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ON FORMS AND FICTIONS:
A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF STEVEN
CAMPBELL (1953-2007)

GRÁINNE RICE

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Frontispiece: c. 2001-02, *Physico [Psycho] Rugs Hosta! Shade* (author's own)

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ABSTRACT

The thesis is a definitive critical biography of Scottish artist Steven Campbell (1953-2007) underpinned by extensive archival research, semi-structured interviews, and relevant critical and historical secondary sources. The aim of the research was to write the essential point of reference for this artist and in the process to contest a few existing narratives around Campbell's work in relation to its critical framing. Sources about Campbell are limited largely to exhibition reviews, exhibition catalogues and one monograph: *The Story So Far* by Duncan Macmillan published in 1993, several years before Campbell's premature death in 2007. The thesis follows a chronological structure through Campbell's educational and exhibition histories, looking at critical reception and the various artworld contexts through which he moved. It addresses the critical framing of Campbell that aligned his work with key relevant terminology of Neo-Expressionism, New Image Glasgow, and the New Glasgow Boys phenomenon. The thesis is informed by the research undertaken to compile the first *catalogue raisonné* for this artist, presented here as Appendix One. The methodological approach is broadly art historical, including iconographic analysis of individual works, reflection on the relevant contexts Campbell worked within and is informed by Visual Culture analysis.

The Introduction covers key terminology used in the thesis and includes an overview of social and economic contexts for Campbell's work. The Literature Review includes a gazetteer of key sources by typology. It charts how popular and critical reception to Campbell evolved during his career with reference to relevant recent art historical analyses. The first chapter looks at the formative educational and social contexts from which Campbell emerged, considering the specifics of the foundations of his expanded practice in the Mixed Media studios and Drawing

and Painting Department at Glasgow School of Art (GSA) from the late 1970s-1982. The second chapter explores his early works made whilst living in New York between 1982-1986 with reference to recent scholarship on the 1980s art market. It charts the various exhibitions and collectors that underpinned his very swift success in New York and considers the impact that his American success had in the UK. The third chapter follows Campbell's return to Scotland and the institution patronage he enjoyed. The fourth chapter is a detailed analysis of his 1990 *On Form and Fiction* exhibition in Glasgow. The fifth chapter documents the period in the 1990s when Campbell was operating from the 'margins' of 'fashionability'. (McKenzie, Farquhar and Transmission Gallery, 2000; Bracewell, 2002). It considers how Campbell maintained his practice through exhibition and commissions albeit less prolifically than the previous decade. The sixth and final chapter narrates how his work has been rediscovered and critically re-evaluated in the years leading up to his death through changing curatorial contexts and considers the change of critical framework when *On Form and Fiction* was restaged in Edinburgh in 2014. The conclusion also evaluates the work undertaken on the *catalogue raisonné* and considers areas for further postdoctoral research.

LAY SUMMARY

This thesis is a critical biography of the Scottish artist Steven Campbell (b. 1953, Glasgow, d. 2007, Stirling). Campbell had a successful practice in the 1980s. He is primarily known for his paintings; however, this thesis looks at lesser known aspects of his artistic practice to demonstrate how he was working with ideas of Postmodern interdisciplinarity. The following chapters include an account of his working life and analysis of his major works. As part of the research I have compiled the first catalogue of his art presented as Appendix One.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

British Art Show	BAS
British Library	BL
Centre for Contemporary Art, Glasgow	CCA
Council for National Academic Awards	CNAA
Glasgow Film Theatre	GFT
Glasgow School of Art	GSA
The Metropolitan Museum of Art	The Met
National Galleries of Scotland	NGS
Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art	SNGMA
Scottish National Portrait Gallery	SNPG
Talbot Rice Gallery	TRG
The Third Eye Centre	Third Eye
Walker Art Center, Minneapolis	Walker
Young British artist(s)	yBa
Yale Center for British Art	YCBA

INTRODUCTION: *On Forms and Fictions: A Critical Biography of Steven Campbell (1953-2007)*

