



Honey, It's Just Camp

An Inquiry into the History of Camp
Culture from the 1960s to Modern-day
Pop Culture

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Introduction

The day had finally arrived. The Costume Institute announced its theme for The Met Gala of 2019: "Camp: Notes on Fashion." Based on Susan Sontag's 1964 essay *Notes on Camp*, this seemingly simple theme caused a significant amount of confusion among attendees and spectators. The following days showed audiences deep-diving into the worldwide web of pop culture to find out what the peculiar phrase exactly meant, unaware of its fleeting and puzzling definition. This essay will answer the question "How did camp transform from a queer aesthetic in the 1960s to an element in modern-day pop culture?"

It was Susan Sontag's work of 1964 that gave a honourable interpretation to the very elusive and not very talked-about aesthetic. Sontag's understanding of camp as a 'sensibility' became commonplace in later writings about camp. She stated that "the essence of camp is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration."¹ This statement has served as a mantra for camp people. It has been described with adjectives such as exaggerated, high energy, performative, tongue-in-cheek, and ironic just for irony's sake. Camp is a very complex phrase that has had many different definitions over the years with its ever-evolving state. It is always changing forms, taking different shapes and reacting to the culture of the time, while it is often considered to present love for something old-fashioned and out of use.²

Historically, camp was a 'Polari' word in the late nineteenth century, meaning it was mainly used by people of theatre,



"TO TALK ABOUT CAMP IS THEREFORE TO BETRAY IT."

– Susan Sontag, *Notes on Camp*. (1964)

performers and correspondents alike.³ It later developed into a primarily private code of secret communication of queer identity, particularly used before the gay rights movement of the 1960s.⁴ Following Sontag's work of 1964, camp was pushed into the spotlights, seeping through the cracks of popular culture art forms and genres and into public consciousness.⁵ Camp became not only a means to express oneself in fashion; it became a powerful tool to criticise oppression. Much like a peacock's tail feathers are not only flashy but also serve a purpose, camp is highly political.⁶

This essay will focus on the development of camp starting with the first occurrence of the word 'camp' and extending to present-day forms of camp. This essay focuses on the queer history of camp in particular. It aims to do so by giving a brief history of camp, followed by discussion about Andy Warhol's work. The first chapter of this essay intends to give a clear vision of what camp is by looking at different definitions noted over different periods. It will establish a foundation for exploring the etymology of the term. This will provide a historiography of different perspectives about the origins of camp. The second chapter will examine the contemporary relevance of camp and its recent popularity with the Met Gala of 2019 by looking into people who have been considered to be important figures in solidifying the modern camp aesthetic.

Camp? I Hardly Know Her!

The definition of camp has always been in a state of evolution. A work that indisputably helped solidify the modern camp aesthetic is Susan Sontag's Parisian Review essay Notes on Camp in 1964.⁷ Sontag set out to explain the term through her essay compiled of 58 points. This format serves as a homage to playwright Oscar Wilde, who she deems as the founding figure of modern camp sensibility. Sontag's most cited explanation of the meaning of Camp is that "the essence of camp is its love of the unnatural: of artifice and exaggeration."⁸ Camp emphasises theatricality and performance as it differentiates itself from reality, dramatising its unreality. Secondly, camp exaggerates. It takes emotions and feelings to their extreme —and then pushes them even further. Camp is completely over the top; a taste for excess. Sontag also wrote that camp is "art that proposes itself seriously, but cannot be taken altogether seriously because it is 'too much.'⁹ Camp plays with the idea of anti-seriousness by turning serious into frivolous and frivolous into serious.¹⁰ Irony plays a big part in camp. Philip Core argued in his book *Camp: The Lie That Tells the Truth* of 1984 that a camp person carries "a secret within the personality which one ironically wishes to conceal and to exploit."¹¹

It is my understanding that camp is inherently subjective. It can subvert expectations, typically in a hyperbolic way, but camp can also be engaging in the mundane as a way to undermine the expectation that one would overperform. It does not take anything too seriously except being exactly what it is: camp. Camp is intentionally absurdist and intentionally performative, usually associated with

theatricality and humour.¹² It is dramatic for the sake of dramatics. It is an exaggeration of things that are fun and silly, but there is always a sense of complete earnestness at its core. You must not take life too seriously. You have to be able to see the absurdity of life from outside of yourself.

