality for womxn in the past, the present, and those who will continue this fight moving toward the future.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures

Introduction

Second-wave feminism, a period of sociopolitical activity spanning from the 1960s through the subsequent decade, was defined by the demands of feminist activists who advocated for gender equality in society. These activists demanded better access to viable career prospects, control of their own finances, and equal respect among their peers in many fields. These efforts extended to the realm of arts and culture. The so-called "Women's Liberation Movement" became defined in some part by cultural publications such as *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics* (1977-93), which mounted collective efforts to share feminist philosophies and record these activities in print.[1]

Second-wave feminism emerged from literature such as Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), an investigative publication which highlighted entrenched social inequalities and led to greater awareness of a woman's role as a second class citizen[2] in Western civilization. This paper centers the evolution of women's roles as artists and activists during second-wave feminism. Under particular examination is the role that *Heresies* magazine and its mother collective played in supporting this evolution. This paper posits that three specific issues of Heresies – *Lesbian Art and Artists* (Issue #3), *On Women and Violence* (Issue #6) and *Third World Women* (Issue #8) – provide evidence of a critical shift away from shared generalizations in second-wave feminism to instead center women's unique identities as individuals comprising a larger social movement.

[1] For clarification: at points where the term "women" or "woman" are used throughout this paper, such as "Women's Liberation Movement," this is within the context of the term's use within second-wave feminism. Women-identifying trans and non-binary folk are retroactively included in this cohort, as these identities are more readily understood now than they were during the 1970s. This term is not intended to exclusively represent biological women but rather femme-identifying members of society.

[2] Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1963), 11.

Any historical analysis of *Heresies* must be rooted in the acknowledgement of the distinctly political origins of second-wave feminism. Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, women joined forces across the United States to push for equal rights in society nearly two generations after women received the right to vote in 1920 with the 19th amendment's ratification. While American women living during the 1920s did experience relative freedom in society, this freedom was quickly followed by social trends discouraging women from joining the workforce. This mindset took a particular hold post-WWII, as women were expected to become homemakers once men returned home from the war. Author Betty Friedan's revelations in *The Feminine Mystique* about the pressure that women felt to be housewives served as a groundbreaking insight into stifling social norms, setting the stage for second-wave feminism to emerge as a political force to be reckoned with.[3] Women artists working during this time joined forces in solidarity to seek out their own pathways toward visibility and professional success, joining their compatriots across other industries to pressure politicians to approve legislation that enforced equal rights,[4] even boycotting entities that did not ratify the Equal Rights Amendment, or ERA.[5]

From the late 1960s on, a growing awareness of the need to advocate for women's rights led to increased efforts toward visibility for women's input in society at every level. This was achieved due to pressure from feminist groups who mounted protests and speeches at the national level, resulting in women's committees becoming part of Presidential administrations

[3] Friedan was so influential she even served as a founding member of NOW, the National Organization for Women.
[4] Stephanie Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-wave Feminism in the United States.* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008.) 4.
[5] The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was written and proposed by Alice Paul and Crystal Eastman in 1923 to protect equal rights for Americans regardless of gender, and it was later taken up as a cause by second-wave feminists, eventually ratified by 35 of the 38 required states to become a law before conservative activists prevented its ratification in the late 1970s.

beginning with John F. Kennedy and lasting into the Gerald Ford era.[6] The movement also coalesced around the rise of several nationwide women's organizations such as NOW: The National Organization for Women,[7] and as a result of highly circulated publications among the feminist community, such as *Ms. Magazine,* which pointedly addressed women's issues.[8] Organizations that emerged during this period sought to advocate for a range of women's rights, and coalesced around shared concerns at the local, regional, and national levels. These layers of organizing allowed for thousands of women to participate as organizers and leaders. The texts, speeches and printed matter produced as a result of these efforts influenced women in all sectors of society, creating a dialogue at the intersection of politics, culture and everyday life.

These initiatives spilled over into the field of arts and culture, where collectives of women artists organized their efforts around their singular identity as a "feminist" first. These artists and cultural producers joined forces to form new publications and gallery spaces that served their community/ies.[9] Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard explicitly recognized the impact that the larger world of political action had on the Feminist Art movement of the seventies.[10] As various arts initiatives arose, led by feminist artists nationwide,[11] specific communities intermingled and shared ideas by region. While these geographically close groups shared ideals and values, the collectives in these regions were often comprised of distinctly

---

[6] Cynthia Harrison. "Creating a National Feminist Agenda" in *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-Wave Feminism in the United States*, ed. Stephanie Gilmore (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 19.

[7] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives.* 4.

[8] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives.*49.

[9] As evidence of how rapidly this shift occurred, in New York City alone from 1969-74 several key feminist initiatives were generated. Feminist artists formed A.I.R - a woman-run gallery – in 1972, following in the footsteps of Women Artists in Revolution (W.A.R.), founded 1969. The *Feminist Art Journa*l was founded by Cindy Nemser in 1972 as well. *Heresies*, while founded two years later, published their first issues in 1977.

[10] Norma Broude and Mary D. Garrard, Ed.s. *The Power of Feminist Art.* (New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1996). 22.

[11] One of several examples of this is the now-legendary Women's Studies program at California State University Fresno led by artist Judy Chicago, founded in 1970.

separate feminist groups sometimes aligned into coalitions by a range of shared identities but often existing independently.[12]

Feminist activist, and *Heresies* mother collective member, Joan Braderman, recounted her start as an artist arriving to New York City and joining a coalition of women activists working in the Bronx. "Coalition work took me through the Puerto Rican independence movement and to the South Bronx," reflected Braderman. "There, I helped organize the two-day 'People's Convention' for 5,000 people from across the country."[13] Women artists frequently sustained dialogues with other feminist organizations existing in New York City at the time. These feminist-first artists who centered social justice and equality as part of their worldview were the vanguards who pushed the feminist agenda forward with efforts including the inauguration of artist collective of A.I.R.[14] - a woman-only art exhibition and gathering space - and the founding of the magazine *Heresies,*[15] both of which occurred by the mid-1970s.

At this same time, in 1975, Gerald Ford established the National Commission on the Observance of International Women's Year: the culmination of efforts by US-based feminist organizations.[16] The sustained political effort that culminated in this pivotal gesture was echoed in the creative fields as well. As feminist scholar Carrie Rickey notes in the introduction to the *Power of Feminist Art*, "In New York in 1969, female members of the Art Workers Coalition (AWC), appalled to learn that AWC's protests against the art establishment were being waged on behalf of minority men only, splintered off from the group to found Women Artists in Revolution (WAR)."[17] Rickey continues, "Meanwhile, in 1970, another women's group emerged from AWC, naming itself the Ad Hoc Women Artists' Group. Its agenda: to address

[12] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives.* 10.
[13] Joan Braderman. *The Heretics*. 1:35.
[14] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 108.
[15] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126.
[16] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives.* 19.
[17] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 122.

the issue of the paltry number of women included in Whitney Annual and in Whitney collections."[18]

In the early 1970s, a self-published scholarly survey of feminist initiatives entitled *A New Woman's Survival Catalog* became available. The text was compiled by scholars Kristen Grimstad and Susan Rennie, in which the authors question, "are women making different kinds of art now that the Women's Movement provides an atmosphere of support for the expression of our real feelings?"[19] In view of this reflection, this paper will seek to analyze whether any evidence exists in late stage second-wave feminism for an "atmosphere of support" which engendered creative women to express new perspectives reflecting their specific lived experiences as second-wave feminism progressed. This analysis will particularly focus on texts written by individual contributors that were published in *Heresies - Lesbian Art and Artists* (Issue #3), *On Women and Violence* (Issue #6) and *Third World Women* (Issue #8) - in order to chart individual expressions of feminist identities published here.

Following in the footsteps of other feminist organizations and collectives from the late 1960s-early 1970s based in New York City, such as WAR, Ad Hoc Women's group and A.I.R. gallery, *Heresies'* founding members began meeting in 1974 and published their inaugural issue three years later. This publication was a shared responsibility of the mother collective who jointly edited issues of the publication and internally provided the themes of *Heresies* issues #1-4. From 1978 on, with the publication of issue #5, *Heresies'* founding members stepped back from editing these issues to instead allow space for guest editors to helm each issue.[20] *Heresies* was a part of a rich landscape of new publications seeking to shine a light on women's voices in

[18] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 122.
[19] Susan Rennie and Kristen Grimstad, *A New Woman's Survival Catalog*, 1972. 15.
[20] Braderman, *The Heretics*. 15:00.

the arts, and it did more than perhaps any other self-published material at the time to mount potent critical inquiries into specific topics affecting women.[21]

Heresies considered its role as a publication seriously as a space for women-identifying artists to address the problems confronting them in society. Individual issues were each dedicated to one perspective: *Art and Politics, Sex Issue,* and many more each made clear the theme they purported to explore, and issues frequently took between 120-150 pages to explore a chosen theme in-depth.[22] In this manner, *Heresies* served a unique role among the publishing landscape by its departure away from generalized articles and art criticism to instead mount serious critical inquiry on a specific subject matter important to feminists. From *The Power of Feminist Art (1994),* Carrie Rickey describes the range of feminist publications in the 1970s, noting that each publication from the time period had different publishing schedules. Rickey reflects, "publications [existed ranging] from the monthly *Women Artists News,* the quarterly *Feminist Art Journal*, those quasi-quarterlies *Chrysalis* and *Heresies*, and the semi-annual *Woman's Art Journal."*[23]

Each unique second-wave feminist publication had its own role to play in disseminating ideologies across the arts and cultural landscape. These aims were also evident at national arts magazines, such as *Art in America* and *Artnews*, the latter of which featured Linda Nochlin's influential 1971 essay arguing that women had been excluded from the art history canon, with its prescient title, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists."[24] Feminists were not content to wait for nationally recognized publications to catch on to the movement's momentum, and generated their own opportunities to self-publish and circulate grassroots publications during

[21] By comparison, *Heresies'* first issue was 114 pages long, while the first issue published by *The Feminist Art Journal* was 27 pages long. *Chrysalis*, the feminist source of critical dialogue emerging from the west coast, had a first issue totaling 137 pages long, however the entire issue was not designated to cover a specific topic. *Heresies'* first issue was solely dedicated to the topic of women and activism, evincing a dedication to publish a significant amount of contributions around a single topic as opposed to the editorial vision of other publications from this era.
[22] For reference, the three issues being discussed as the primary focus of this paper, issues #3, 6, and 8, had 122, 130 and 131 pages, respectively.
[23] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 120.
[24] Jill Fields, "Frontiers in Feminist Art." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 33, no. 2 (2012.) 4.

this period, and *Heresies* was a self-published initiative helmed by a collective of feminists, which counted itself among one of the highest profile grassroots publications of this period.

While the feminist art publications emerging in the early 1970s influenced *Heresies* as a magazine, the mother collective's aims were certainly influenced by the earliest feminist art initiatives which formed on the West Coast from 1970. Judy Chicago and Miriam Schapiro are recognized as leaders of the movement due to their high profile feminist art programs: Chicago was responsible for the first Feminist Art Program at Fresno State in California (1970) and was involved - along with Schapiro - with the creation of the first major feminist art installation, *Womanhouse* (1972) and the second Feminist Art Program at CalArts (1971.) Chicago worked with Arlene Raven, a future *Heresies* mother collective member, and Sheila Levrant de Bretteville to establish the Woman's Building: a groundbreaking center for feminist thought which opened in Los Angeles in 1973.[25] Chicago was especially influential in cementing the philosophy of Essentialism as a central tenet of second-wave feminism in the arts. Essentialism was an ideology purporting that all women share certain characteristics, and that artwork by women incorporated visuals referencing the sex organs of the female body. As we will explore, this philosophy from early second-wave feminism came under question during the later part of the movement,[26] as it began to take on a negative connotation for some feminist artists who did not want their artwork to be viewed purely as extensions determined by their

[25] Jill Fields, "Frontiers in Feminist Art History." 3.
[26] See Mary D. Garrard, "FEMINIST ART AND THE ESSENTIALISM CONTROVERSY." *The Centennial Review* 39, no. 3 (1995): 468-92. Accessed April 3, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23739358.

physical bodies.[27] Analyzed by *Heresies* members such as Lucy Lippard and third-wave feminist art critic Mary Garrard within the context of later second-wave feminism, Essentialism was recognized for its earlier use in uniting feminists but it began to lose its prominent position as a de facto ideology.[28] This shift in thought came under question particularly in light of the advent of post-structuralism in the early 1980s, when ideas around identity shifted in the field of philosophy and the arts. Feminists writing criticism during this era began reflecting on ways in which second-wave feminism needed to grapple with its own shortcomings. Jill Fields captures this dissonance directing feminism's evolution post-1970s:

> A school of thought emerged that discounted some earlier innovations and perspectives by categorizing them as essentialist. Anti-essentialists focused on the distinction between sex and gender, finding the latter a socially constructed, historically situated phenomenon. They criticized feminists such as Mary Daly and Adrienne Rich for purportedly making assertions about shared female identity and sisterhood based on an unchanging, ahistorical female biological "essence" that mirrored and therefore sustained anti-feminist ideologies and inequitable gender structures.[29]

This critical disagreement began breaking apart what had to that date defined the core of feminist theory, and it is notable that this backlash against a shared identity occurred around the same time *Heresies* began publishing. The feminists behind *Heresies* sought to feature multiple perspectives by contributors who were eager to debate concepts like Essentialism, finding new pathways forward for feminist thought in the process.