This thesis is a biography of the Scottish artist Steven Campbell (b. 1953, Glasgow, d. 2007, Stirling). My research process and analysis are informed by the discourses of art history and visual culture, my formal education from A-level through to Master level. Using terminology proposed by Tate's Head of Research, Emily Pringle, of the 'museum professional as a practitioner-researcher' (Pringle, 2018), this research and how it developed has also been shaped by the experiential knowledge that comes from my practice as a curator and gallery educator. This thesis is the outcome of eight years of part-time academic research and writing alongside this practice. I had a relatively in-depth knowledge of Campbell's work before enrolling as a research student at Edinburgh College of Art in 2011. I was already a Trustee of the Steven Campbell Trust (established in 2009) and had worked on two exhibitions with Campbell: *Campbell's Soup* group exhibition curated by Neil Mulholland in 2005, and *Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven*, the first posthumous solo show in 2008. The funding for my PhD was originally aligned to the Expanded Painting research cluster at ECA. Instinctively the project developed into a critical biography of Campbell's life and work as it became evident through initial research that no definitive source existed for the artist. By attempting to address a gap in the existing scholarship about Campbell, this thesis represents a unique contribution to knowledge. This introduction outlines: the field of enquiry, an overview of the main arguments, an overview of key terms, a literature/ source review and methods of research and interpretation used.

With full support of the artist's Estate I have used images of Campbell's work throughout the text of this thesis. Some images were sourced through the Estate, some are my own images taken with the blessing of the Estate and some sourced through google searches. Works in the artist's Estate are listed as CC Collection. In his essay on stealing imagery, Jan Verwoert introduces appropriation as 'one of the most basic procedures of modern art production and education' (Verwoert, 2007). Appropriation was the foundation of Campbell's Postmodern practice as such I have decided it essential to include images of some relevant contextual materials and artworks Campbell was referencing with the intention of using imagery to assist the written argument. These have also largely been sourced through google image searches.

The Field of Enquiry: The Life and Work of Scottish artist Steven Campbell

As a critical biography of Campbell, the scope of this research is limited to the timeframe and geography of the artist's life. Due to the nature of his ambition, encyclopaedic appropriative strategies and international success, the field of enquiry could be relatively expansive encompassing: post-war Glasgow, de-industrialisation in Scotland, Campbell's working-class identity, teaching at Glasgow School of Art (GSA) in the 1970s and 1980s, the art market in New York in the 1980s, surrealism, literature, football, philosophy and other areas of interest. Using Campbell's artworks as the starting point for my research the scope of this thesis was guided by his experiences and the breadth of his artistic interests. This submission is supported by the *catalogue raisonné* appendix.

At times, the wealth of materials unearthed through the research process has seemed infinite and the process of reviewing and writing has felt overwhelming, prompting me to question the appropriateness of the chosen biographical form. In part the dilemma induced by the breadth of the scope of my research was why I chose to exclude from this study any detailed analysis of the Glasgow artists associated with Campbell, such as fellow figurative painters Adrian Wiszniewski, Ken Currie and others who graduated from GSA in the 1980s. However, the exclusion was also a deliberate strategy with an underpinning goal to revise scholarly approaches to Campbell, whose reputation has been inextricably intertwined with arguably different artistic practices. I will argue that journalistic and critical tendencies to homogenise this group of male Glasgow painters, in the earnest hope of finding shared artistic

characteristics, has been detrimental to critical readings of Campbell's work and served to trivialise his standing.



Fig. 1, c. 2002 Steven Campbell (Courtesy of Talbot Rice Gallery)

Within academic art history, writing a biographical history of an artist might be perceived as a somewhat retrogressive act. In his 1986 essay

'Tastes and Tendency', art historian and critic Charles Harrison summarised an attitude held by those engaged in New Art History practices towards 'so much published art history' as that of a 'curious combination of dusty antiquarianism with fulsome hagiography' (p. 77 Harrison, 1986). Even if couched in terms of criticality and context, there is potentially something suspect and connoisseurial rather than objective or theoretical about the project to write an artist's life. In his 2011 book *Scottish Art Since 1960* Craig Richardson criticised Edward Gage's 1977 survey of post-war Scottish painting *The Eye in the Wind* for his 'unfounded' assertion that 'the arts do not exist in a vacuum but are constantly open to outside influences' (p. 14 Richardson, 2011). The implication of Richardson's critique that biographical writing reveals more of the writer biases and exposes weaknesses of the chosen artistic subjects.