Origins and Etymology of Camp

Although some accounts of camp only date back to the late nineteenth century, the term has deep roots in seventeenth-century France.¹³ The term originates from the French word *se camper*. It was first used in 1672 in France in a play by Molière called *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (*The Impostures of Scapin*).¹⁴ The scene starts with a young aristocrat who is told to go in disguise in an attempt to bluff his way out of things with his father and the term comes about as "Camp about on one leg. Put your hand on your hip and strut like a comedy king!"¹⁵ In this context, camp meant to prance and frolic around. This shows that camp has always been associated with a flare of flamboyance and theatricality. In studying the origins of camp, Boot wrote that the camp aesthetic can be further seen in places such as the Palace of Versailles, and the court of the Sun King. Louis XIV is well-known for diverting the nobility's attention away from politics by holding grand balls alongside other accompanying festivities.¹⁶ His younger brother Philippe I, Duc d'Orleans, who built the palace, was a camp icon.¹⁷ He reportedly desired to dress as a woman himself, revelling in the joy when people mistook him for one.¹⁸ Camp people have always idealised the seventeenth-century court since men were more preening and expressive than women, and because of the strict etiquette rules that went with it.

Meanwhile, some characteristics that came to be associated with the camp aesthetic can be found in the Rococo movement which emerged in the 1720s. The style is characterised by an abundance of curves, pastel colours, elegance and grace, and has been described as “playful, elegant, highly artificial.”¹⁹ The art style was highly theatrical and dramatic with ridiculous scenes depicted in paintings. In contrast to the Baroque movement, Rococo preferred irregularity and asymmetry over seriousness, and Rococo paintings were often an amazing theatre of movement and light. A well-known example would be *The Swing* by Jean-Honoré Fragonard, where a young woman is pictured elegantly on a swing.²⁰ Afterwards, it crops up again in France in 1863 with Theophile Gautier who is best known for writing the gender-fluid character of *Mademoiselle de Maupin*, which is very camp in itself. In studying female camp androgyny, Piggford wrote that the connection between camp and androgyny is fairly obvious.²¹ Piggford argues that androgyny, like camp, aims to liberate the individual from the constraints of the appropriate, making the viewer question their assumptions about gender roles.²² In Gautier’s novel *Captain Fracasse* he says the following translated: “Matamore camped it up in an extravagantly angular pose which his great thinness served to make even more ridiculous.”²³ He uses *se camper* here meaning the practice to act effusively with elements of theatricality, exaggeration and flamboyance.

In 1909, camp was first recorded on paper in a dictionary of Victorian slang by James Ware, meaning “actions and gestures of an exaggerated emphasis.”²⁴ The dictionary entry showed: “Probably from the French.

Used chiefly of persons of exceptional want of character –to queer (of-questionable-character, not-in-a-normal-condition, forged) people.”²⁵ For the first time, this linking to theatricality and queer culture is recorded on paper which is highly linked to the theatre world with ‘Polari’.²⁶ In the early twentieth century, Polari came to be a form of lingo that was used often by theatrical people. It was a spoken “language” as you could not have full conversations with it but you would come close to full sentences and questions.²⁷

