Picturing American Femininity: Addressing the Body of Alfred Steiglitz's *Portrait of Georgia O'Keeffe*

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When it comes to theories of the female nude in Western art, clothes necessarily fail to figure largely in the discourse.[1] This is because, quite simply, clothes and nudity are definitively discordant—the former serving to displace the characteristics of the latter. As static objects then, the representations of the clothed and nude body cannot be reconciled, but if we reconsider the status of nude as a quality of the represented body, then clothing becomes its contiguous counterpart. The connection between dress and undress via the body makes it all the more strange that while Alfred Stieglitz's *Portrait of Georgia O'Keeffe* (1917-1937) has been extensively written upon as a body of work, the appearance of the body in that work—namely O'Keeffe's—has, for the most part, eluded textual description. A quick quantitative survey illustrates the perpetuity of O'Keeffe's dual presence in the project—of the near 100 photographs that Stieglitz took of her in 1918, approximately one-third portray O'Keeffe dressed and an almost equal number present her in various states of undress.[2] The body operates obviously in both categorical realms and when this body is Georgia O'Keeffe's, the dialogue between its clothed and nude states becomes particularly interwoven with issues of identity. As represented in Alfred Stieglitz's photographs of Georgia O'Keeffe, dress and undress function in tandem to conjoin these diametrical states, constructing a multiple but unified identity through the seriality of the medium of photography.

What this discussion aims to do is pin down the similarities between dress and undress to get at the ways in which these states operate in terms of O'Keeffe's physical body (and its artful presentation) and her artistic persona (and its physical manifestation). Initially, these terms—the nude and the clothed—can be seen as operating in two different realms—the represented and the real. They can be said to be referring to contrasting appearances—the undressed and the dressed. They can be conjured to reveal conflicting statements about identity—as object and subject. However, this paper proposes that nudity and clothing function in surprisingly similar ways (surprising for all the time spent defining terms which in the vernacular surely signal opposition). That is, in the case of these photographs, each successive representation of O'Keeffe contributes to the contiguity, and eventual collapsibility, of the visually constructed difference between nude and clothed.[3]

Essentially, there is a bit of a theoretical cover-up going on here. Clothing both distinguishes the body, while transforming the appearance of the body in order to render it legible. Thus, dress not only physically contains the body, but also functions tangibly to control its meaning(s)—even, it has been argued, to give it meaning. According to Hegel, clothing effectively shifts the body from the realm of sentience to the realm of significance.[4] And because clothing regulates the visualization of the body, what is key is the inter-subjective aspect of dress. The clothed body is constructed for social consumption (as the term "sumptuary" implies)[5] and thus is designed not to exist in the proverbial vacuum, but rather in social space.

Since the clothed body exists to be recognized, another subject is indicated in the process of dress: the viewer. As Anne Hollander writes, "the most important aspect of clothing is the way it looks."[6] When the female body becomes aestheticized as the female nude, the specific corporeality of

1 Anne Hollander is among the few art historians to address this correspondence in *Seeing through Clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1974). However, Hollander suggests in her thoughtful chapter on the nude that the nude's conception occurs via reflection of the clothed. She writes, "Above all, Western representational art had to invent a nudity that allowed for the sense of *clothes*—their symbolic importance…their influence" (Hollander 84).

2 The remaining third of the 1918 photographs are of O'Keeffe's head and/or hands, which could not be counted into either category.

3 To push these terms toward their intersection is not to say that they are the same; merely these separate representations should be treated in terms of their shared implications.

4 Amelia Jones presents the transition by invoking Hegel's supposition that: "'as pure sentience, the body cannot signify; clothing guarantees the passage from sentience to meaning…Fashion resolves the message from the abstract body to the real body of its reader.' The assumption of 'real' bodies aside, Hegel notes that it is *clothing* that allows communication to occur between subjects…." (Jones, "'Clothes Make the Man:' The Male Artist as a Performative Function, in *The Oxford Art Journal* 18.2 (1995): 18). As Jones points out, for Hegel, the body unclothed is essentially unreadable.