[27] Jill Fields, "Frontiers in Feminist Art." 5.
[28] The rise and fall of Essentialism as a central focus of second-wave feminism is discussed in-depth in Garrard's *Feminist Art and the Essentialism Controversy* (1995) as well as Gouma-Peterson and Mathews' *The Feminist Critique of Art History* (1987). Sandell's *Female Aesthetics: The Women's Art Movement and Its Aesthetic Split* (1980) also effectively summarizes the shift in thought leaders' acceptance of central core imagery and Essentialism in the evolution of second-wave feminism.
[29] Jill Fields, "Frontiers in Feminist Art." 5.

Heresies came about as an offshoot of sustained efforts by second-wave feminists in the arts to assert their views in the public realm. Founding member Joyce Kozloff describes the collective's organizational goals by noting, "a group of us came together who had been around wanting to do something that didn't really exist based on ideas on art and politics...[we wanted to] be thematic, based around themes."[30] Kozloff notes that *Heresies* established a framework early on to ensure diverse opinions were exchanged by abiding by the process of consciousness-raising, which gave room to everyone to speak and be heard. "We used the consciousness raising format of going around the room and having everyone speak their mind about something," reflects Kozloff.[31]

The very title of the publication, *Heresies*, was a result of one of these process-driven brainstorming sessions. "'New truths begin as heresies,' noted Susan Sontag, whose observation suggested a possible name to a collective of feminist artists, critics, and historians who were meeting in a downtown Manhattan, brainstorming plans for a feminist art publication and school."[32] Thus a journal dedicated to the interconnected issues of feminism, art, and politics came to life. *Heresies* mother collective's earliest members included artists, critics and cultural icons Joyce Kolzoff, Mary Beth Edelson, Harmony Hammond, Lucy Lippard, Arlene Ladden, Elizabeth Hess, Mary Miss, Elke Solomon, Pat Steir, May Stevens, Marty Pottenger, Joan Snyder, Pat Steir, Michelle Stuart, Susana Torre, Sally Webster, Elizabeth Weatherford, Nina Yankowitz, and Joan Braderman.[33] The founding members of the mother collective had robust debates around their various perspectives around what defined feminism, but found they were

[30] Joyce Kozloff interview by the author, New York City, February 21, 2021.
[31] Kozloff interview, February 21, 2021.
[32] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126.
[33] Sabra Moore. "Chapter 3: We Must Have Theory & Practice & Many Meetings". *Openings: A Memoir from the Women's Art Movement, New York City 1970-1992*. (New York City: New Village Press, 2016.) 4.

often able to bond during weekend retreats held a few hours outside of New York City.[34] Rickey notes the disparities between reality and aspirations with *Heresies*, however, with her observations of the operating dynamics of the publication. "Despite the common ground of the socialist-feminist sympathies of many who belonged, the original collective had no women of color. And lesbian feminists, led by Harmony Hammond, had to struggle for inclusion."[35]

When discussing the topic of inclusion, it bears noting that the magazine's first four issues came from the minds of … "the 21 original members [who] dwelt on issues that arose from within the collective, and [then] word was put out through the grapevine to various other related artists. Art and politics...was deemed the first [issue topic.]"[36] Joyce Kozloff reminisced on how future issues came about. "Word was put out in the [current] issue [for contributions,]" remarked Kozloff, "and there were existing networks in the downtown [New York City] community that worked on these issues for the most part. Some of us had been in other feminist groups and we just wanted 'to do this thing' and were doing other kinds of things politically… at the end when an issue came out there was a publicly held meeting where the public could give feedback."[37]

Where feminist arts-related writings on the whole guided the philosophical conversation around women's positions in, this paper argues that three issues of *Heresies* in particular – issues #3 (*Lesbian Art and Artists*, 1977), #6 (*On Women and Violence*, 1978) and #8 (*Third World Women*, 1979) – each significantly advanced feminists' visibility as individuals. These issues allowed feminists space to claim their unique viewpoints as contributors to the wider feminist community. *Heresies* had a singular vision to expand its editorial voice to all women

[34] Kozloff interview, February 21, 2021.
[35] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126
[36] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 11.
[37] Kozloff interview, February 21, 2021.

regardless of class, race, political leanings and/or sexual orientation.[38] However, it must be repeated that this was an aim that the publication fell short of. Issue #8, published in 1979, marked an important milestone in making visible women of color who previously relegated to the margins of second-wave feminist publications, allowing them to assert their identities as stakeholders in this issue of the publication. The issue began by deploring the "racist and maternalistic"[39] attitudes of the all-white mother collective. Issue #8 provided a spectrum of women in the arts, as contributing writer and economist Julianne Malveaux contributed "Three Views of Black Women," which served as an analysis that was by turns cultural, statistical and personal. This essay explicitly included criticism of *Heresies* for exacerbating women of color's sense of otherness by consigning them to 'Special issues.'[40] For this, the *Heresies* mother collective needs to be acknowledged for recognizing its failings, and attempting to right its course as a result of criticisms, although the methods by which this was "achieved" can, and should, be readily debated.

As has been noted, the magazine's mother collective had to devote significant time to editing and publishing on a wide range of issues affecting feminists across arts and culture. They sourced community opinion and feedback after an issue was published,[41] and sought to hand over the reins of editorial vision to women whose backgrounds were not reflected in the mother collective's membership as a result of criticism from outspoken audiences. While navigating a lack of representation in the magazine's pages, acts such as providing a platform in specific issues to women whose backgrounds diverged from the mother collective's open exposed new problems and potential solutions. The latent tension between a woman's individual opinions and her role as a member of an editorial collective served to make an impact on these three issues'

[38] "Feminism, Art and Politics: Editorial Statement.*" Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Feminism, Art and Politics*, 1, no. 1. (January 1977.) 1.
[39] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art.* 29.
[40] "Third World Women: Editorial Statement." *Heresies.* 1.
[41] Kozloff interview, February 21, 2021.

overall aesthetic, as this tension often translated to powerful and evocative articles and visual arts contributions. “It was all about life,” reflects an audible voice off-screen from a roundtable featured in Joan Braderman’s film, *The Heretics*. “It was really all about women’s lives, … there’s so many stories in *Heresies*.”[42]

The focus of this research is on *Heresies* the publication and its eponymous mother collective as they indicate a shift away from group missives and toward writings elevating individual identities. Texts published in specific magazine issues will be analyzed for evidence of a new emphasis on centering individual perspectives.[43] *Heresies* as a self-published feminist magazine featured contributions by women visual artists, performers, writers, filmmakers, and activists setting forth critical theories of engagement within the context of late stage second-wave feminism, thus engaging in dialogue as feminists who came of age in many cases during the movement’s genesis a decade earlier.

As *Heresies* was circulated between 1977-1993, in its early days it served a major influence on late stage second-wave feminism ideology due to the significant weight of its critically well-received mother collective members, with powerhouses like art critic Lucy Lippard, Lesbian artist/curator and scholar Harmony Hammond, artist/activist and scholar Suzanne Lacy, and other recognizable feminist thought leaders helming the publication. This paper will dissect specific texts and key articles providing evidence of a critical shift in later second-wave feminism away from a collective identity to instead center experiences shared by

[42] Braderman, *The Heretics*. 1:10:00.
[43] One example of a group-produced text from the early 1970s is a “manifesto”: in this context, a text written by an individual for inclusion in a feminist publication is a recognizable departure from this type of group-generated writing.

individuals.[44] While the mother collective members of *Heresies* sought to insert themselves into the art historical canon (Fig. 1,) they used the publication as an experimental medium seeking to explore new formats for the spread of ideas from feminists situated across a spectrum of identities. This shift toward creating space for individual expression necessarily resulted in a robust questioning of some earlier feminist tropes of "core" imagery and Essentialist vocabulary, providing room for a more nuanced, though still problematic, understanding of women's identities as individuals.

Literature Review

This paper is situated within a field of study that has treated certain magazine issues published by *Heresies* with great interest[45] while all but ignoring other issues published during the magazine's duration. The scope of this paper presents an in-depth study of three specific *Heresies* issues - issue #3*: Lesbian Art and Artists* (1977), issue #6*: On Women and Violence* (1978) and issue #8*: Third World Women* (1979) – and both primary and secondary sources inform its findings. While analyzing these three particular issues, issue #3 emerged as the issue that received the most critical attention by researchers in the field. Tara Burk's groundbreaking scholarship[46] of *Heresies* issue #3 creates a framework through which *Heresies'* impact within the wider arts and culture landscape at the period can be examined. Burk's scholarship also explores the unique viewpoints of individual collaborators working collectively on this issue, providing a new lens through which Lesbian artists can be considered within a community while individually navigating their dual identities as artists and women.[47]

[44] Moving forward, these issues will be referred to primarily by their numerical issue designation (i.e.: Issue #3 for *Lesbian Art & Artists Heresies* issue.)
[45] *Heresies' Sex Issue* (1981), *Women's Traditional Arts –The Politics of Aesthetics* (1978) and *The Great Goddess* (1978) issues were each treated to substantial critical feedback.
[46] Tara Burk. "In Pursuit of the Unspeakable: "Heresies"' "Lesbian Art and Artists" Issue, 1977." Women's Studies Quarterly 41, no. 3/4 (2013.) 63.
[47] Burk, *In Pursuit of the Unspeakable,* 65.

Where existing literature is sparse regarding particular issues of *Heresies,* such as issues #6 and #8, there are ample secondary sources on the publication as a whole and its mother collective. Amy Tobin is one scholar examining *Heresies*[48] from a later generation of feminist scholarship, and she joined the ranks of *Heresies* contributor Mary D. Garrard[49] in leading the field of scholarship examining *Heresies* magazine's structure and impact. Tobin's rigorous examination of how feminists collaborated to manage organizations, such as the *Heresies*, reveals the various aspects that are embedded within feminist collaborative efforts and how utopian ideals can be weighed down by pragmatic realities.[50] Meanwhile, Garrard had an insider's view as an active contributor to *Heresies,* and she mounted an extensive survey of the state of the field of feminist art publications as part of a survey of essays outlining evolutions in second-wave feminist organizations and ideologies.[51]

Carrie Rickey contributes a pivotal essay on *Heresies* to Broude and Garrard's *The Power of Feminist Art,* comparing the grassroots initiative with other publications active during the 1970s and drawing attention to its unique structure and format.[52] Rickey's text is crucial in delineating aspects of *Heresies* that set it apart from other second-wave feminist publications, expressing how work can be viewed against that of other publications produced for feminist audiences. Rickey's text has also influenced other scholars when considering how *Heresies* served as a platform for diverse feminist contributors, including Judith Brodsky and Ferris Olin.

---

[48] Amy Tobin. "Heresies' Heresies: Collaboration and Dispute in a Feminist Publication on Art and Politics." Women 30 (3) (2019): 22.
[49] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 20.
[50] Tobin. "Heresies' Heresies." 24.
[51] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126
[52] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 127.

Another text compiled by Kristen Grimstad and Susan Rennie surveys the scene into which *Heresies* arrived. Their compendium featured feminist initiatives, and many projects featured were comprised of eventual contributors to and members of *Heresies*. Entitled *A New Woman's Survival Catalog*,[55] it spanned all regions of the United States and documented a specific moment in early 1970s feminist activities. Scholarship situating *Heresies* as a feminist-run, grassroots arts publication within a sphere of similar initiatives as captured in *A New Woman's Survival Catalog* makes evident the tightly linked connectionswhich joined together various bodies within a collective push for second-wave feminism in the arts and culture sector.[56]

Considering the impact of the mother collective members who were involved in leading *Heresies* also served to better contextualize the publication's reach across the feminist community. Scholars such as Barzman,[57] Rom, and Gouma-Peterson and Mathews[58] researched the practice of second-wave feminist artists and art theorists, including several members of the *Heresies* mother collective. Feminist artists including Suzanne Lacy and Andrea Bowers[59] contributed reflections on the movement of second-wave feminism through their dual lens as individual artists and as members of the movement. Meanwhile, Jayne Wark[60] provides insights into a conversation held by artists Martha Rosler, Adrian Piper,[61] Eleanor Antin and Martha Wilson on feminist performance art and conceptual approaches in second-wave feminism. The existing scholarship indicates that second-wave feminist artists were in constant dialogue with

---

[55] *Chrysalis* - a feminist publication co-founded by Rennie and Grimstad - was based in California, and pre-dated Heresies while sharing many of the same contributors.

[56] Many writers and critics of the time period, including Adrienne Rich, contributed to both Chrysalis and Heresies.

[57] Barzman, Karen-Edis. "Beyond the Canon: Feminists, Postmodernism, and the History of Art." The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 52, no. 3 (1994): 327-39. Accessed January 12, 2021.

[58] Gouma-Peterson, Thalia, and Patricia Mathews. "The Feminist Critique of Art History." The Art Bulletin 69, no. 3 (1987): 326-57. Accessed January 12, 2021.

[59] Bowers, Andrea, Suzanne Lacy, and Maria Elena Buszek. ""Necessary Positions" in Feminist Art: A Conversation." Art Journal 71, no. 1 (2012): 138-50. Accessed January 12, 2021.

[60] Wark, Jayne. "Conceptual Art and Feminism: Martha Rosler, Adrian Piper, Eleanor Antin, and Martha Wilson." Woman's Art Journal 22, no. 1 (2001): 44-50. Accessed January 12, 2021.

[61] Rosler and Piper were both *Heresies* contributors.

one another, impacting the themes of publications and collectives embraced by groups including *Heresies*.