So while Sontag popularised camp, this is not to say that she invented the concept. Sontag herself mentioned Christopher Isherwood who published a decade prior to Sontag’s essay his novel *The World in the Evening* in 1954.²⁸ Isherwood describes camp in a very similar manner as Sontag. In a brief scene, the protagonist attempts to explain “High camp” and “Low Camp” by using words such as “fun and artifice and elegance.”²⁹ Similarly to Sontag, he says: “You can’t camp about something you don’t take seriously. You’re not making fun of it; you’re making fun out of it.”³⁰ *The World in the Evening* stands exemplary for an important element that many academics have been criticised for: the absence of an acknowledged gay influence on camp. This criticism can also be applied to Sontag’s acclaimed essay. Moe Meyer stated that Sontag minimized the involvement of homosexuality to aid the public in accepting camp easier.³¹ Sontag fails to credit the queer community in the development of camp by stating that someone else would have invented camp if the homosexuals had not.³² She further describes the relationship between camp and homosexuality as “a peculiar affinity and overlap”, which arguably

does not serve justice to the influence homosexuality had on camp.³³

On the contrary to these allegations, on that same page of her essay, she states that homosexuals “more or less invented” camp and acknowledges that homosexuals “by and large, constitute the vanguard—and the most articulate audience—of Camp.”³⁴ Ultimately, it does take away the queerness of camp. Although heterosexual people may enjoy these extravagant aesthetics, they would not have been able to shape the concept like queer people did because camp has always served as a tool for marginalised communities.³⁵ This will be explained further in the article. There has not been this similar need for camp among the heterosexual community. Because they are the dominant culture, their vices frequently go unrecognised despite the fact that they can be just as outrageous. That is why Sontag’s failure to properly credit the queer community for camp may be interpreted as an attempt to integrate heterosexual people into camp culture. As you cannot subscribe to the system of beauty that has no understanding of you, you create an alternate system of evaluating taste that is based on extravagance, effort, ambition and passion instead of beauty or respectability.

Following Sontag’s essay, the discourse of camp became one that would continually attempt to appropriate queer connotations.³⁶ This caused camp to intermingle and branch into a wide network of other cultural movements such as pop culture. Camp became a key component in the evolution of pop culture. Many other academics on popular culture have given various reasonings for how camp became

as we know it today. This is not to say that they have completely ignored queer involvement when discussing the development of camp. Although writers such as Andrew Ross have recognized the important role of queer people, they aim to find other relating elements and causes that were significant for the development of camp. The work of Andrew Ross *Uses of Camp* has been prominent in this discussion as he argues that camp has a political significance in redefining social relations between classes, thus rejecting Susan Sontag’s statement that camp is “depoliticised—or at least apolitical.”³⁷ According to Ross, the camp philosophy served as an “operation of taste,” allowing marginalised communities to form an integrated identity out of disposable components of popular culture.³⁸ For instance, camp’s veneration of female stars, seeing them as emotional subjects rather than objects, contributed to the reforming of accepted sexual roles and sexual identities.³⁹ Ross gives the example of how ‘the camp liberator’ destabilised traditional definitions of culture by rediscovering and resurrecting history’s excluded waste material, forming a cultural economy.⁴⁰ He calls camp “the re-creation of surplus value from forgotten forms of labor.”⁴¹ Inevitably, camp became an important ingredient to the uprising of the cultural egalitarianism that occurred in the sixties, or as Ross puts it, a “classless culture.”⁴² Pop aficionados simply proclaimed everything and everyone equal.

Following the Stonewall Riots

The general loosening of bourgeois structures in the 1960s created a less repressive atmosphere which reached its zenith in 1969 with the Stonewall riots. On

June 26 1969, in New York, police officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a homosexual bar in Greenwich Village.⁴³ Patrons of the bar decided to finally retaliate against a long-standing pattern of police harassment and social discrimination.⁴⁴ Protesters, many of whom were drag queens, took to the streets to express their anger and rage. Their response initiated a riot that carried on the next three nights.⁴⁵ The Stonewall riots are easily seen as one of the most significant events in LGBTQ+ history. The event is generally viewed by academics as the inauguration of the modern gay rights movement.⁴⁶ Their widely publicised resistance to police harassment prompted a new impetus for homosexual political action in the United States, as well as increased visibility for drag and queer culture. However, as these cultures became more visible, their fashion styles became more accessible to the larger culture, which frequently imitated the style without necessarily adopting the sexual identity. This cultural appropriation continued in the decades that followed as 'mass camp' became more popular and more relevant in modern-day aestheticism.⁴⁷ Cultural appropriation is the unacknowledged adoption of anything from one culture or identity by someone from another culture or identity, most often someone from a dominant culture represented in society.⁴⁸