5 Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge Press, 1992) 21.

6 Hollander 311. Through the eyes of another subject, the viewer, the discourse on the female nude begins to intersect with that of clothing, making its appearance in the visual realm, and, as a visual representation of the body in the space of art, mediated by the hand and eye of the (usually male) artist. Indeed, Berger writes, "In the average European oil painting of the nude the principal protagonist is never painted. He is the spectator in front of the picture and he is presumed to be a man." John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972) 54. It should also be remembered

the real subject is, through the process of representation, subjected to the refinements and conventions of artistic tradition.[7] This might seem apropos in cases such as O'Keeffe's wherein the body transformed by art is in fact an artist's body. According to Lynda Nead, the female nude exhibits the desire by male artists to contain and regulate the female body, "to seal orifices and to prevent marginal matter from transgressing the boundary dividing the inside of the body and the outside…."[8]

The female nude body is beginning to resemble the clothed body. Both require an altered state of the so-called natural body and a transition from illegible to legible. In making this transition, the body is contained via superficial means—by artifice or by apparel—and ascribed a controlled (or controllable) meaning. The critical distinction mentioned above—that between interior and exterior—is the liminal space that both clothing and nudity seek to cover, putting the body on display to the viewer. As John Berger puts it, "to be on display is to have the surface of one's own body turned into a disguise …Nudity is a form of dress."[9] Nudity, as Berger points out, is the metaphorical veiling of the real body in the sheath of art, forever confined in the moment of its making.

Seeing nudity as a form of dress in works of art entails that the trappings of clothing (while not clothing itself) might be ascribed to the nude state. Not least among these is the clothed body's association with identity. As noted above, the clothed body is constructed with the intent to display, thus linking it, perhaps inescapably, to the performance of identity. In the process of self-fashioning, clothing as an entity figures substantially in the discourse on identity. For Amelia Jones, "identity is not fixed by clothing but takes its meanings through an exchange between subjects, communicated through sartorial codes…."[10] What such description demonstrates is that dress cannot be separated from its function as a signifier—the dressed body is a body presented for social (performative) interaction. Even gender sociologists speak of identity in language that recalls that of fashion choices: "Individuals have many social identities that may be donned or shed. . .depending on the situation."[11] Effectively accessorized, the dressed body wears identity on its sleeve.

But we should recall that, as Berger and others suggest, nudity is a form of dress. The characteristic most closely associated with dress—its role in visually articulating identity—should therefore also be a quality of the nude. This supposition goes against both conventional and revisionist readings of the female nude, for the female nude is generally thought to be the male artist's mediation of flesh to form. Indeed, in rendering the female body as an art form, the nude becomes the object of the male artist's sight, the site upon which he acts. For instance, Kenneth Clark writes that in order to produce the nude, "the means employed have been symmetry, measurement, and the principle of subordination..."[12] The female nude easily becomes a passive object, and so it is at first strange when Nead, who describes the nude as having "undergone a process of containment, of holding in and keeping out"[13] also tells us that the discourses on ideal beauty (one chapter of which is certainly the nude) are chiefly concerned with "the production of a rational, coherent, subject."[14] The nude for Nead and for Clark remains the subject, but it is the subject of art—the practitioner of which is the artist. As such, the nude becomes the means through which the artist literally makes his mark. This paper contends, though, that the object can also speak. Not only is the nude/clothed binary much complicated by a confluence of theoretical characteristics, but identity—what clothing reveals through its appearance—must then also be a characteristic of the nude, and here, the nude Georgia O'Keeffe.

Anita Pollitzer once wrote of Alfred Stieglitz, "With his knowledge, amazing memory and joy in debate, he could cap any argument."[15] The goal of this discussion is to employ Stieglitz's rhetorical panache, for it is in Stieglitz's collaboration with O'Keeffe that the nude as identity-laden subject can be exposed. When Pollitzer first introduced O'Keeffe's work to him at 291, Stieglitz was already an incredibly accomplished figure in the art world, not only for his visual enterprises, but also for his publications. Indeed, it was through his magazine

that the principal spectator of any painting is the painter himself.