Several critical exhibitions post second-wave feminism have drawn great attention to the movement at the national level. Randy Rosen's "Making Their Mark: Women Artists Move Into the Mainstream" highlighted the work of women artists active from the 1970s until 1985, several of whom participated in *Heresies*,[62] and "WACK!: Art and the Feminist Revolution," which toured to several art institutions in the 2000s, also shone a spotlight on women artists working during second-wave feminism, outlining their artistic practices, theoretical positions, and activism.[63]

The strength of any initiative is only as strong as the members and leaders who define it. The feminists whose tireless work as members of the mother collective who drove *Heresies* to success also represented *Heresies* to the wider field of feminist art history, indicating via their presence in important group exhibitions, conferences, protests and dialogues that they yielded extensive influence in the field of feminist art history and cultural production. Primary texts written by these mother collective members, including Lucy Lippard[64] and Harmony Hammond,[65] indicate the scope and range of thought *Heresies* members applied toward the publication and in dialogue with other second-wave feminist projects. Mother collective members such as Joyce Kozloff have contributed to research centering the publication via interviews[66] with scholars, such as Carrie Rickey,[67] and in oral histories and film.

---

[62] Mary Beth Edelson, Harmony Hammond and other *Heresies'* members are part of this catalog.
[63] Butler, Cornelia, and Lisa Gabrielle Mark. *WACK!: Art and the Feminist Revolution.* Los Angeles, CA: Museum of Contemporary Art, and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.
[64] See Lucy R. Lippard, "Activating Activist Art." *Circa*, no. 17 (1984): 11-17. Accessed June 21, 2021.
[65] See Hammond, Harmony. "Art History." *Art Journal* 55, no. 4 (1996): 78-79. Accessed June 21, 2021.
[66] Joyce Kozloff was also interviewed by the author in New York City in the course of preparing this paper.
[67] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 129.

Finally, mother collective member Joan Braderman produced the film, *The Heretics*,[68] which interviews feminists who had been part of the *Heresies* publication in various guises over the years. This resource of primary source material includes personal reflections, media archives and interviews, and serves as the single best introductory vehicle to *Heresies*. The film outlines the production and conceptual aspects of the publication, explaining how the mother collective operated and offering various perspectives from feminists who contributed to the publication's success over the years.

In researching existing literature around *Heresies*, it has been challenging to recognize that many aspects of the publication have not been recorded for posterity. Meetings held by the mother collective do not have minutes or documentation archived, meaning that the best way to gain insight into the publication's logistics is to find oral histories and interviews with mother collective members. As Joan Braderman recalls, "so much of what occurred during our meetings was private, intimate. No one brought a video camera. No wonder most of humanity has no idea what the second-wave was, and what it meant to thousands of women."[69]

In analyzing the primary research material provided on the *Heresies* collective, and the magazine's issues #3, #6 and #8, it has become evident that scholars who are contextualizing these issues' contents witness ideological shifts present from 1977-79 during the years in which these issues were produced. By reviewing the films, transcribed interviews, and recollections of mother collective members and contextualizing this information along with my own conversation with *Heresies* founding member Joyce Kozloff, a clearer picture emerges of the strength and resilience required to produce *Heresies* over the years through collective efforts.

[68] Braderman, *The Heretics*, 38:10.
[69] Braderman, *The Heretics*, 44:50.

Methodology

The research methodology employed in this paper centers feminism, an offshoot of critical (Marxist) theory. This methodology evinces a qualitative approach to sociopolitical and critical art theory. Its structure is firmly rooted in, and reliant on, second-wave feminist ideologies. The methodology of critical theory integrates forms of social critique examining race, gender, and sexual orientation, identifying how social structures either amplify or silence certain perspectives. In the case of this particular paper, scholarship focuses on second-wave feminist thought leaders. Coming into existence and reaching prominence during second-wave feminism, feminist critical theory examines how women artists reclaim agency as a social group by finding themes and topics relevant to women's importance in society, and by extension, their significance in arts and culture. By centering women, feminism produces new means of examining critical thought around art produced by women inclusive of feminist cultural production.

This research methodology is best suited to producing the scholarship necessary to digest how *Heresies* produced an impact on wider art history. This is due to the fact that it allows space for feminist thought to evolve and assert itself. This methodology also came into prominence during the period being examined in this research paper, making it intrinsically suitable to the research topic as presented in this paper. Feminism as an enduring methodology relied on artists and activists pushing for equality during this period, particularly as expressed during the period of later second-wave feminism. This late stage second-wave feminist philosophy anchors research produced here which situated perspectives presented in *Heresies* issues #3, #6 and #8. This paper eschews methodologies such as Formalism to instead examine thought patterns rooted in a re-examination of social structures, oppression and accepted norms

that gave rise to feminist art being accepted and even reclaimed throughout history and giving an expanded platform for feminist art to be examined on its own terms.

Findings, Chapter 1: Situating *Heresies* Issue #3, *Lesbian Art and Artists* (1977)

As *Heresies* evolved, positions in feminism changed: certain feminists began to question why some views were occluded or not regularly (and openly) addressed within the wider feminist community, including lesbianism. Harmony Hammond, a founding member of *Heresies*, formed the core of an editorial team assembled for issue #3 of the publication. Beginning from the very cover of *Lesbian Art and Artists* (1977) (Fig. 2) the team behind the issue made it clear their intention to chart the range of lesbian expression present in the feminist community, charting the mythical "Isle of Lesbos" as the main graphic representing the issue. The editors outline several key factors which confront their work and writing as women who identify as lesbian artists in a movement dominated by heterosexual women's viewpoints. In addition, the team behind the issues immediately specifies that they have been tasked to create an issue that could be subject to being considered 'tokenism', but saw fit to seize this as their chance to express their views in a safe space with other similarly identifying women artists. The editors note that they are tasked with presenting selected art and writings even though it is being consumed "...by an audience which has punished us for its very existence within it [the feminist community]."[70]

Harmony Hammond herself outlined the challenges of raising the fact that only lesbians would be involved in producing this issue. Hammond insisted upon this with fellow collective member Marty Pottenger to the rest of the collective. "When we began to do a call and we had a group of women who were going to be the editors of that issue, we decided that you

[70] Tobin, "Heresies' Heresies." 210.

must be a self-identified lesbian artist to be an editor of that issue… and when we brought that back to the mother collective, all… hell broke loose."[71] Other mother collective members protested that they would be excluded from working on the issue, but Hammond's arguments finally won out as she asserted a need for lesbians to have a safe.[72] Pottenger herself sums up this feeling of the need to assert one's identity in the pages of this issue when she reflects, "where do you go to be you?" By implication, if this issue wasn't the place where lesbians felt they could "be 'them'," [73] then what issue *was* the right issue?

From page two through to page five, members of the editorial collective shared personal reflections of their journey as lesbians and as artists. Some of these reflections are deeply personal, while others stated more general goals for what the issue could accomplish in the hands of the reader. "Initially I worked on the issue seeking a community to explore in depth the relationship of lesbianism to the artist," reflects contributor Betsy Damon, "and to discover what would happen if lesbian art and artists were brought together."[74] One particularly striking reflection in the "[notes] From the Lesbian Issue Collective" section of the issue is again from Betsy Damon, who notes that, "neither feminism nor lesbianism determine the form and content of my work, yet it was only with the security of the former and the coming to terms with the latter that ...my life and art became uniquely and overtly me."[75] As such, the artist is speculating that her practice really reached its potential when she began to realize that society's standards were separate from her own ability to accept and live her own life independent of these opinions.

---

[71] Braderman, *The Heretics*, 45:40.
[72] Braderman, *The Heretics*, 45:50.
[73] Braderman, *The Heretics*,, 46:30.
[74] "From the Lesbian Issue Collective." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Lesbian Art & Artists* 1, no. 3. (1977.) 2.
[75] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Lesbian Art & Artists* 1, no. 3. (1977.) 45.

Artist Marty Pottenger, another member of the editorial team leading this issue, similarly ruminates in this section that she, " wanted… an issue that challenges all my assumptions about lesbians and art...I wanted lesbians... [to find] glimpses of themselves here, as well as a sense of what is missing. What stories are still left untold?"[76]

So how does issue #3 begin to reveal the "stories still left untold", and what strategies does it use to take the reader on a journey through the rich tapestry of lesbian artists contributing to its pages? One way the issue seeks to highlight lesbian visibility in light of feminist's approach to re-examining historical precedent is an examination of lesbians who created art from earlier times. One such article centers on photographer Alice Austen, who was a pioneer of photography during the medium's earliest era at the turn of the 20th century (Fig. 3.) Austen's story is told by Ann Novotny, who traces her evolution as a technical photographer, noting her inquisitive nature about the world around her and about societal groups, such as families and gymnasium members.[77]

Novotny traces Austen's relationship with Gertrude Tate, giving their domestic life equal attention to the artist's own professional pursuits, and relating how Austen's work was resurrected in the 1950s to then be shared across a range of publications. "Oliver Jensen, known today as one of the founders of the American Heritage Publishing Company, not only published her [Austen's] photos in his own book but sold publication rights to *Life*, *Holiday,* and other national magazines."[78] While Novotny indicates that Austen's life was richer because of her two passions: her love for Tate and her intuitive knowledge of photography, Novotny makes it clear

[76] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies.* 45.
[77] Ann Novotny. "Alice Austen's World." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Lesbian Art & Artists* 1, no. 3. (1977.) 29.
[78] Ann Novotny. "Alice Austen's World." *Heresies*. 32.

that Tate is integral to Austen's legacy. This merging of the two aspects of Austen's life sets the foundation for exploring how later lesbian artists could tell their own stories as individual narratives: recounting their validity as artists and lesbian, within a larger existing framework of stories centering lesbian artists within their unique identities.

This detailed analysis of Austen's legacy as a photographer comes on the heels of the section entitled "The Tapes," edited by Louise Fishman. "The Tapes" marks snippets of a roundtable conversation that lesbian artists had with one another in the winter of 1977. These dialogues, rather than building a consensus around certain topics relevant to all lesbian artists who gathered for conversation, instead revealed the individuals who lived behind the designation of "lesbian." Some women had only "come out" as lesbian within the past four years, as "out" lesbians were rare during the socially conservative era of the 1950s. This disparity was so great that the group split into two separate sub-groups so that members could share within distinct cohorts.[79] By revealing the process by which these conversations evolved, in addition to findings such as how members of these groups became aware they identified as lesbian, readers were then able to better comprehend that actual individuals existed who were tied to these identities, like "lesbian". In this way, dialogues and structures were built encouraging members of groups to delve into how they experience this shared identity as an individual within that framework, bringing out personal qualities and reflections which remain buried when a group publishes a manifesto, for example. While this is not a hidden truth, it is only via publishing a range of individual contributions that diversity among a community becomes

[79] Louise Fishman, Ed. "The Tapes." Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Lesbian Art & Artists 1, no. 3 (1977.)15.

tangible. Turning the pages of issue #3, the reader comes into contact with this missive from a group calling themselves the "Lesbianartists": "We are soliciting material of all kinds, but in particular we are asking for responses to this question: What does being a lesbian artist mean to you?"[80] The responses to this call for individuals to weigh in on identity-making takes up twelve pages of the issue, forming nearly 10% of the magazine's contents. Among the respondents are poets, artists, weavers, and lesbian creators from many walks of life and locations, ranging from states including Minnesota and Oregon, south to Louisiana, and then north again all the way to New York City.

Her reflection was on her chosen artistic medium and how she seeks to explore her identity through the type of work she created."In my work I use marks...that spell out secrets, [and] the secrets are [usually just] hidden so well that sometimes I don't even see them myself... [I find] the secrets, the pain and happiness of loving women... still are the ...content for my work."[81]

In contrast, poet Melanie Kaye expresses her hope that the audience encountering this issue of *Heresies* is seeking similar validation when she speculates, "I assume the telling of my specifically lesbian experiences is useful since I find myself so hungry for details of others lesbians' relationships."[82] This insight is reinforced by the poem she has contributed in response to the call for submissions from "Lesbianartists," in which she states, "then describe your sensations / where else can we begin?"[83]

Where some artists shared the inner joy they felt at identifying as lesbian, others embraced how this identity gave them a wellspring of mixed emotions: feelings such as doubt,

[79] Louise Fishman, Editor. "The Tapes." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Lesbian Art & Artists* 1, no. 3. (1977.) 15.
[80] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Culture, Lesbian Art & Artists* 1, no. 3. (1977.) 38.
[81] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies.* 42.
[82] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies.* 43.
[83] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies.* 43.

despair, guilt and honesty.[84] By gaining insights into perspectives from multiple artists - feminists, lesbians based across the United States - about their range of emotions around identifying as artists and lesbians concurrently, the reality emerges that individuals have aspects of shared identities which they experience privately, and which belong only to them. It is this private sense of themselves as individuals that many of the respondents to this call for "Lesbianartists" seek to communicate, revealing themselves to the world and showing, individual by individual, the strengths and vulnerabilities inherent to the wider community of lesbian artists.