Nonetheless, camp's subordinate position to pop culture does not come as a surprise. Moe Meyer argues that when camp is subjected to a dominant culture, it automatically loses its queer agency.⁴⁹ This is due to the dominant culture's proclivity to claim to have 'rediscovered' whatever they come across and try to claim it as their own.⁵⁰ Dominant culture is meant as the

predominant culture followed by the largest group of people and therefore the most widely supported, and in this case: popular culture. As camp became more exposed to the general public, it was eventually absorbed by popular culture, with its queer connotations being overlooked. According to Meyer, the dominant will always appropriate whatever aspects camp chooses to put in its path, and camp is well aware of this fact.⁵¹ Camp then, paradoxically, can seamlessly incorporate queer knowledge into dominant ideology due to this knowledge of its future appropriation. Ironically, operating camp as a tool to criticise dominant ideology through a queer parody, is very camp in itself.

Similarly to Meyer, Kathrin Horn talks about camp being used as a tool by an oppressed community to protest the lack of a safe social space whilst also providing humour, solidarity and taste.⁵² Horn first discusses how within the pre-Stonewall community camp culture, camp was already "a means of communication and survival."⁵³ As Fabio Cleto puts it, camp was a 'survivalist strategy' for dealing with a hostile environment.⁵⁴ The discourse surrounding camp created a framework in which people were able to build political power.⁵⁵ Still, Horn depicts a shift in the perception of camp during the Pre-Stonewall period, in which gay activists rejected camp because of internalised self-hatred.⁵⁶ What happened next dealt a blow to the upcoming gay rights movement, because the dismissal of camp allowed authors such as Susan Sontag to label camp as depoliticised.⁵⁷ As a result of this depoliticisation, the camp sensibility became more institutionalised and widely available, something Barbara Klinger refers

to as “mass camp sensibility,”⁵⁸ Klinger writes about a ‘democratising’ of culture that occurred in the 1950s, in which mass media production led audiences to lower their cultural standards.⁵⁹ They started to prefer mass media products and low art, which has always defined the camp sensibility, and because of the expansion of mass culture, camp gradually assimilated into a mass aesthetic.⁶⁰ Following the assimilation of camp, Horn states that it was then rediscovered in the 1980s as a meaningful strategy of political criticism by shifting its focus from essentialism to performativity.⁶¹ This meant that camp was now open to a wider audience rather than being a ‘survivalist strategy’ for a marginalised ‘in-group’.⁶²

Contemporary Camp

Pop art plays a significant role in the process of camp’s assimilation into mass culture as pop celebrated mass media products as a direct attack on high art, and continued to destabilise cultural frameworks.⁶³ Pop artwork such as Andy Warhol’s infamous Campbell’s Soup Cans springs to mind.⁶⁴

Campbell’s Soup Cans by Andy Warhol is a series of individual canvases of 32 flavours of Campbell’s soup that was available in stores in the year 1962, the year wherein this exhibit aired.⁶⁵ The original exhibit had the canvases resting on different white shelves, similar to how you would have seen it in a grocery store.⁶⁶ He used silk screen printing to get the initial image of the soup can onto the canvas, and then hand-lettered the individual details for the different flavours.⁶⁷ So audiences saw these mass-production techniques of mechanisation being used on art; in contrast to the idea that art was supposed to be unique and precious, rather