7 In being an aestheticised body, the female nude corresponds quite readily to the idea that "the cultural significance of the female body is not only… that of a flesh-and-blood entity, but that of a *symbolic construct*." Susan Rubin Suleiman, *The Female Body in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1996) 2, original emphasis. Nead echoes this statement in more specific terms, "…the claim that the body can ever be outside of representation is itself inscribed with symbolic value. There can be no naked 'other' to the female nude, for the body is always already in representation." Nead, "Theorizing the Nude" in *The Female Nude: Art, Obscenity and Sexuality* (New York: Routledge, 1992) 20. Because I find these two authors' views extremely compelling, I will refrain from reciting the commonly held distinction between nude and naked first introduced by Kenneth Clark in *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1956).

8 Nead 6. Additionally, the necessity of framing the female body through clearly defined borders shows that "the fundamental relationship is not that of mind and body, or form and matter, but the critical distinction of interior and exterior and the consequent mapping of the body's boundaries." (Nead 22).

9 Berger 54.

10 Jones 18.

11 Candace West and Don H. Zimmerman, "Doing Gender" in *Gender and Society* 1.2 (1987): 139.

12 Clark 71.

13 Nead 19.

14 Nead 19.

15 Pollitzer, *A Woman on Paper: Georgia O'Keeffe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1998) 117.

Camera Work (1903-1917) which galvanized photography in America that O'Keeffe became familiar with his ideas, and deeply impressed, she scanned the pages of the periodical that Stieglitz published.[16] Not only was he able to guide photographic thought through his art as well as with his writing, but as a gallery owner, Stieglitz managed to play a rare tripartite role in the art world—creatively, theoretically, and financially.[17] It was in this third guise that Stieglitz became aware of O'Keeffe's work and mounted its first public exhibition, which consisted of her works such as the *Special* series. These early drawings—and more significantly, Stieglitz's response to them—guided the reception of Georgia O'Keeffe as both woman and work, and subsequently encouraged the indivisibility of those terms. Though Anne Wagner is one of the few writers on O'Keeffe to note that in achieving legendary status, such stories are clearly fraught with fictions, they function no less importantly in the formation of the public perception of O'Keeffe.[18] Stieglitz's influential articulation is something akin to what Pollitzer reported to O'Keeffe in a letter on January 1, 1916:

> 'Finally, a woman on paper'—he said. Then he smiled at me & yelled 'Walkowitz come here'—Then he said to me—'Why they're genuinely fine things—you say a woman did these—She's an unusual woman—She's broad minded, She's bigger than most women, but she's got the sensitive emotion—I'd know she was a woman—Look at that line.[19]

Trimmed to the more concise fragment "A woman on paper," Stieglitz's words convey the extent to which representation and reality converge upon the female body. Moreover, Stieglitz was convinced that O'Keeffe's work was unmediated and unconscious—in a word, natural—and that it was this spiritual evocation of the female that was unique in O'Keeffe's work. Stieglitz's opinion proved not only exceedingly influential but also exceptionally enduring, as evidenced by various critics' continued conflation of self and art. In his review of the 1916 exhibition featuring O'Keeffe's work, Henry Tyrell wrote that O'Keeffe "looks within herself and draws with unconscious naïveté what purports to be the innermost unfoldings of a girl's being, like the germinating of a flower."[20] Even several years later, the intermingling of artist and art was often represented as an equation, as when Paul Rosenfeld wrote, "We glimpse on the plane of practical existence a woman singularly whole…We see a woman who herself sees deeply into…living." Critics never strayed too far from the precedent set by Stieglitz—he was a man whose opinions were listened to, but this, of course, was why it was so important that O'Keeffe and her work were shown by him in the first place.[21]