Driving home the impact of lesbian visibility, a survey of other publications providing lesbian perspectives on their pages during second-wave feminism provides a similar deeply personal range of responses from readers. Publications including allusions to lesbian members of second-wave feminist society often attracted gratitude and criticism in equal measure. One example in comparison to *Heresies* issue #3 is found in the publication *Our Bodies, Ourselves,* which was written as part of the onset of the second-wave feminist publishing rush in the early 1970s. The authors of this text note, "the most divisive issue that the collective struggled with in reader correspondence and revisions during the early years of the book's existence was lesbianism," an issue that divided many feminists in the 1970s.[85]

So many women wrote letters in response to the lesbian chapter that the new *Our Bodies, Ourselves* gave special thanks to the hundreds of women "all over the country telling about their experiences and asking for advice, news contacts, support."[86] Although many respondents were enthusiastic to see sexual identities other than heterosexuality addressed within

[84] "What Does Being a Lesbian Artist Mean to You." *Heresies.* 42.
[85] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." 71.
[86] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." 71.

this publication, many respondents also explicitly pushed for more material. "What I most wanted to comment on was the assumption of heterosexuality throughout the book," began the response from one reader, a woman named Barbara. "There is a way that even though lesbianism is acknowledged as an option for women, it is still ghettoized in the one chapter and male-female relationships become the norm throughout."[87]

Scholars writing about *Heresies* issue #3 commented on these passionate cries made along the issue's pages for recognition and validation by members of a community that did not always find content which spoke to their specific experiences. In particular, Tara Burk notes in her essay on this issue that it was, "itself a project of emerging culture and reveals the extent to which the issue was an attempt to reconcile the exigencies of lesbian feminism with the contemporary art world…establish[ing] a new conceptual space for lesbian cultural production."[88] Given the fact that this was the only issue of *Heresies* ever devoted to queer identities, it may come as no surprise that "overall the issue presents lesbian creativity in feminist terms as relational rather than an isolated product of individual genius."[89]

To Burk's point that this issue "encompasses collectivity and individualism,"[90] acknowledgement should be given to how groundbreaking it was to witness this many individual reflections existing all together on the same pages of a single issue of a feminist magazine. At this time in the 1970s, even heterosexual women were still advocating for their own rights in a society that frequently, overtly sexualized them: it is impressive that the number of lesbians willing to state their names and locations were featured across over a hundred pages of a single

[87] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." 72.
[88] Burke, *In Pursuit*. 63-64
[89] Burke, *In Pursuit.* 67.
[90] Burke, *In Pursuit.* 68.

magazine at the time.[91] Indeed, Burk remarks on the fact that Fishman's edited compilation of "The Tapes" lists responses according to subject matter so that those contributing these responses can remain anonymous. Burk makes it clear that once lesbians had "outed" themselves, they often faced hostility or confusion from other (heterosexual) feminists, specifically pointing to Irena Klepfiz's poem, "they're always curious," and the author's exasperation around explaining a lesbian perspective ad nauseam to other feminists.[92] Compounding this frustration, feminist lesbians had to tread a fine line when creating and sharing imagery around the lesbian experience. Most of the visual artworks contributed to issue #3 were abstract art. Works throughout the issue included paintings by Louise Fishman and Gloria Klein. This emphasis on subjectivity in painting, Burk argues, also aligns with key themes embedded within the issue that sought to draw attention tothe significance of personal history and intergenerationality.[93]

Analyzing the content produced on the pages of *Heresies* issue #3, three key aspects appear to define the intersection of lesbian artists' identity. First, these artists sought to situate themselves within an existing community of creative lesbians who paved the way for them throughout history. Secondly, it becomes apparent that women contributing to the pages of this issue were adamant about sharing their unique viewpoint as to how these dual identities – Lesbian/Artist – jointly defined who they were as individuals, often expressing that it was neither one nor the other that expressed their true nature, but a merging of the two together which situated their identity most accurately. Finally, these feminists sought to claim their own

[91] In both Braderman's film,"The Heretics,"as well as in Burk's essay, and even in the pages of issue #3 itself, there are multiple perspectives lamenting the fact that many Lesbian artists refused to contribute to this issue of *Heresies* out of anxiety and fear of "outing" themselves and the violence it would attract.
[92] Burk, *In Pursuit.* 69.
[93] Burk, *In Pursuit.* 74.

space within the wider community of feminism as a whole by asserting that they deserved to exert their individual identities across 100+ pages of a dedicated issue of a nationally circulated grassroots publication. The combination of contributions made by lesbian artists for this issue expresses a complexity and unrelenting honesty. This earnest approach to sharing personal journeys evinced an intensity with regard to subject matter: as Harmony Hammond recalls, "It was so tense because it mattered so much."[94]

Findings, Chapter 2: Situating *Heresies* issue #6, *On Women and Violence* (1978)

Heresies' issue #6 (1978) (Fig. 4) explores the effects of the internalized trauma that women experience due to the effects of sexual harassment and abuse. This issue focuses on the policy issues and social norms allowing pervasive violence against women, while giving space for women to examine violence through a feminist lens. In issue #6, the editorial collective begins the text by acknowledging their individual impulses for examining collective trauma that women experience in society. The issue begins with an examination of a woman's individual sense of power within the framework of existing power dynamics, noting, "the power of some individuals, whether a caseworker, a husband or a boss, and some institutions over others is culturally sanctioned and enforced."[95] The everyday social inequalities experienced by women as a result of implicit power dynamics benefiting men forms the core of this issue, and this theme is explored throughout the issue's pages from various perspectives.

In Issue #6, the Foreword provides clues for the reader as to why this topic took precedence for this issue of the magazine. The editorial group acknowledges that, "in one-to-one relations, most of us at times have felt in control, powerful: mothers over children, whores over

[94] Braderman, *The Heretics,* 47:50.
[95] "The 6th Issue Collective Statement." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence 2, no. 2. (1978.)* 1.

tricks…in a larger sense, however, this power is relative."[96] This observation about individual women and their experiences sets the tone for this issue to feature written reflections that women have submitted interrogating sexual violence and rape culture. Texts in this issue had titles such as "with no immediate cause" and "Rape Society," bringing attention to the sense that women are unsafe simply by existing in public. Individual perspectives featured within the issue bring topics related to this accepted sexual violence against women to light in visceral and personal ways.

Early in the issue, readers find "The Vicki Tapes," which features an interview with a young female gang member born and raised in New York City. "The Vicki Tapes" relies on first-person narration, giving the youth as an individual the chance to assert her lived experiences as recounted to an interviewer named Martine. Vicki is revealed to be a young girl growing up a lower-class urban resident in New York City's blighted urban neighborhoods of the 1970s. Her neighbors and family were often in and out of jail as a result of their participation in the city's gang culture. Vicki shares her experiences living with violence as a young woman who is part of this violent urban subculture in the 1970s. Her honesty in recounting her experiences is both refreshing and heartbreaking.

As a young mother and a woman of color experiencing violence as central to her everyday life, Vicki is unapologetic and practical about navigating these aspects of her life. She bluntly discusses her efforts to make the best of a situation in which violence and uncertainty determine her daily routines. Vicki's story brings the reality of a young, single mother navigating New York City's gang culture to reality for someone unfamiliar with this world. Her frank

[96] "The 6th Issue Collective Statement." *Heresies.* 1.

explanations around losing friends at a young age, having fights with other women, being a single mother in her teens, and being "street married" to a gang leader, unsupervised, all drive home the fact that women of all ages and backgrounds experience life as sexualized objects navigating violence.

Articles in the issue review the particular challenges faced by women living in urban environments. The everyday phenomenon of street harassment colloquially known as cat calling, is addressed in the article, "Wolf Whistles and Warnings" (Fig. 5). This article by contributor Pam McAllister confronts the blatantly sexist encounters women walking outside experience daily, such as being told by male strangers that they are attractive and that they should "smile." These inappropriate encounters are analyzed for what they truly are: flagrant exhibitions of power structures that oppress women. Notes McAllister, "Public harassment in the guise of simple friendliness - for all its superficial harmlessness - needs to be exposed as the manipulative expression of power that it ultimately is."[97] The author continues:

> The operative element again here is the woman's body: who is allowed to comment on it, reflect on it and the objectification of the person attached to this feminine body by men emboldened to do so by a lack of consequences societyenacts on them for these actions."[98]

The author is remarking on this common ground - the feeling women have when men take the license to commenting on their bodies – as both a shared experience but also deeply personal to each woman. The central topic of discussion in this article, and throughout the issue, is the gendered violence enacted upon women's bodies and how this violence is felt on a

[97] "Vicki Tapes." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 8.
[98] "Wolf Whistles and Warnings." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 37.

personal level. This personal pain is compounded by society's overall disinterest in examining ways to better protect women's safety and health.

Diane Solomon's "Afternoon Stroll" is one such tale of a woman sacrificing her safety in order to make a living. The text recreates the encounter between a woman and her harasser: the author encounters a man who previously raped her, and this incident marks the beginning of Solomon's story. The essay recounts the narrator's experiences as a sex worker in the city, and framing her experiences through an exploration of the various types of cars she comes across. This deflection to considering the bodies of cars around her serves as a means ofexploring her inner landscape of emotions. Typically, sex workers in New York City would beexpected to enter a car to perform their duties, and Solomon here notices the bodies of the cars surrounding her on the city streets as a commentary on bodies as entitieswhich are briefly inhabited.

Throughout this essay, the protagonist frequently alludes to cars as vehicles that are inhabited and then vacated in turn: an action that can serve as a powerful metaphor for sex work. The mention of the cars is compounded throughout the text by the sadness that the author feels when she sees cars. The narrator frequently alludes to this morose attitude throughout the text, and her anger at being used by the men around her for sex is palpable. The narrator also brings up the reality of crying in public repeatedly. Solomon's casual remark in the story when she demurs, "with equally off-handed practicality I got rid of him [the rapist],"[99] indicates both her sense of defeat and her world-weariness about navigating society as a sex worker. Her lack of ability to move through the city without encountering some reminder of the fact that her body and her person lacks value becomes the key takeaway from the story.

[99] Diane Solomon, "Afternoon Stroll." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence*. 2, no. 2. (1978.) 98.

An equally damning indictment of women's inability to find justice in society for men's crimes against their bodies is "Rape Case Deposition," a text contributed to the issue by Elaine McCarthy. McCarthy's text is a re-telling of one woman's experience reporting her rape to the police. In this encounter, it becomes clear to the woman in question that the burden of proof for finding and accusing her attacker is laid out as her responsibility. The police make it clear that she is responsible for performing the labor not only of reliving her experience for law enforcement, but she is also expected to provide details around her attacker: what he was wearing, whether he had weapons on his person, how he approached her, and what he looked like. This experience stresses that the emphasis is on the victim to recount her moment of trauma in great detail, even though police make the implication that they don't intend to look for her attacker anyway.[100]

The woman in question explains that if she sees her attacker that she will kill him, with the male police officers demurring and telling her that he doesn't deserve any violence enacted upon his body.[101] McCarthy's text ends with the words, "Sign here." This dismissive indication that the victim's story was recorded but is likely to be just one in another pile of signed papers reveals the reality of the scenario: that this woman's plight is just one in hundreds of other open cases: one in a pile of untouched criminal acts, with the police allowing the violence to continue and demonstrating a lack of will to "change the whole…system."[102]

Heresies' mother collective members themselves recognized the importance of addressing this topic from an early point in the publication's history. "The *On Women and Violence* issue was absolutely essential," notes *Heresies* member Susanna Torre, "[it's essential]

---

[100] Elaine McCarthy. "Rape Case Deposition." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 103.
[101] Elaine McCarthy. "Rape Case Deposition." *Heresies.* 103.
[102] Elaine McCarthy. "Rape Case Deposition." *Heresies.* 103.

to talk about these things and to bring them up into the consciousness of the entire society, not just ourselves, before other things could happen."[103] Torre's remark highlights the fact that members of the collective sought to actively pursue societal change through an investigation of how women are treated uniformly as less important than me. *Heresies* allowed space for women to share their experiences, therefore allowing their truths to be validated by a wider audience. These women's individual experiences highlighted a common theme: that society privileged men's intentions over women's bodies. Each feminist contributing to issue #6 owned their own story, and was able to share as much and as little of it as they wanted since they were writing these contributions on their own terms. This stood as a direct contrast to the example of how the police expected a rape victim to give them all the details so they could purportedly "help" her, while adding her story to a pile of other similar scenarios that were neglected and unaddressed.

As indicated by Torre's remarks, acts of publishing texts by individuals in *Heresies* gave space for victims of sexual violence to assert their experiences and to find validation for their traumatic encounters. Contributions such as the rape case story, or articles seeking out support for legislation that would protect women who had been sexually assaulted, were only the beginning of this push for women to have rights as autonomous members of society. A large contingency of feminist writings published during the period of second-wave feminism dealt with issues related to bodily autonomy for women. As noted in Gilmore's *Feminist Coalitions:*

> Why talk about rape exclusively in an art gallery when you could still be attacked on the way home? Artists were not simply trying to draw attention to social issues; they hoped, in a manner now dismissed as utopian to have a measurable effect on the situation.According to Faith Ringgold, "It was a time

[103] Braderman, *The Heretics*. 1:16:50

> when people really thought they could change the world, as different from now as night is from day. Today people just feel like they can't do anything. Then, we believed that an individual in consort with Other persons could change the world.""[104]

Women were hyper-aware of how society viewed their body as a space for commentary as opposed to viewing women as individuals with agency. Feminists frequently invoked this power imbalance by pushing the body as an active medium through which they commented on this injustice by performing or protesting sexual violence. By performing art in dialogue with women's rights in society, feminists were bringing even more attention to the intersection between the personal and the political.

Second-wave feminists embraced performance art as a means of reinforcing women's bodies as a space to claim agency. One example of an artist envisioning the body as a space to claim power is noted in *The Power of Feminist Art* in the performance work of Carolee Schneeman. "Schneeman's *Interior Scroll*, first performed in 1975, overhauls the myth of the stupid, weak or powerless beauty. Schneemann undraped herself… and stood naked on a platform defining the contours of her body with paint. Gently and gradually, she unraveled from her vagina a ten-foot-long scroll made of intricately folded papers."[105] The text continues, "Schneeman placed her scroll in "Vaginal space" and removed it from there, thus giving female genitals a public and spiritual voice."[106] Schneeman was a contributor to *Heresies*,[107] and her performance *Interior Scroll* was a defining moment in second-wave feminism and aligned with the writings in issue #6 which elevated women's bodies as sites of autonomy and power.

---

[104] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." 269.
[105] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 192.
[106] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 192.
[107] Schneeman contributed to *Heresies* issue #5: *The Great Goddess* (1978.)