than mass-produced of objects and logos used to sell us things.⁶⁸ This work can be interpreted as camp as it pushes the envelope by removing everyday objects from their mundane settings and making it into ‘fine art.’ It was a parody of mass production and the capitalist consumerist culture that was very present in the 1960s.⁶⁹ Andrew Ross argues that Warhol’s work was not only a critique of exploitative capitalism, but it also suggested that art has something directly to do with consumership, relating it back to Ross’ idea of the cultural economy.⁷⁰ Warhol’s work was a commentary on his time; he challenged the notion of artistic elitism, which held that only those with the proper training could go on to become legends of the artworld.⁷¹ Andy Warhol’s work toyed with the relationship of avant-garde art and commercial art. In studying Warhol’s usage of camp, Matthew Tinkcom argues the importance of camp’s contributions to the pop scene.⁷² Tinkcom writes about how Warhol and his queer contemporaries in the New York cinema underground mocked the dynamics of mass-cultural production and challenge the margins of its viewership through their camp performativity.⁷³ His films from the infamous Silver Factory were considered very provocative, frequently involving same-sex relations, transgender characters and superstars in drag.⁷⁴ The film *Camp* from 1965 is another prime example of Warhol’s usage of camp, in which Warhol does stress camp’s queer connotations.⁷⁵ It featured camp icons such as Baby Jane Holzer, Mario Montez, and Jack Smith. *Camp* (1965) has since been considered as part of the queer ‘cultural canon’ and has been referenced in many camp productions.⁷⁶ Being queer, Warhol had a great interest in

gender norms, sexuality and the construction of gender identity himself.⁷⁷ For instance, having a longstanding interest in drag, he created numerous self-portraits in drag.⁷⁸ By repeatedly demonstrating these marginalised voices, Warhol created a safe space with his work in which he aided in paving the way for future queer people to express themselves more freely.⁷⁹

Drag plays a significant role in camp culture, specifically queer camp.⁸⁰ Ester Newton argues in her ethnographic analysis *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* that camp describes more of a relationship between things, and that in this case, the 'camp taste' is synonymous with homosexual taste.⁸¹ While challenging what mainstream audiences think of as androgyny devoid of any femininity, drag pushes normative expectations and boundaries of gender and sexuality.⁸² Drag has frequently been accused of sexism and morally wrongdoing due to its exaggeration of feminine codes. However, the performers describe their performances as work; it is their profession.⁸³ As their activities cannot be fully assimilated into the established order of things, this declaration of work is crucial in preventing them from being referred to as "the insane."⁸⁴ According to José Esteban Muñoz, minority performers use disidentification, frequently engaging with dominant cultural texts, to reveal and subvert hegemonic narratives.⁸⁵

Since the 1960s, drag has become increasingly popular, reaching a global audience with the debut of RuPaul's Drag Race in 2009, an American competition reality television series that only features drag queens and drag culture.⁸⁶ Drag culture's acceptance and celebration on national television represents the

emancipation and liberation from enduring and suffocating definitions of gender and sexuality.⁸⁷ Nonetheless, RuPaul's Drag Race is more than just a witty show in which drag queens dance around and lip sync. The vengeful nature of its format, which demands that there be winners and losers from one episode to the next, teaches us exclusivity and competition rather than inclusion and community.⁸⁸ Joke Hermes then contends that RuPaul's Drag Race exemplifies the complexities of today's desire for 'freedom,' while also engaging the audience in political discussions about gender and sexuality.⁸⁹

A key component of camp is the exploration of gender norms and sexuality, which includes the use of androgyny. Similar to drag, androgyny refers to the fluidity of sexual traits and attempts to liberate the individual from the limits of the appropriate gender.⁹⁰ Since the 1970s, the appearance of more androgynous figures in popular culture has pushed camp further into the dominant culture. A prime example of the 'camp androgynous' is Annie Lennox, the vocalist for the pop duo Eurythmics, who was well-known as an androgynous figure in British popular culture.⁹¹ In their music video for 'Love is a Stranger,' Lennox experimented with the transformative process that morphed her from a woman to a man visually.⁹² Lennox made her first appearance in this video, riding in the back of a limousine dressed as a high-class call-girl, complete with a long blond wig, feminine make-up, and a full-length mink coat. Throughout the video, she transforms from a prostitute to a businessman who purchases their services, and finally into a puppet-like male figure being controlled. This transformation, which included the

stereotypical de-wigging typical of female impersonators' acts, blurred the line between male and female, and it perfectly reinforced the lyrics that focused on obsessive love and the loss of self-control as a result of it. However, her successful performance of androgyny sparked controversy in the United States as it supposedly posed a threat to the existing norms of gender performance, prompting her to confirm she was a woman and not a 'transvestite'.⁹³