And what woman was it that Rosenfeld and others saw on the surface of these canvases? If O'Keeffe was being mapped onto her paintings in such a potentially reductive way (and here it is important to note that O'Keeffe herself did not appreciate the sexual equation so readily slapped onto her work), then how does Stieglitz's *Portrait of Georgia O'Keeffe* function?[22] Perhaps we "see a woman," though not, as Rosenfeld stated "singularly whole," in any one picture, but rather different and partial in each one. For example, in the closely cropped *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, 1918 (Figure 1), we see features that are hardly specific to one Georgia O'Keeffe. Included in the 45 photographs that Stieglitz exhibited of O'Keeffe in the Anderson Gallery in 1921, this photograph fits both Clark's and Nead's definitions of the nude. The careful balance, artificial pose and unselfconsciousness speak to Clark's conceptions and, for Nead, the particular framing of the body marks it as contained form. Bordering the body in curtain-like manner is a loose drapery that completes the sym-

16 O'Keeffe had been a reader of *Camera Work* since at least 1915, but this was not her first interaction with Stieglitz, since she had visited *291* as early as 1908 to see an exhibition of Rodin's nudes that Stieglitz had presented. Anne Wagner, *Three Artists (Three Women): Modernism and the Art of Hesse, Krasner, and O'Keeffe* (Los Angeles: U of California P, 1996) 34.

17 Though he did run *291* as a for-profit art space, Stieglitz, in accord with his ideas that to be bound to commerce was to lose artistic freedom actually operated *Camera Work* at a financial loss to himself. Pam Roberts, "Alfred Stieglitz, 291 Gallery and Camera Work," in *Camera Work: The Complete Illustrations* (New York: Taschen, 1997) 12. Additionally, Stieglitz was also known to refuse sale of some works based on his assessment of the buyer's appreciation for the work.

18 Indeed, one need only witness the plethora of chapter headings, book titles, and essay subdivisions which use variations of "Woman on Paper." Anna Chave uses it in her essay and it is the title of Politzer's book.

19 Pollitzer to O'Keeffe, January 1, 1916 in *Lovingly Georgia: The Complete Correspondence of Georgia O'Keeffe and Anita Pollitzer* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990) 115-116, qtd. in Wagner 35.

20 Tyrell, "New York Art Exhibitions and Gallery News…" qtd. in Barbara Buhler Lynes, *O'Keeffe, Stieglitz and the Critics 1916-1929* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1989) 19.

21 Lynes 24.

22 Perhaps I should explain here why I see such evaluations of O'Keeffe's work as "potentially reductive," for O'Keeffe has an ambivalent relationship with such reviews. On the one hand, they diminish the role of her mind in her art-making, tending instead to present her work as an unmediated transfer of womb to artwork. On the other hand, O'Keeffe's work was presented as unique for exactly this reason, and was celebrated especially for such qualities. The reductiveness comes then because O'Keeffe is literally bodily equated with her work; however paradoxically, such a supposition was actually productive to her reception in the art world, and in fact, was the quality for which her work was highly regarded. In particular, Stieglitz's Freudian reading of O'Keeffe's work was both damaging and sensationalistic. Lynes writes that "although he could not have realized how it might be used to exploit O'Keeffe's art, Stieglitz did not hesitate to use Freudian theory as a promotional device." (Lynes 24) I disagree with Lynes. I think that Stieglitz, experienced dealer that he was, banked precisely on the popularity and acceptance of a reductive Freudian reading of O'Keeffe's paintings. Though Stieglitz was an ardent supporter of female modernists, he must have known that in order to successfully support them, he had to fit them into existing rubrics of public perception. Hence, we see the contradictory compromise between essence and expression.

metry of the image that in so framing the body calls attention to what is center stage—a pair of breasts intersected by a left hand.