Further evidence of second-wave feminist performance art as a medium for addressing trauma is included in issue #6 of *Heresies*. Mother collective member Suzanne Lacy recalls a performance she worked on with artists Judy Chicago, Sandra Orgel, and Aviva Rahmani that was entitled *Ablutions.* This performance dealt expressly with the theme of rape, and the artists set out to, "convince the audience of the reality of the problem [of rape], and to initiate a cultural context that would allow women to speak out about sexual assault."[108] Similar to Schneeman's embrace of the body as space for dialogue around empowerment or exclusion of women in society, the artists presenting *Ablutions* asserted their bodies performing actions into the space with an audience who heard recordings of rape victims recounting their experiences. Two of the artists bathed themselves in egg shells, then blood, and finally in clay. As the performance continued, two of the clothed performers restrictively wrapped the stage. At the conclusion of the performance, the audience heard the repeated phrase, "and all I could do was just lie there…"[109]

This performance was followed by a conversation between the artists and the audience discussing how society judges women's bodies. These discussions emphasized the individual's agency in owning one's own story and reclaiming power as a victim of sexual violence back from the aggressor. Lacy explicitly states that performances that *Ablutions,* and her later *One Woman Show,* were "created as a framework for the expression of multiple voices."[110] Thus, issue #6 of *Heresies* can also be viewed as a platform for individuals to validate their experiences. When women artists produce work around their individual power as women, they inhabit the dual identities as women and as artists and assert that both of these identities are deserving of respect.

---

[108] Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz. "Evolution of a Feminist Art." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 79.
[109] Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz. "Evolution of a Feminist Art." *Heresies.* 80.
[110] Suzanne Lacy and Leslie Labowitz. "Evolution of a Feminist Art." *Heresies.* 81.

Society's tendency toward reducing a woman into a mere commodity is best reflected in Claire Pajaczkowska's "Editorial" (Fig. 6): providing the statement that "the representation of the housewife as her function within the world… [shows that] the image of the housewife becomes the commodity on sale."[111] Pajaczkowska goes on to ask provocative questions around women's rights to militarize in order to defend themselves, and whether women are allowed to fight violence with violence. The artist proceeds to question how women perpetuate patriarchal structures while calling attention to the mental health impact that violence against women holds for female members of society.[112] The artist's submission, which integrates graphics with text, captures the feeling of an advertisement and conceptually and formally investigates women's roles in society. The artist is reflecting on whether feminists are subjects, or objects, in their own narratives.

Issue #6 incorporates a range of viewpoints which reveals that sexual violence is experienced inside the homes of women from lower classes to upper class backgrounds, and every woman in between.[113] The fact laid bare is that sexual violence affects everyone and it is stressed that where individual women joined together in order to seek out results through collective action, coalitions were formed. Maria Bevacqua explored coalitions… within the anti-rape movement, tracing feminists who moved across racial and political lines to bring the issue of rape to the public fore. Rather than seeing only "separate roads to feminism," Bevacqua suggests that feminists met and coalesced at important intersections, arguing that rape was one of these points - an issue that affected all women irrespective of race, class or political

[111] "Editorial." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 72.
[112] "Editorial." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, On Women and Violence.* 2, no. 2. (1978.) 72.
[113] See "The Vicki Tapes" in *Heresies* issue #6 and compare it against the contribution, "Hello New York" on page 95, revealing testimony submitted during a Hartford, CT Public Hearings on Battered Women.

perspective.[114] When it came to women's bodies and their individual experiences as women navigating society's imbalance of power, coalitions helped to steer a path forward to demand better laws governing women's bodily autonomy.

Findings, Chapter 3: Situating *Heresies* issue #8, *Third World Women* (1979)

A revolutionary burst of energy lined the pages of Heresies issue #8 (Fig. 7). This issue offered space for an editorial collective of feminists of color to take the helm. For the first time, these feminists would ensure that their voices were heard en masse in an issue of *Heresies*. The editors of this issue included Lulu Mae Blocton, Yvonne A. Flowers, Valerie Harris, Zarina Hashmi, Virginia Jaramillo, Dawn Russell and Naeemah Shabazz. Their opening statement stands out strongly as a study of contrasts: the women claimed their right to exclusively provide perspectives from women of color in the issue while simultaneously making clear how these perspectives differed significantly from the viewpoints of the publication's mother collective. In this manner, editors of issue #8 set themselves at a distance from the mother collective by explaining their disappointment in the lack of diversity that *Heresies* exhibited at the highest level of leadership. They pointed to the all-white mother collective directing the publication as a direct example of how feminists of color had to continually navigate oppressive frameworks embedded in society, even among a community of other feminists.

The issue began with a contribution by artist Howardena Pindell, who used satire to situate the views of a feminist artist of color within the wider world of feminism.[115] Pindell reflected on various experiences she had throughout her career, including an interaction with a white male art critic who attended her show at A.I.R gallery in 1973 and told her how relieved

[114] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." 10.
[115] Howardena Pindell,"Criticism/Or/Between the Lines." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 2.

he was that her work was good even though she was a Black artist.[116] Pindell sets the stage for feminists who navigated the feminist movement as artists of color to reveal a full range of encounters that they experienced in the art world as a result of their identity.

Moving through the issue, contributors took turns explaining how their identities necessarily determined critical reception of their work while also outlining how some oppressive behaviors were not experienced the same by all feminists. These points are covered in contributions from Chicana artist and critic Marcella Trujillo,[117] activist and actor Dr. Rosemari Mealy,[118] and in a poignant and powerful essay by Yvonne A. Flowers entitled, "On Never Quite Being Good Enough: Legal Institutional Racism, Sexism and Elitism."[119] Flowers begins her essay with a quotation from Audre Lorde's *Litany for Survival* posing the point, "we were never meant to survive."[120] The author continues by observing how society holds women of color to an impossible standard. "The message is always, "you're not good enough...but who designed...the very ruler you are measured by?" Reflected Flowers. "White men," she concurs.[121] Flowers goes on to investigate the ways in which Black women in the arts are judged by a standard which they can never truly achieve, noting that even if a woman comes close to meeting certain criteria, they are always subject to being assessed according to some other standard previously not stated to them. Flowers speculates, "and, if one happens to meet the criteria, that is still also no insurance for facts [sic] can be distorted [and] criteria ignored."[122]

Another feature unique to this issue is a multi-part investigation of Black, Asian and Latina activists working in the wider feminist community. This four-part series produced by

[116] "Howardena Pindell,"Criticism/Or/Between the Lines." *Heresies.* 2.
[117] Marcella Trujillo."The Dilemma of the Modern Chicana Artist and Critic." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 5.
[118] Dr. Rosemari Mealy. "Some Reflections on Black Women and Film." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 28.
[119] Yvonne A. Flowers, "On Never Quite Being Good Enough: Legal Institutional Racism, Sexism and Elitism." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 31.
[120] Yvonne A. Flowers, "On Never Quite Being Good Enough." *Heresies.* 31.
[121] Yvonne A. Flowers, "On Never Quite Being Good Enough." *Heresies.* 32.
[122] Yvonne A. Flowers, "On Never Quite Being Good Enough." *Heresies.* 32.

Valerie Harris is titled "Power Exchanges," and spotlights four feminists of color working in the arts. These exchanges present conversations with women who share their own unique viewpoints across visual arts, theater and activism. Throughout the series, these feminists explore their experiences and projects as women of color navigating the art world.[123] By offering a platform to these feminists to reflect on their own positions relative to the so-called "mainstream" of feminist art, many corollaries could be drawn from their individual reflections. "If I get in the New York Times," reflects one contributor, Camille Billops, "I know what that means. I'm very tired of being an invisible person."[124] This common lament, that artists and creatives of color were putting substantial effort into their work only to find it being recognized within an echo chamber, is especially poignant when recognized as a pervasive lament throughout various contributions to the issue. Billops' viewpoint echoes many of her contemporaries and was included in this issue by way of an invitation from Harris to share her experiences. In this way, one individual member of the editorial team - Harris - chose to expand her platform to incorporate even *more* individual reflections, emphasizing the importance of giving space to as many perspectives from feminists of color as much as possible.

Proving itself truly as a site for great minds to expound on the topic of *Third World Women*,[123] further contributors to this issue included notable artists and cultural producers such as Adrian Piper, Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, Ana Mendieta, Erlene Stetson, and others. The feminists involved were not always in the arts - one contributor, Julianne Malveaux, was an economist who used her essay to bring awareness to the entrenched negative manner in which

[121] For context, the women interviewed are Chris Choy, Barbara Ann Teer, Suni Paz, and Camille Billops.
[122] Valerie Harris, "Power Exchange 4: Camille Billops." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 117.
[123] Where today we might use the term "Global South," "Third World" was the self-designated term used by the editorial collective to produce this essay in 1978, thus it was a self-applied term proposed and accepted by the women of color in the editorial collective for this issue.

society presented Black women.[124] Malveaux's contribution begins with a list of the unflattering ways in which Black women were represented in the media, pointing out TV programs that depicted them as fat, lazy, and immoral. She then specified that this media portrayal in actuality sets the tone for generations of television viewers. Malveaux argues that it is not only large corporate media companies perpetuating this stereotype, as she also dissects the performative aspects of being a Black woman artist within second-wave feminism itself, noting:

> We are Black women, dichotomies who beg
> to move beyond the myths... to discuss, to search,
> to grow. But we are the grist for special issues
> of magazines: for the Heresies, the Off Our Backs,
> the Sojourner...we, Black women, must define our
> image, not have it foisted upon us."[125]

Malveaux's clear and concise ability to cut through expectations of a group of women who were depicted as undesirable in the media landscape draws attention to how Black women were viewed as inferior continually through the lens of pop culture and society at large. Individuals contributing to this issue sought to subvert the negative stereotypes and to instead provide evidence of the richness of individual expression Feminists of color offered to society as women and as artists.

Erlene Stetson, in "A Note on the Woman's Building and Black Exclusion," addresses an article published in a previous *Heresies* issue[126] by author Terree Grabenhorst-Randall on "the Woman's Building," a building representing women's industries in the 1892 Columbian Exposition in the United States. This building was touted as a triumph of feminist efforts by Grabenhorst-Randall, but Stetson specifies that there was no opportunity for women of color to see themselves represented within this building as part of the Exposition. In pointing to

[124] Malveaux's full essay title is, "Three Views of Black Women: The Myths, The Statistics and a Personal Statement."
[125] Julianne Malveaux. "Three Views of Black Women: The Myths, The Statistics, and a Personal Statement." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 50.
[126] Grabenhort-Randall's essay appears in *Heresies* issue #4: *Women's Traditional Arts, the Politics of Aesthetics.*

exclusion, Stetson is also making it clear how women of color were not only omitted from feminist dialogue in the 1890s, but clarifies that this exclusion was still perpetuated by recent scholarship within second-wave feminism and even within *Heresies* itself.[127]

To stress her point, Stetson elaborates out that women of color were not only excluded from this women's exhibition in the Exposition, but that their voices were actively co-opted by white women:

> White women represented [countries] such as Japan, Morocco, Egypt and Mexico [at the Columbia Exposition.] More significantly, Black women were specifically excluded, and hereinlies a tale of Anglo-American racism …I hope to direct this essay [instead] toward the full and rich Black women's history.[128]

With this emphatic pivot from recognizing exclusion to focus instead on elucidating early Black histories in emancipated communities throughout the United States, Stetson outlines how Black women found their power in organizing. Stetson educates the reader about the Atlanta Congress of Colored women's unprecedented inaugural gathering later that decade. She also further outlines its impact on realizing the first annual meeting of the National Federation of Afro-American Women that was held in Washington D.C. in 1896.[129] By shifting away from a rebuttal against white feminists by instead centering Black women's strength in organizing against exclusion, Stetson showcases the power held by individual women of color who joined forces in order to demand change.[130]

---

[127] Issue #4 of *Heresies*, which contained Grabenhorst-Randall's essay, was published less than a year before Stetson's article was printed.

[128] Erlene Stetson. "A Note on the Woman's Building and Black Exclusion." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 45

[129] Erlene Stetson. "A Note on the Woman's Building. *Heresies.* 45

[130] One example was Miss Brown's organization of the National Federation of Afro-American Women in the 1890s.

In addition to the essays, poetry, and historical analyses presented throughout this issue, visual art was presented in dialogue with the topic as well. One such artwork is a contribution by Cuban-American artist Ana Mendieta. The work was from her "Silhuetas" series of photography (Fig. 8.) The particular "Silhueta" shared in this issue shows an indentation of the artists' body in the ground, with a dark outline marking where she had been lying on the earth. In this work, the artist evokes the impression of a body, such as one finds at a burial site or at a scene of a crime. A halo of repeated handprints encircles the figure's outline, evoking holy Christian iconography.[132] The grass expands outward from the figure, with only the figure's outline and the circle of handprints breaking the continuity of the surrounding environment. Mendieta's work framed important questions about seeing and being seen. The artist is placing a memory of her own body out in the open, asking how bodies are valued in society both when they are present and when they are absent from the conversation.

Another article examines racial profiling in the context of America's history of war and conflict. Japanese-American contributor Motoko Ikeda-Spiegel's "Concentration Camps in the U.S.A." forcefully emphasized for *Heresies* readers that exclusion on the basis of color and ethnicity continued to plague American society. Ikeda-Spiegel outlines in painstaking detail her family's experience of forced displacement after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. After the attack, Japanese-Americans within the United States were taken away from their homes and placed into ethnic camps in remote regions of the Western United States against their will. Her personal experience provides a moving essay for readers of *Heresies*.[134] Ikeda-Spiegel reflects not only the

[132] The artist was raised Roman Catholic, but also experienced Santeria, an Afro-Cuban folk religion, during her childhood in Cuban. Santeria frequently borrows imagery from Catholic iconography..
[134] When this article was published in *Heresies* Issue #8, this displacement of the Japanese-American population had occurred less than 40 years prior.

time she and her family were forcibly sent away from their homes, she also recalls returning to Western United States, the region where her family was forcibly held prisoner, during a road trip across the United States as an adult. “Standing there on the spot of the camp 20 years after it happened, looking across the land, I could not believe I had spent three years there, confined behind barbed wire and sentry towers.”[135] Her powerful reflections on this period of forced encampment, interspersed with excerpts from laws published during the time, emphasized the fact that racism is dangerous to one’s own existence as a citizen living in the United States.