Camp was further pushed into mainstream audiences with the exhibition "Camp, Notes on Fashion" at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2019.⁹⁴ The annual Met Gala took place on May 6 2019, taking the new exhibition as its theme which made viewers wait with some trepidation. Critics were sceptical as there are inherent issues in bringing a subcultural manifestation like the camp sensibility to a mainstream audience.⁹⁵ Whereas RuPaul's Drag Race still had a predominantly homosexual audience, the Met Gala of 2019 required celebrities who might not be familiar with the camp sensibility to conform to this queer aesthetic.⁹⁶ This raised the possibility of misunderstandings and the need to change messages and meanings to meet broader social agendas or moral and ethical requirements. The exhibition that was based on Susan Sontag's essay Notes on Camp of 1964 gave a well-rounded representation of the camp sensibility whilst also making it fun and playful to watch.⁹⁷ However, a large portion of the male guests of the Met Gala seemed to neglect the theme at all, as many of them showed up in the standard look of the black suit.

Conclusion

Camp has travelled a long way from seventeenth-century France to the 2019 Met Gala. Academics have offered various explanations for how camp developed into what it is today, starting with Moe Meyer who is an advocate of camp's roots in the queer community. He criticised other academics work for not giving enough credit to the queer community such as Susan Sontag's Notes on Camp.⁹⁸ Furthermore, while acknowledging the queer influence, Andrew Ross chose a more political explanation for camp's role in redefining social relations between classes. That environment made room for protest and change, reaching its peak with the Stonewall riots. Camp developed as a political response to the cultural emanations of the gay liberation movements. As a consequence, the Stonewall riots increased the visibility of queer culture in contemporary culture. A negative effect of this exposure was the appropriation of camp manners, which Ross contends is inevitable because camp will always be subordinate to the predominant culture.⁹⁹ However, as camp is aware of its status as a subverted subject to dominant culture, camp is free to do whatever it wants; it evolves while maintaining its core values.¹⁰⁰ Kathrin Horn showed the significance of camp within the pre-Stonewall community; camp was then "a means of communication and survival [for gay people]" in a hostile environment.¹⁰¹ Horn further discussed the political power camp could attain, but it was halted by a shift in mentality in the 1960s, when gay activists began to reject camp as a form of self-hatred.¹⁰² As a result, "mass camp sensibility," came to be, in which audiences decided to adore 'mediocre' mass media products.¹⁰³

This was showcased by looking at artists like Andy Warhol who played into the new trend of mass media products by mechanising his art production. His art piece Campbell's Soup Cans was a camp parody of the mass media culture that stretched and challenged the definition of art by transforming a mundane object into 'fine art'.¹⁰⁴ By the time of the 1980s, camp was available to a wider audience due to its adjustment from being a survival tool for a marginalised group to an art performance.¹⁰⁵ With RuPaul's Drag Race as a prime example, drag has become an important part of camp culture. It represents the emancipation of a marginalised community, which has contributed in the deconstruction and redefining of gender and sexuality norms. Another example is the Metropolitan Museum of Art's exhibition "Camp, Notes on Fashion," where the representation of camp culture was arguably well-presented, although the interpretations of some Met Gala's guests were not up to par.

Regardless of what one might consider camp's origins, it is impossible to ignore the connection between the term's usage in the gay community prior to Stonewall and its appearance in Ware's book in 1909. Given the combination of theatricality, male homosexuality, and aesthetic sense, one may argue that the origins of camp and those who identify as homosexual are inextricably intertwined. This is not to say that camp and queerness are mutually exclusive, but camp cannot exist without queerness. This opens the discussion of accurate representation of marginalised communities in the media. Further research where political questions of gender and sexuality are being raised can make up for a better understanding of how a subcultural

manifestation moves from its original community into mainstream culture and how to address appropriation.