Indeed, it is unusual, if not jarring, that these breasts and this hand are so foregrounded and thus almost fragmented. In fact, the site upon which we are accustomed to gazing in a portrait is conspicuously absent. O'Keeffe's face—and thereby, her specificity as a person—is not submitted here for photographic scrutiny. The headings under which Stieglitz organized the 1921 show also underscored this universality of Woman, which coincided with the way that O'Keeffe was being presented in the media with regards to her own art. This confluence was partly the result of critics' awareness of O'Keeffe's work coming within the context of Stieglitz's photographs of her (some of which presented her in the same visual field as her art). Both allusive and elusive, Stieglitz carefully positioned the photograph's sexuality:

> Suggesting that he had created other…more audacious works, Stieglitz provocatively claimed in the exhibition brochure that he had omitted some works because 'the general public is not quite ready to receive them.' Thus, although he had coyly not named O'Keeffe in his titles, as a result of this exhibition she became, as McBride noted, 'a newspaper personality' long before her work as an artist was widely known.[23]

Calling this body of work *A Woman* with a subtitle here: *Hands and Breasts*, Stieglitz's marketing both diminishes and amplifies O'Keeffe's position in such presentation; she is any woman, but simultaneously, all women. This is how the female nude is often read: cropped along axes that result in her beheading, O'Keeffe (or more precisely, O'Keeffe's body) is restrained and limited, a display not of nature, but of art. And yet, though the female body is here on display, we still cannot gain full visual access. The nude reveals, but it also conceals.

And paradoxically, it is through clothing (which conceals) that the viewer might better see the body in the photograph. In a slightly earlier 1918 photograph from the same series (Figure 2), O'Keeffe appears not only dressed, but—it could be considered—cross-dressed. Wearing a white collared button-down shirt beneath a black jacket, O'Keeffe completes the look by tucking up her long tresses into a black bowler hat. Such an appearance, which bears a definitive resemblance to portraits and self-portraits by Romaine Brooks, a left-bank lesbian painter of the same period, locates the costume in a gender-ambiguous realm (Figure 3). This was utilized as "a way of ad-dressing and re-dressing the inequities of culturally-defined categories"[24] as "female modernists escaped the strictures of societally-defined femininity by appropriating the costumes they identified with freedom."[25] Male clothing upon a female body was not entirely aberrant in the circles within which O'Keeffe traveled and thus had an understood social significance via the discordance such dress provoked.[26] O'Keeffe here becomes androgynous and in so doing declares her mobility and affiliation with something other than cookie-cutter femininity, meanwhile demonstrating that dress, while physically constricting, can also be liberating.[27]

Like both clothing and nudity, androgyny offers a bridge across the liminal space between exterior and interior. In this photograph, O'Keeffe references the duality of androgyny not only by being a woman pictured in male garb, but by making explicit reference to the (female) body beneath these (male) clothes. With her right hand curling into the folds of the fabric and her left hand cupping both cloth and cloth-covered breast, O'Keeffe's pose at once directly references her dress as well as her corporeal presence beneath her dress, a gesture that seems to remind us of that which remains unseen. Moreover, such a movement embeds the clothing between her exposed hand and her unexposed chest, twice emphasizing her flesh as it both occludes and is occluded by her shirt and jacket. While the clothes obscure her femininity, O'Keeffe puts her physical presence in the photographs on display—a display that delineates the ambiguity of dress.

This is particularly interesting in light of Lynes categorization that "without question, Stieglitz felt O'Keeffe's art was, most fundamentally, a revelation of her sexuality" for here, O'Keeffe's dress actually renders her ambiguously.[28] In addition, O'Keeffe is pictured in front of her 1917 watercolor *Blue I*, a juxtaposition that would emphasize not her sex but her profession. Consider for a moment that *Blue I* is, like many of O'Keeffe's works (the early works in particular), a figurative abstraction that invariably invokes uterine associations. It could easily be marshaled as an illustrative archetype for Stieglitz's never published 1919 essay "Woman in Art," in which he asserts that "Woman *feels* the World *differently* than Man feels it. …The Woman receives the World through her Womb. That

23 Greenough, "Georgia O'Keeffe: A Flight to the Spirit,"450. Stieglitz's textual framing of the photographs is even more deliberate in light of Greenough's assertion that O'Keeffe's extreme scrupulousness in assembling the corpus of the *Portrait* following Stieglitz's death would indicate that she never censored them in any way, regardless of if "they were too racy or she didn't like the way she looked." *Alfred Stieglitz: Photographs from the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, California: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1995) 129.