As evidenced throughout the content surveyed in issue #8, this issue marked an important milestone in making visible women of color who keenly felt how invisible they were in society. While Black women took on many of the editorial responsibilities of the issue, it was not only African-American artists expressing their dejection that white feminist hegemony contined to take precedence when it came to the visibility of feminism in a wider social context. Artist Ana Mendieta made this perspective explicit in a catalog essay for an exhibition she curated during for A.I.R., where she remarked that “As women...came together in the Feminist Movement with the purpose to end the domination and exploitation of the white male culture, they failed to remember us [women artists of color].”[113] *Heresies* produced issue #8, and one later issue titled *Racism is the Issue*,[136] which were both exclusively devoted to providing a platform around the intersection of feminism and race relations in the United States. Critics continued to assert that

[135] Ikeda-Spiegel, Motoko. "Concentration Camps in the U.S.A.." *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics, Third World Women.* 2, no. 4. (1979.) 92.
[136] “Racism is the Issue” was the 15th published issue of *Heresies: A Feminist Publication on Art and Politics.*

the publication needed to do more to make their leadership reflective of the diversity present on the pages.

Heresies was far from the only publication receiving criticism for its lack of representation in the field of feminist literature. *Ms. Magazine,* the premier publication of second-wave feminism founded by Gloria Steinem, also received feedback from women of color pointing out that they did not see their stories reflected across its pages. *In Feminist Coalitions*, Gilmore notes that, "when readers felt left out from the magazine's *(Ms.)* contents and perspectives they responded with dismay and outrage….one twenty-four-year-old African-American woman wrote that she wanted to hear from black women other than the famous 'June Jordan and Alice Walker.'"[137] The editors were forced to receive this criticism due to the very tenets that *Ms. Magazine* had set forth, as the founder, "Steinem... promised that the magazine would speak to 'all women, everywhere,'…would move beyond old divisions with its new vision of sisterhood: a vow that was certainly not always realized. Significantly, however, readers did attach themselves to the promise [that *Ms*. was] a place where a myriad of feminist voices, including their own, were included."[138] This insistence upon space for women of color required labor to be performed by these same women in order to have these exclusions corrected. Thus publications became a space for the continuation of battles for representation that second-wave feminists of color found themselves fighting in various guises throughout the movement's duration. Feminist movements often flourished due to the hard work that women of color put into holding demonstrations and protests to demand change for underserved communities. As part of these communities, these women often performed the labor for feminist activist actions, while white women were frequently held up in the media spotlight as the movement's figureheads. As

[137] Gilmore. *Feminist Coalitions*. 54.
[138] Gilmore. *Feminist Coalitions*. 55.

noted in Feminist Coalitions:

> The voices of feminists of color (bell hooks, Gloria Anzaldua, Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Cherrie Moraga, Bernice Johnson Reagon, Patricia Collins, and Barbara Smith - to name only a few) made a compelling case that in reality human beings always embody multiple sources of identity-not only race, class and gender but also an endless list ... their work echoed Sojourner Truth's reputed cry, "aren't I a woman?" in demanding a more capacious understanding of gender capable of incorporating diversity.[139]

In this sense, issue #8 of *Heresies* was not produced within a cultural vacuum; rather, its contents provided further evidence of the struggle for women of color endured to feel recognized within the social movement of second-wave feminism.

Conclusion

Heresies was a publication offering space for a diverse body of feminist cultural producers working during later stage second-wave feminism to express unique viewpoints in dialogue with an engaged audience. The issues outlined in this paper stimulate active discussion around what constituted topics relevant during second-wave feminism during the late-1970s. The dialogues in issues #3, #6 and #8 formed a cross-section of the wider second-wave feminism movement, as the themes covered in each issue were a direct result of the listening meetings which the *Heresies* mother collective held to solicit community feedback.[140] The editorial collectives who were selected to produce each issue were responsible for capturing a wide range of expressions around a central topic. Contributions to each issue spanned media including photography, printmaking, poetry and academic essays. *Heresies* as a publication walked the fine line between activism and artistic expression, individualism and coalition building.

[139] Gilmore, "Feminist Coalitions." viii.
[140] Interview with Joyce Kozloff and the author, February 21, 2021.

As *Heresies* emerged, publishing its first issue in 1977, its issues began right as the backlash against earlier Essentialist philosophies of feminism began to reach fever pitch. Mother collective members were caught up in heated dialogue around core imagery and Essentialism, with Lucy Lippard and Mary D. Garrard fighting to preserve Essentialism's legacy as a key tenet of earlier second-wave feminism.[141] Meanwhile, other contributors to *Heresies* argued just a s passionately against Essentialist ideologies by asserting their right to claim identities that they did notnecessarily share with all women.[142] Thus, *Heresies* is culturally significant as a documentrelating to this broader, movement-wide shift toward a more inclusive lexicon of second-wave feminist imagery.

Artwork presented on the pages of *Heresies* largely deviated away from the earlier second-wave feminist focus on women's sexual organs and toward a wider range of what imagery was accepted in art by feminists.[143] Where fractures in later second-wave feminism were found to exist along lines of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and class, another new division was confronting *Heresies* - and the greater feminist community – that of visual identity. Lippard, perhaps the most recognized art critic associated with second-wavefeminism, did criticize the legacy of Essentialism while recognizing that shared qualities that feminists have in common were critical to coalition building. In this sense, the earlier ideologies uniting women under core images in art were, Lippard argued, needed in order to advance the movement.

[141] Mary D. Garrard, "FEMINIST ART AND THE ESSENTIALISM CONTROVERSY." *The Centennial Review* 39, no. 3 (1995): 468-92. Accessed April 3, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23739358. 477.

[142] See Chapters 1, 2 and 3 of this paper for evidence of this resistance to being labeled as a feminist purely according to universal standards of identity and shared iconography.

[143] As one example, *Heresies' Lesbian Art & Artists* issue (1977) primarily featured abstract art that was not in dialogue with sexual images and/or body core imagery.

While connections linking women to one another helped to bridge the differences separating women from joining together, it is also key to recognize the oppression experienced by lesbian artists, artists of color and other artists excluded by mainstream feminist ideas of Essentialism, rather than dismissing oppression as the same phenomenon equally experienced by all women.

It's also important to note that when situating *Heresies* within the field of second-wave feminist literature in its entirety that "despite its uneven quality, it [*Heresies*] is the best document of the evolution of feminist art thinking, from 1977 to 1993."[144] This uneven aspect of the publication was also, in a sense, a reflection of the disparate communities engaging with late stage second-wave feminism. Feminists themselves noticed that a sea change had occurred in the movement from its earlier sense of solidarity toward a more disparate set of ideas coalescing under the umbrella of late stage second-wave feminism. *Heresies* collective members certainly noticed these fissures emerging within the movement, and Braderman's film, *The Heretics*, follows the trajectory of a movement divided against itself. "Film historian Joan Braderman despaired of articulating a coherent feminist theory of art and politics at a time when 'the women's movement seems to have nearly as many political lines as there are women in it.'"[145]

Perhaps most critically, the magazine's mother collective envisioned the publication to act as a safe space to address any topic, no matter how trenchant or taboo. This representation of

[144] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 192.
[145] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 192.

disparate ideas were protected in order to connect with a wide range of audiences and to allow them to see their concerns reflected in the pages of *Heresies*. In this regard, while the magazinewasn't the only publication seeking to highlight women's issues, there is countless evidence supporting how *Heresies* touched on niche issues in an in-depth way that other publications didn't. These impassioned explorations into one specific theme per individual issue sought to give a voice to women's concerns in-depth in a manner that could influence the wider feministcommunity.

As a result of this concentrated examination of topics, *Heresies* exerted a formative impact as a publication in a way that other more generalized publications did not. Issues of *Heresies* gave a platform for scholars and artists to present their individual perspectives on a central theme to their peers and fellow activists beginning in the late 1970s. By spending one hundred plus pages on a core theme, each issue allowed readers to gain insights into how feminists with different class backgrounds, ethnic identities and sexual orientations approached specific problems confronting the community.

While *Heresies* is acknowledged to have a mixed legacy when it comes to advancing marginalized voices from the wider feminist community, the diversity that was presented in the pages of this second-wave feminist publication offered artists active in publishing these issues the ability to edit and present their work as they saw fit. As mentioned, issue #8 of *Heresies* was organized and edited exclusively by feminists of color, allowing the magazine's contents to reflect their own voices. It is a recognized fact that the founding group behind *Heresies* did not have women of color, as is evidenced by the range of scholarship testifying to this fact. These founders did step back and support the production of issue #8 logistically as they did every issue

of themagazine, while allowing the collective directing the issue to maintaincomplete creative control. The complexity of this power dynamic must be recognized, and the tension existing between feminists from different backgrounds in large part played into howfeminists of color gained ground in later waves of feminism in the late 20th and early 21stcenturies.

This range of perspectives also reflected a wider coalition of women from diverse communities who had joined forces early on in second-wave feminism to fight for social change. As noted in the text edited by scholar Stephanie Gilmore, "the narrative of the women's movement as composed predominantly of white and middle-class women prevails and persists in spite of volumes of scholarship to the contrary."[146] Where these coalitions representing feminist of a range of backgrounds sought to come together, change was realized. It is this model of coalition building and collaboration which inspired *Heresies*: showing that its roots were in the same diverse coalition-building mindset it sought to reflect, although it admittedly fell short according of goals which the collective set forth in the Foreword of the magazine's first issue.[147]

An aspect of coalition-building also occurred during every *Heresies* mother collective membership meeting and was attached to the idea of "consciousness-raising." As noted by Garrard, "consciousness-raising and criticism/self-criticism [were crucial.] The first was to define common goals; the second to refine collective practice."[148] Thus this format of meeting that the mother collective used put the emphasis on shared space, recognition and validation of one another as feminists and members of a community. This supportive stance served as a foundation upon which critical dialogue could occur, setting up a framework by which feminists could set their distinct viewpoints against one

[146] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions*. Vii.
[147] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126.
[148] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art*. 126.

another. This necessarily offered room for individuals to see themselves as distinct identities within a larger cohort of feminists, supporting the argument of this paper as a whole that *Heresies* was critical to expanded awareness of the individual's needs and perspectives.

Working as part of a collective like *Heresies* required "an open acknowledgement of the inevitable challenges involved in collective work,"[149] and involved considerable struggles amongst the group. The fact that women with similar backgrounds had to make an effort to build consensus among themselves was likely a block dissuading the founding *Heresies* collective members from welcoming new members into the leadership. While *Heresies* did make an effort to realize representation on the pages of the publication, the fact is that feminists of color were forced to fight harder for their voices to be heard in publications like *Heresies,* and this is a struggle which deserves acknowledgement and respect.

Feminist scholars active from the 1980s on often had to grapple about misconceptions about second-wave feminism's lofty goals and less impressive realities. Stephanie Gilmore reflects, "when I began teaching about third-wave feminism in my women's studies classes, [I] came across numerous references to the second wave of feminism as inattentive to difference; unaware of or unconcerned with the plurality of women's experiences; and, finally, unwilling to deal with contradictions emerging out of commercial culture or from the reality of our complicated personal identities."[150] As feminist scholarship moved toward the 2000s, second-

[149] Tobin, *Heresies' Heresies.* 283.
[150] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions.* 3.

wave feminism is being re-examined by scholars such as Thompson, Jones, Horne and Tobin, and many others seeking to give voice to the range of diverse topics second-wave feminists engaged with. These scholars are probing how feminists from diverse and inclusive backgrounds helped to determine what the movement achieved during its heyday in the 1960s-70s.[151]

One key aspect present in later waves of feminism is an expanded idea around queer identities. Amelia Jones and Erin Silver's publication, *Otherwise*, covers this evolution around the idea of a "queer" female identity, and the idea of genderqueer identities, in great detail. Jones in particular is able to parse how notions like Essentialism, while once crucial to push back against sexism prevalent in American society, inadvertently flattens identities for some members of the feminist community.[152] It is critical to recognize that the understanding of queer identities and who was allowed to be a "feminist" in second-wave feminism varies widely from ideas and expectations attached to today's feminists, and that this shift is tied to the relative position that women held in society forty years ago versus today. Where genderqueer identities were omitted from the larger discourse of second-wave feminism, other aspects of women's identities were largely hidden from view. Existing scholarship from second-wave feminism largely overlooks people with disabilities and neurodiverse individuals as exerting impact within the wider push for equal rights made by feminists during the period.

When considering how *Heresies* impacted later second-wave feminism, two key points arise. First, it is crucial to consider the visibility of feminists who formed the leadership of *Heresies*: artists and theorists including Harmony Hammond, Mary Beth Edelman, Joyce Kozloff and Lucy Lippard. Each of these theorists gradually became thought leaders, serving

[151] Gilmore, *Feminist Coalitions*. 3.
[152] Amelia Jones, "Essentialism, Feminism and Art Lecture." YouTube, March 28, 2018, ACCA Melbourne lecture, 10:25-10:50. https://youtu.be/2RRxqqHx1eM

as knowledgeable contributors to the field of art theory. Edelman's groundbreaking artworks re-envisioned an art history inclusive of women artists, aligned with the type of work these mother collective artist members saw themselves accomplishing with *Heresies* (Fig 1.) Harmony Hammond embraced the power of lesbian imagery and art theory, particularly as relates to abstraction, producing groundbreaking scholarship in this area. Lucy Lippard was one of the most respected voices in second-wave feminist art theory. Finally, Joyce Kozloff helped to spearhead a better understanding of the significance of the Pattern & Decoration movement.