¹ Susan Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (Penguin UK, 2013), 264.

² Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 273.

³ Fabio Cleto, ed., *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject--A Reader*, Illustrated edition (Edinburgh: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 31.

⁴ William L. Leap, *Language Before Stonewall: Language, Sexuality, History* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), 18.

⁵ Barbara Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning: History, Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk* (Indiana University Press, 1994), 133.

⁶ See: Katrin Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," in *Women, Camp, and Popular Culture* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 15–33.

⁷ Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*.

⁸ Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 264.

⁹ Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*, 272.

¹⁰ John Adkins Richardson, "Dada, Camp, and the Mode Called Pop", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 24, no. 4 (1966): 552.

¹¹ Philip Core, *Camp: The Lie That Tells the Truth* (Plexus, 1984), 9.

¹² Esther Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (University of Chicago Press, 1979), 106-107.

¹³ Mark Booth, "Campe-toi!: On the Origins and Definitions of Camp," in *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader*, ed. Fabio Cleto (Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 75.

¹⁴ Molière, *Les Fourberies de Scapin* (Paris, France, 1671), 26.

¹⁵ Booth, "Campe-toi!", 78.

¹⁶ Booth, "Campe-toi!," 76.

¹⁷ Booth, "Campe-toi!," 76.

¹⁸ Booth, "Campe-toi!," 77.

¹⁹ Cyril Barrett, "The Are of Rococo," *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 49, no. 194 (1960): 163-164.

²⁰ Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Swing, 1767-1768*, Wallace Collection, London. Smarthistory. <https://smarthistory.org/jean-honore-fragonard-the->

swing/, accessed on 22 June 2022.

²¹ George Piggford, "Who's That Girl?: Annie Lennox, Woolf's 'Orlando', and Female Camp Androgyny,"

Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal 30, no. 3 (1997): 39–58.

²² Piggford, *Female Camp Androgyny*, 45.

²³ Booth, "Campe-toil," 75.

²⁴ Cleto, *Camp: Queer Aesthetics*, 61.

²⁵ Cleto, *Camp: Queer Aesthetics*, 61.

²⁶ Cleto, *Camp: Queer Aesthetics*, 30.

²⁷ Leap, *Language Before Stonewall*, 82–84.

²⁸ Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 264.

²⁹ Christopher Isherwood, *The World in the Evening* (Random House, 2012), 103.

³⁰ Isherwood, *The World in the Evening*, 103.

³¹ Moe Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," in *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance* (Routledge, 1998), 255.

³² Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 278.

³³ Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 278.

³⁴ Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 278.

³⁵ Katrin Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 16–17.

³⁶ Meyer, "Discourse of Camp," 258.

³⁷ Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 265.

³⁸ Andrew Ross, *No Respect: Intellectuals & Popular Culture* (Routledge, 1989), 162.

³⁹ Ross, *No Respect*, 195–197.

⁴⁰ Ross, *No Respect*, 188.

⁴¹ Ross, *No Respect*, 188.

⁴² Ross, *No Respect*, 167.

⁴³ Cynthia Cannon Poindexter, "Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall: Analysis of the Origins of the Gay Rights Movement in the United States," *Social Work* 42, no. 6 (1997): 607.

⁴⁴ Poindexter, "Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall," 607.

⁴⁵ Poindexter, "Sociopolitical Antecedents to Stonewall," 607.

⁴⁶ See also: William Leap, *Language Before Stonewall*, 5.

⁴⁷ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 133.

⁴⁸ James O. Young, *Cultural Appropriation and the Arts* (John Wiley & Sons, 2010), 4–9.

⁴⁹ Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," 258.

⁵⁰ Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," 258.

⁵¹ Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," 258.

⁵² Katrin Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 16–17.

⁵³ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 16.

⁵⁴ Cleto, *Camp: Queer Aesthetics*, 89.

⁵⁵ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 26.

⁵⁶ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 18.

⁵⁷ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 18.; Sontag, *Against Interpretation*, 265.