24 Gubar, "Blessings in Disguise: Cross-Dressing and Re-Dressing for Female Modernists" in *The Massachusetts Review* 22 (1981): 479.

25 Gubar 478.

26 Susan Fillin-Yeh writes, "If the politics and mores of life in avant-garde circles influenced her dandyism, [O'Keeffe] also brought with her to New York in 1907 the disposition for cross-dressing not uncommon among middle-class young women born in the last decades of the nineteenth century." Fillin-Yeh, "Dandies, Marginality and Modernism: Georgia O'Keeffe, Marcel Duchamp and Other Cross Dressers" in *The Oxford Art Journal* 18.2 (1995): 33.

27 Garber 161.

28 Lynes 24.

is the seat of her deepest feeling."[29] But here, Stieglitz positions O'Keeffe before her work, picturing not a conflation but a secession—if she is seen in front of her work, then she necessarily figures in opposition to, rather than mapped upon, the painting's surface. In the background, the painting demonstrates femininity in its most intrinsic form while in the foreground, O'Keeffe's androgyny signals that no matter the sexuality, O'Keeffe is above all, an artist. She is pictured as both an author in and object of the photograph, but she is, in the end, a separate entity distinguished from her artwork by her position in front of it. As she eclipses her painted womb-like forms by grasping her breasts, O'Keeffe's presentation parallels Stieglitz's promotion of her work—physical and professional identities are clearly co-existent.

Returning to Figure 1, the photograph with which this investigation began, one notes O'Keeffe's left hand displaced only inches from its position in Figure 2. Previously encountering this photograph, a viewer would have noted that O'Keeffe's bared breasts—symmetrical, stylized, bounded—seemed exactly congruous with traditional conceptions of the female nude, a site where the female body is fixed ('fixed' in the sense of repaired and stabilized) in the guise of art. But this seems incomplete: this discussion asserts that she has not been rendered a passive object of the (male) artist's gaze. Whereas when clothed O'Keeffe uses her hands to draw attention to her non-exposed breasts in a way that would emphasize the concealed female body, when nude she places her hand in a way that both shields and displays her chest. With many of the elements of usual portraiture now erased from the pictorial field, O'Keeffe's hand takes on a literal centrality and becomes the focus of attention, perhaps superseding the display of her breasts. In its diagonal dynamism, the hand indicates a multitude of directions, displaced from its natural position on the body, thus transforming an image of breasts into an image of a gesture, in which that gesture is the only element that fails to be doubled in the photograph. As the visual center, the hand is the sole singular occurrence, but its significance remains double. The gentle tactility and dual stimulation marked by the hand (as both sender and receiver of the touch) implicates a transmutable sensorial transfer between what is outside (but pictured within the photograph) and what is inside (but ostensibly remains out of the bounds of photography).

Pressed against her chest, the hand speaks to a certain self-possession and actively resonates in dialogue with the vitality of the body. Meanwhile the arm just grazes the erect nipple of the left breast, which is shielded by the arm from complete display. O'Keeffe's gesture can readily be read as self-referencing. Such a gesture—such an action—is hardly mute. As a performative act, it effectively displaces the metonymy usually associated with women to a site that is oftentimes associated with men's creative power—the hands. However, as a female painter, O'Keeffe maintains two loci of productive capability. In casting O'Keeffe thus, Stieglitz might be activating both—first, her hands are significant as an expressive site as those of a female painter and secondly, O'Keeffe's hands were constantly fetishized by Stieglitz as well as a source of pride for O'Keeffe herself.[30] They evoke both a professional and sexual sense of self.