Second, *Heresies* was the only grassroots publication with its particular format of treating topics in depth within a single issue. This fact also influenced how distinct issues received wildly different critical reception from feminist scholars. By focusing on a single theme for each issue published, the collective team editing and producing the issue had complete creative control. The fact that *Heresies* operated according to this format allowed for a wide range of voices centered within individual topic-oriented issues, giving space for individual opinions and perspectives to be given a role in determining critical discourse. When investigating how later scholarship on *Heresies* issues has analyzed the magazine on the whole, many of these articles have explicitly commented on the structure of the magazine as creating dialogue on specific topics according to each issue.[153] While this may be a double-edged sword, the fact that so many critics – including *Heresies' Heresies: Lesbian Art & Artists* scholar Tara Burk - have taken initiative to explore one particular issue of the publication highlights the enduring impact of this unique format.

One final reflection drives home *Heresies*' ability to broadcast individual perspectives via collective efforts out to an array of feminist audience(s) due to its members' inherent links to

[153] Broude and Garrard, *The Power of Feminist Art.* 128.

social activism. Performance artist and *Heresies* member Suzanne Lacy reflects on the need for individuals to serve as activists, exerting their voice and actions in order to influence the wider community. In this sense, the body serves as the medium for the individual to exert an influence on a wider community.

> What did it mean, metaphorically, for the intimate body as it becomes a "social body?"... feminist artists [were concerned] with the real condition of women's lives. We saw feminism as a larger set of social justice and equity concerns. The body, its positionality and identity are key projects of feminism, but so is activism.[154]

Heresies can be viewed as a second-wave feminist publication that purported to give voice to individuals rising up to the challenge of advocating for social change based upon positionality and identity. The publication gave space to individual feminists ready to rise above the pressures of coalition demands to find their voice, and to instead speak their truths plainly on the pages of *Heresies*, ready and waiting to be discovered by the next generation of feminists.

[154] Andrea Bowers, Suzanne Lacy and Maria Elena Buzsek. "'Necessary Positions' in Feminist Art: A Conversation." *Art Journal* 71, no. 1. (Spring 2012.) 149.

Figure 1, Mary Beth Edelson, *Some Living Women Artists*, 1972, cut-and-pasted gelatin silver prints with crayon and transfer type on printed paper with typewriting on cut-and-taped paper, Museum of Modern Art, New York, NY.

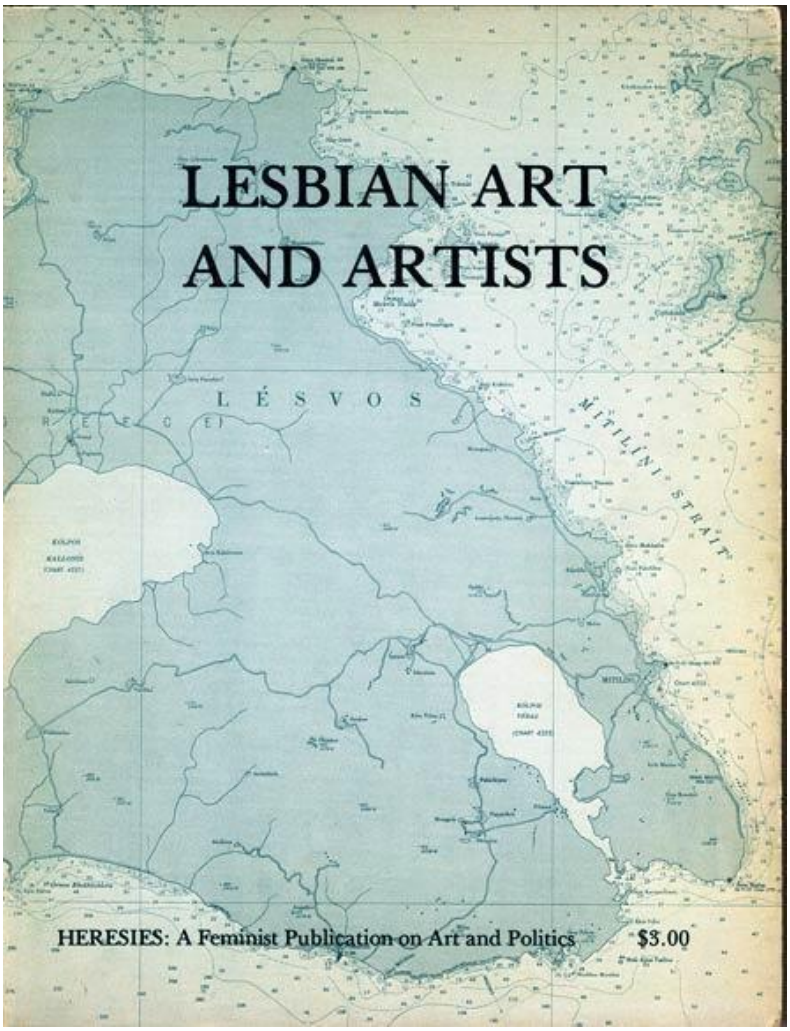


Figure 2, *Heresies*: Issue #3: *Lesbian Art and Artists*, 1977, front cover, Archives of *Heresies* publication/Heresies Film Project.

Alice Austen (on the fencepost) and Gertrude Tate at the auto races, May 1902. Photographer unidentified.

27

Figure 3, *Heresies*: Issue #3, page 27: photograph of Alice Austen and Gertrude Tate, photographer unknown, May 1902. Archives of *Heresies* publication/Heresies Film Project.

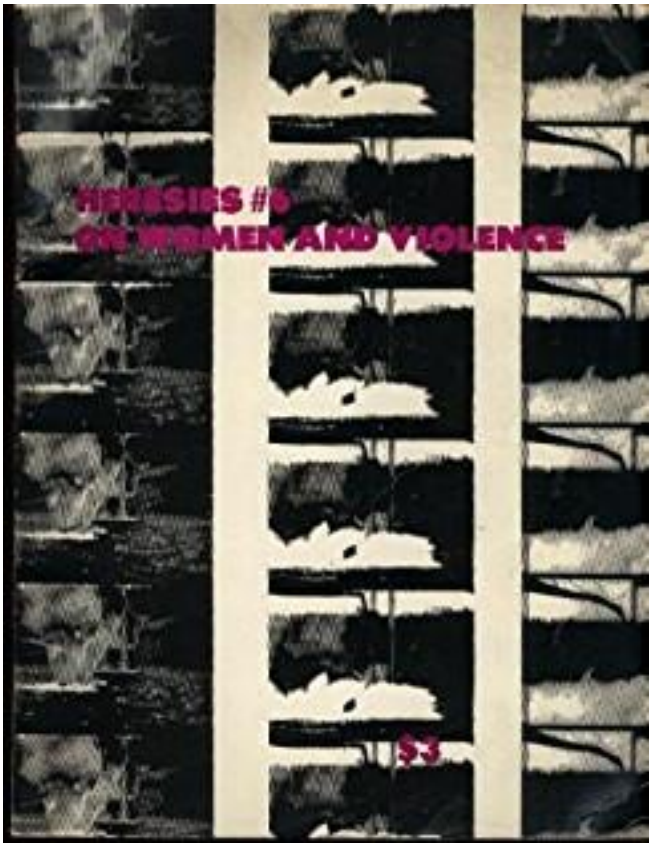


Figure 4, *Heresies*: Issue #6: *On Women and Violence*, 1978, front cover, Archives of *Heresies* publication/Heresies Film Project.

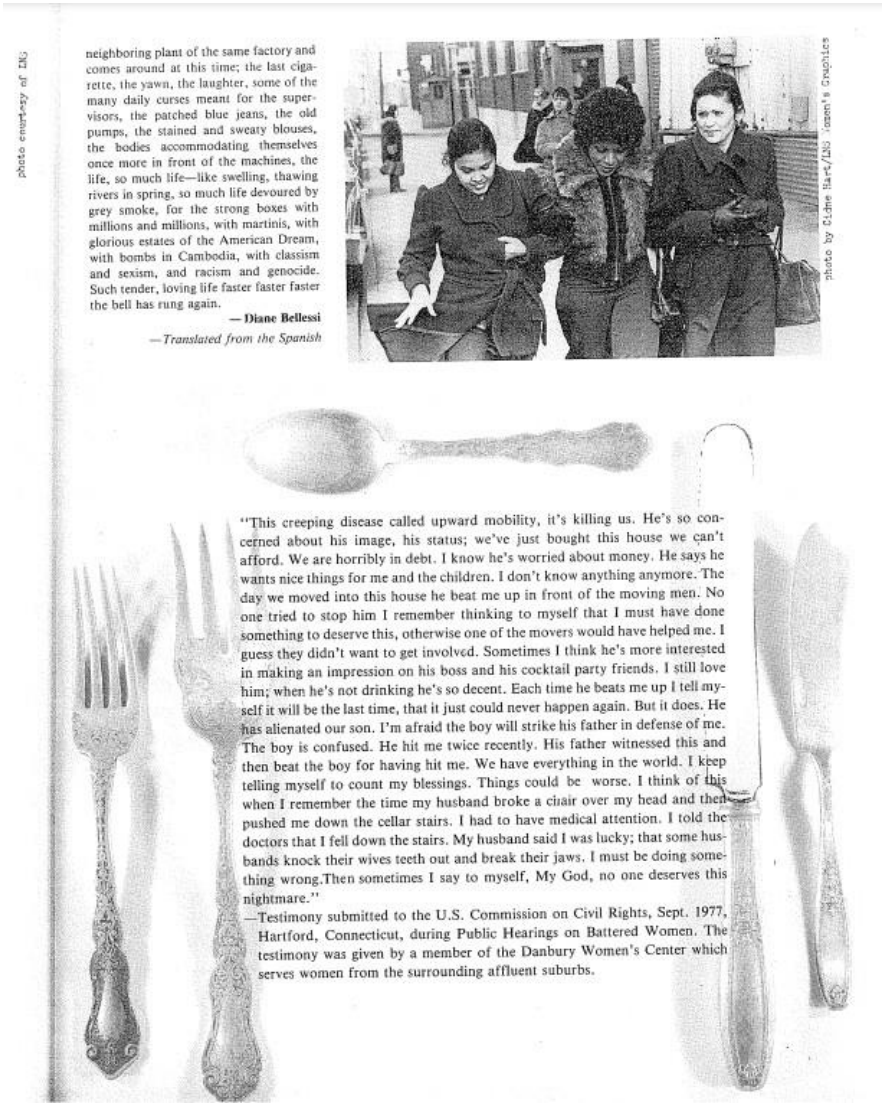


photo courtesy of ENG

neighboring plant of the same factory and comes around at this time; the last cigarette, the yawn, the laughter, some of the many daily curses meant for the supervisors, the patched blue jeans, the old pumps, the stained and sweaty blouses, the bodies accommodating themselves once more in front of the machines, the life, so much life—like swelling, thawing rivers in spring, so much life devoured by grey smoke, for the strong boxes with millions and millions, with martinis, with glorious estates of the American Dream, with bombs in Cambodia, with classism and sexism, and racism and genocide. Such tender, loving life faster faster faster the bell has rung again.

—Diane Bellessi

—Translated from the Spanish

photo by Cidne Hart/ENG Women's Graphics

"This creeping disease called upward mobility, it's killing us. He's so concerned about his image, his status; we've just bought this house we can't afford. We are horribly in debt. I know he's worried about money. He says he wants nice things for me and the children. I don't know anything anymore. The day we moved into this house he beat me up in front of the moving men. No one tried to stop him I remember thinking to myself that I must have done something to deserve this, otherwise one of the movers would have helped me. I guess they didn't want to get involved. Sometimes I think he's more interested in making an impression on his boss and his cocktail party friends. I still love him; when he's not drinking he's so decent. Each time he beats me up I tell myself it will be the last time, that it just could never happen again. But it does. He has alienated our son. I'm afraid the boy will strike his father in defense of me. The boy is confused. He hit me twice recently. His father witnessed this and then beat the boy for having hit me. We have everything in the world. I keep telling myself to count my blessings. Things could be worse. I think of this when I remember the time my husband broke a chair over my head and then pushed me down the cellar stairs. I had to have medical attention. I told the doctors that I fell down the stairs. My husband said I was lucky; that some husbands knock their wives teeth out and break their jaws. I must be doing something wrong.Then sometimes I say to myself, My God, no one deserves this nightmare."

—Testimony submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Sept. 1977, Hartford, Connecticut, during Public Hearings on Battered Women. The testimony was given by a member of the Danbury Women's Center which serves women from the surrounding affluent suburbs.

Figure 5, *Heresies*: Issue #6, page 95. Archives of *Heresies* publication/ Heresies Film Project.