⁵⁸ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 133.

⁵⁹ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 137.

⁶⁰ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 137.

⁶¹ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 19–20.

⁶² Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 19–20.

⁶³ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 138.

⁶⁴ Andy Warhol, *Campbell's Soup Can*, 1964, Los Angeles. Museum of Modern Art.

<https://www.moma.org/collection/works/79809>, accessed on 23 June 2022.

⁶⁵ Museum of Modern Art, "Andy Warhol."

⁶⁶ Museum of Modern Art, "Andy Warhol."

⁶⁷ Museum of Modern Art, "Andy Warhol."

⁶⁸ Anthony E. Grudin, *Warhol's Working Class: Pop Art and Egalitarianism* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), 80–86.

⁶⁹ Grudin, *Warhol's Working Class*, 89.

⁷⁰ Ross, *No Respect*, 209.

⁷¹ Grudin, *Warhol's Working Class*, 70.

⁷² Matthew Tinkcom, "21 'Warhol's Camp,'" in *Camp: Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader* (Edinburgh University Press, 2022), 344–54.

⁷³ Tinkcom, "21 'Warhol's Camp,'" 350–54.

⁷⁴ Grudin, *Warhol's Working Class*, 118–34.

⁷⁵ Katrin Horn, *Women, Camp, and Popular Culture: Serious Excess* (Springer, 2017).

⁷⁶ Horn, *Women, Camp, and Popular Culture*, 17.

⁷⁷ Jennifer Doyle, Jonathan Flatley, and José Esteban Muñoz, *Pop Out: Queer Warhol* (Duke University Press, 1996), 204.

⁷⁸ Doyle, Flatley, and Muñoz, *Pop Out*, 204.

⁷⁹ Grudin, *Warhol's Working Class*, 127–28.

⁸⁰ Newton, *Mother Camp*, 100.

⁸¹ Newton, *Mother Camp*, 105.

⁸² Newton, *Mother Camp*, 5–8.

⁸³ Newton, *Mother Camp*, 6.

⁸⁴ Newton, *Mother Camp*, 6.

⁸⁵ José Esteban Muñoz, *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 31.

⁸⁶ Joke Hermes and Michael Kardolus, "The Rupaul Paradox: Freedom and Stricture in a Competition Reality TV Show," *Javnost - The Public* 29, no. 1 (2 January 2022): 82–97.

⁸⁷ Hermes and Kardolus, "The Rupaul Paradox," 84–85.

⁸⁸ Hermes and Kardolus, "The Rupaul Paradox," 87.

⁸⁹ Hermes and Kardolus, "The Rupaul Paradox," 84–85.

⁹⁰ Piggford, "Who's That Girl?," 40, 45.

⁹¹ Piggford, "Who's That Girl?," 40.

- ⁹² Eurythmics, Eurythmics, Annie Lennox, Dave Stewart - Love Is a Stranger (Official Video), 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o6f593X6rv8>.
- ⁹³ Piggford, "Who's That Girl?," 41.
- ⁹⁴ Andrew Bolton, Camp: Notes on Fashion (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2019).
- ⁹⁵ Mark O'Connell, "Sweetarts: The Politics of Exclusion, and Camping Out with Susan Sontag at the Met," *Fashion Theory* 26, no. 1 (2 January 2022): 27–65.
- ⁹⁶ Hermes and Kardolus, "The Rupaul Paradox," 84.
- ⁹⁷ O'Connell, "Sweetarts," 28.
- ⁹⁸ Sontag, *Against Interpretation and Other Essays*.
- ⁹⁹ Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," 258.
- ¹⁰⁰ Meyer, "Reclaiming the Discourse of Camp," 258.
- ¹⁰¹ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 16-17.
- ¹⁰² Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 18.
- ¹⁰³ Klinger, *Melodrama and Meaning*, 133.
- ¹⁰⁴ Andy Warhol, *Campbell's Soup Can*.
- ¹⁰⁵ Horn, "The History and Theory of Camp," 19-20.

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