Identity—the object of this search—becomes visible even on the female nude body because it involves a display of surface conflated with substance in much the same way as clothing does. In Caroline Evans' analysis of Joan Riviere's influential 1929 essay, "Womanliness as a Masquerade," she writes:

> In its cultural construction, female identity is all front: it is modeled, or fabricated, on the surface... In Judith Butler's words, 'gender is the repeated stylization of the body …[it] is a fantasy instituted and inscribed on the surface of bodies'.[31]

The body is the site of performance whenever it is subjected to social discourse—thus nudity (the sheath of the body in art) is entirely appropriate to such an idea, especially when the surface of bodies and the surface of photographs are conflated entities. As Butler writes, "Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally…are performative in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are fabrications manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means."[32] Perhaps this is why the intersection of O'Keeffe's many guises visually articulates a dialogue between dialectics—a multiplicity of identities that occurs in moments of dress and undress. Identity is both something that must be put on but also uncovered.

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29 Stieglitz, qtd. by Lynes 33.

30 O'Keeffe reminisces in the Metropolitan catalogue, "My hands had always been admired since I was a little girl…" O'Keeffe, "Introduction," in *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait by Alfred Stiegltiz* (New York: Viking Press, 1978) unpaginated.

31 Evans, "Masks, Mirrors, Mannequins: Elsa Schiaparelli and the Decentered Subject" in *Fashion Theory* 3.1 (1999): 7, and Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990) 33.

32 Butler 173.

Figure 1: Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, 1918, palladium photograph, 19.4 x 23.6 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, copyright Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe.

Figure 2: Alfred Stieglitz, *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, 1918, gelatin silver photograph, 24.1 x 19.7 cm. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, copyright Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe.

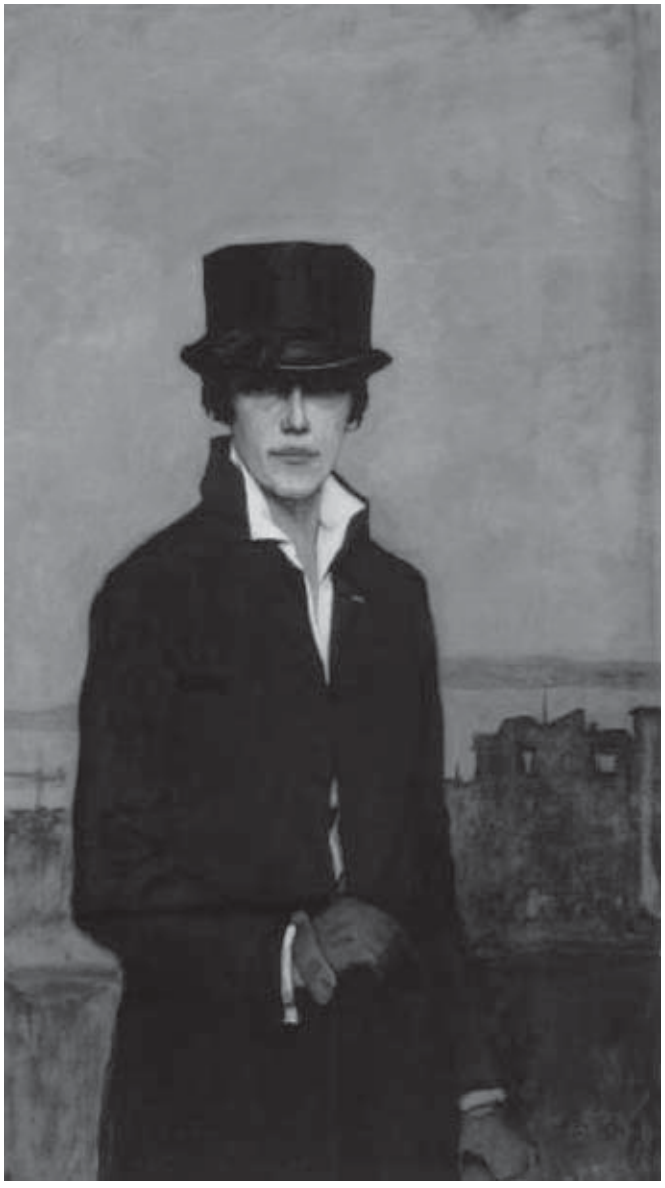

Figure 3: Romaine Brooks, *Self-Portrait*, 1923, oil on canvas, 117.5 x 68.3 cm. Smithsonian American Art Museum, gift of the artist.