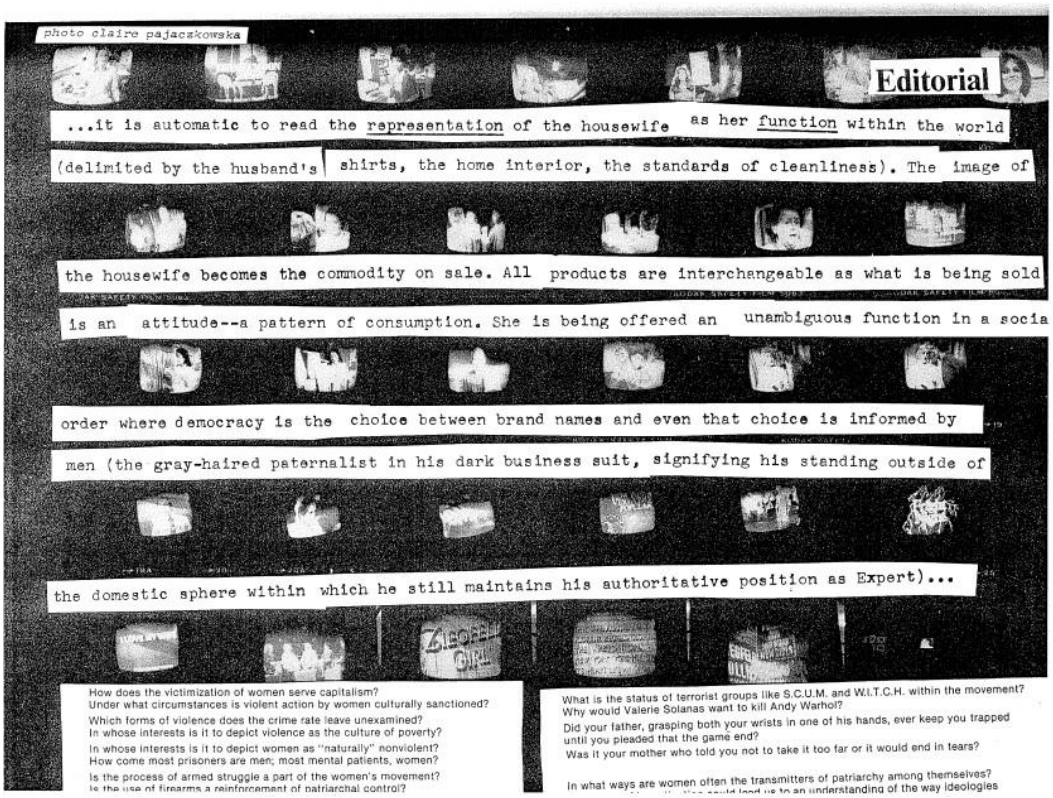


Figure 6, *Heresies*: Issue #6, page 72: photograph by Clare Pajaczkowska. Archives of *Heresies* publication/ Heresies Film Project.

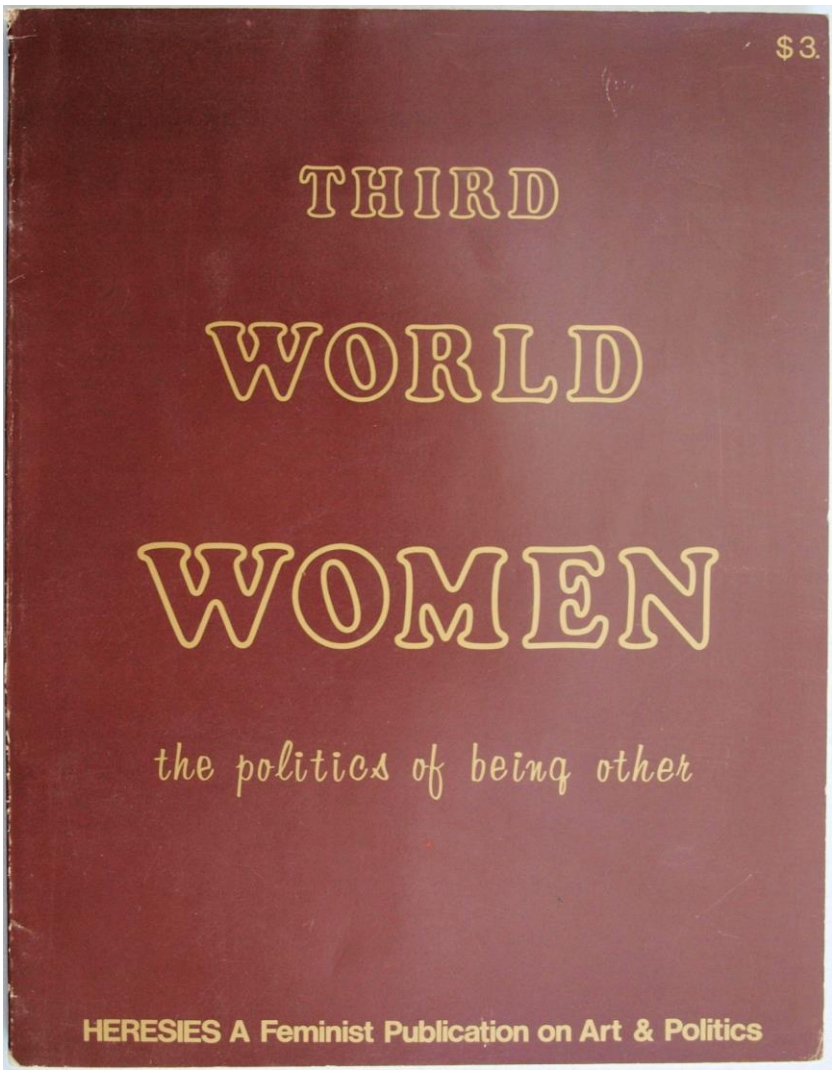
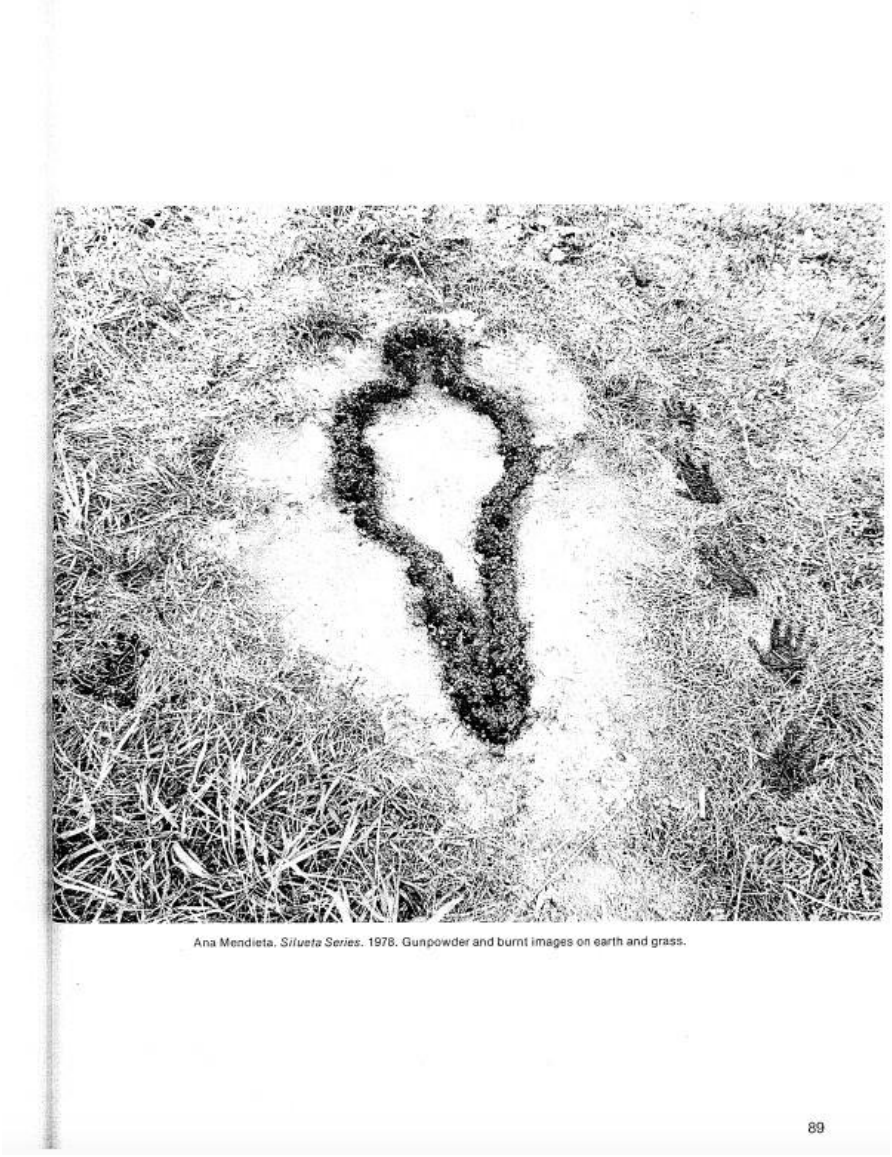


Figure 7, *Heresies*: Issue #8: *Third World Women*, 1979, front cover, Archives of *Heresies* publication/Heresies Film Project.



Ana Mendieta. *Silueta Series*. 1978. Gunpowder and burnt images on earth and grass.

89

Figure 8, Ana Mendieta, *Silhuetas* series, 1978. Published in *Heresies'* Issue #8, Archives of *Heresies* publication/ Heresies Film Project.

References

Barzman, Karen-Edis. "Beyond the Canon: Feminists, Postmodernism, and the History of Art." The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism 52, no. 3 (1994): 327-39. Accessed January 12, 2021. doi:10.2307/431431

Joan Braderman, *The Heretics* (2009; New York: Crescent Diamond Films - No More Nice Girls Productions.) Digital Video.

Bowers, Andrea, Suzanne Lacy, and Maria Elena Buszek. ""Necessary Positions" in Feminist Art: A Conversation." Art Journal 71, no. 1 (2012): 138-50. Accessed January 12, 2021. doi:10.2307/23279675.

Brodsky, Judith K., and Ferris Olin. "Stepping out of the Beaten Path: Reassessing the Feminist Art Movement." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 33, no. 2 (2008): 329–42. https://doi.org/10.1086/521062.

Broude, Norma, and Mary D. Garrard. "Feminist Art History and the Academy: Where Are We Now?" Women's Studies Quarterly 25, no. 1/2 (1997): 212-22. Accessed January 12, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40005432.

Broude, Norma, and Mary D. Garrard. *The Power of Feminist Art.* New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Inc, 1996.

Burk, Tara. "In Pursuit of the Unspeakable: "Heresies"' "Lesbian Art and Artists" Issue, 1977." Women's Studies Quarterly 41, no. 3/4 (2013): 63-78. Accessed January 12, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23611505.

Butler, Cornelia, and Lisa Gabrielle Mark. *WACK!: Art and the Feminist Revolution.* Los Angeles, CA: Museum of Contemporary Art, and Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007.

Fields, Jill. "Frontiers in Feminist Art History." A Journal of Women's Studies 33, no.2 (2012):1-21.Accessed July 4, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5250/fronjwomestud.33.2.0001

Friedan, Betty. *The Feminine Mystique.* New York: W.W. Norton, 2010.

Garrard, Mary D. "Feminist Art and the Essentialism Controversy." The Centennial Review 39, no. 3 (1995): 468-92. Accessed January 12, 2021.

Gilmore, Stephanie. *Feminist Coalitions: Historical Perspectives on Second-wave Feminism in the United States.* Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008.

Gouma-Peterson, Thalia, and Patricia Mathews. "The Feminist Critique of Art History." The Art Bulletin 69, no. 3 (1987): 326-57. Accessed January 12, 2021. doi:10.2307/3051059.

Grimstad, Kirsten and Susan Rennie. *The New Woman's Survival Catalog: A Woman-Made Book.* New York: Artbook DAP, 2019.

Harmony Hammond, "Abstract Art: A Feminist Viewpoint," *Heresies Mag*, January, 1977. http://heresiesfilmproject.org/archive/ - 1149

Horne, Victoria, and Amy Tobin. "An Unfinished Revolution in Art Historiography, or How to Write a Feminist Art History." FeministReview, no.107(2014):75-83. Accessed January 4, 2021. www.jstor.org/stable/24571890.

Amelia Jones, "Essentialism, Feminism and Art Lecture." ACCA Melbourne YouTube video, 1:39:12. Melbourne, AUS, March 28, 2018, https://youtu.be/2RRxqqHx1eM.

Jones, Amelia, and Erin Silver. *Otherwise: Imagining Queer Feminist Art Histories*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Lippard, Lucy R. "Sweeping Exchanges: The Contribution of Feminism to the Art of the 1970s." Art Journal 40, no. 1/2 (1980): 362-65. Accessed June 4, 2020. Doi:10.2307/776601.

Nochlin, Linda. "From 1971: Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" ARTnews.com. ARTnews.com, October 20, 2020.

Rom, Cristine C. "One View: The Feminist Art Journal". Woman's Art Journal 2, no. 2 (1981): 19-24. Accessed February 29, 2021. Doi: 10.2307/1357977

Rosen, Randy. *Making Their Mark Women Artists Move into the Mainstream, 1970-85*; New York, NY: Abbeville Press, 1988.

Russell, Legacy. *Glitch Feminism: A Manifesto*. London, UK: Verso, 2020.

Sandell, Renee. "Female Aesthetics: The Women's Art Movement and Its Aesthetic Split." Journal of Aesthetic Education 14, no. 4 (1980): 106-10. Accessed January 12, 2021. doi: 10.2307/3332374.

Schultz, Stacy E. "Latina Identity: Reconciling Ritual, Culture, and Belonging." Woman's Art Journal 29, no. 1 (2008): 13-20. Accessed July 11, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20358142.

Thompson, Becky. "Multiracial Feminism: Recasting the Chronology of Second Wave Feminism." *Feminist Studies* 28, no. 2 (2002): 337-60. Accessed March 14, 2021. doi:10.2307/3178747.

Tobin, Amy. “Heresies’ Heresies: Collaboration and Dispute in a Feminist Publication on Art and Politics.” Women 30 (3) (2019): 280–96. Doi: 10.1080/09574042.2019.1653118.

Wark, Jayne. "Conceptual Art and Feminism: Martha Rosler, Adrian Piper, Eleanor Antin, and Martha Wilson." Woman's Art Journal 22, no. 1 (2001): 44-50. Accessed January 12, 2021. doi:10.2307/1358731.