Within the museum context, posthumous monographic exhibitions continue to have currency for both curators and public, for example both the recent Dorothea Tanning exhibition at Tate Modern and the Emile Nolde retrospective at National Gallery of Ireland/ Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (SNGMA) were well received offering new scholarship and re-evaluation

of historic artists. In a 2018 public talk Sean Rainbird, Director of National Galleries of Ireland, remarked that concerns with identity and complexity have come to be reflected in exhibition making and that monograph shows were becoming increasingly like critical biographies of an artist (Rainbird, 2018). Returning to written histories, artist and writer John Richardson, in the 'Introduction' to his 1991 biography of Pablo Picasso, laid out his argument for his own biographic approach, 'Virtually all of Picasso's output... had this anthropomorphic element... a biography... would set the artist's life and work in relation to each other and in the broader context of cultural history' (p. 3 Richardson, 1991). In the 'Preface' to her biography of Scottish painter James Cowie, artist and critic Cordelia Oliver stated, that she was making 'no claim to have written a work of art-historical scholarship' (Oliver, 1980). Instead she emphasised her own training as an artist, 'I am, after all, a painter', as key to her alternative approach to the project (Oliver, 1980). Critic and art historian Susannah Thompson observed that in her biographical writing Oliver struck,

an ideal balance between her coverage of the artist's life, the context in which he/she worked and a full and remarkably perceptive account of the development of the work itself... Oliver's biographical texts are a testament to her critical acuity and her ability to distil an artist's life and work into a written account (p. 83 Thompson, 2010).

Oliver stated that her goal with the Cowie book was to 'strike a balance between biography and criticism' (Oliver, 1980). Whilst I make no claim to be working on a par with Oliver, a professional writer, I am attempting here to strike a similar balance with this history of Campbell.

Biographic forms of criticism are particularly relevant to Campbell; like John Richardson's characterisation of Picasso, so much of Campbell's work was self-referential. Campbell used alter-egos in his compositions, the recurring character 'Hunt' was a version of his persona. His

work also featured archetypal figures such as poets and clowns to symbolise the artist as seer/ maker/ magician. Campbell also inserted appropriated stand-in characters from literature into his artistic world, such as Bram Stoker's Van Helsing, as well as real-world literary figures including P. G. Wodehouse and Lytton Strachey. A parallel can be drawn between Strachey, the popular, literary biographer of *Eminent Victorians*, Campbell's own popular public artistic profile and his interest in biographies of artists he admired. His interest in alter-egos crept into life, Campbell even went as far as sporting a bulls-eye cricket cap identical to the one the young Strachey wears in Campbell's 1985 painting *The Dangerous Early Life of Lytton Strachey* (Tate collection).¹ It was not a coincidence that pioneer of the tell-all biographer Strachey became a key recurring character for Campbell. His aesthetic interest in biographies further emphasised the appropriateness of the biographical form for this first definitive survey on Campbell. In the following chapters I have focussed on specific, lesser known details of the artist's life – such as his lifelong love of football – to facilitate specific iconographic readings of his work. It is my aim here to demonstrate why biographical details can aid in-depth understanding of the ambiguous narratives in Campbell's work.

In design historian John Walker's 1989 study of differing modes of history writing, he offered the student of history binary approaches to the discipline: diachronic (chronology) vs. synchronic (relational or associative) (p. 79 Walker, 1989). Although this thesis is structured along chronological lines it attempts to accommodate Campbell's own synchronic approach and practice. For Campbell and many Postmodern visual artists like him, there was no single,

¹ Campbell bought the cap in a gentleman's outfitters in St James's, London. It appeared again in Campbell's *Pinocchio*, *The Habit of the Shrike* (1992).

canonical view of the past and the present. Synchronic, open systems of thought are key to understanding Campbell's layered and multi-referenced appropriative artworks in which simultaneity was an important feature.

In her 2001 article 'Historians Who Love Too Much', Jill Lepore outlined some of the professional pitfalls of taking a biographic approach to historical research, 'Getting too close to your subject is a major danger, but not getting to know her well enough is just as likely' (p. 129 Lepore, 2001). Lepore drew a distinction between writing biography and what she termed the practice of microhistory. The latter she described as a sub-genre of the former, defined as the 'intensive study of particular lives' undertaken to reveal, 'the fundamental experiences and mentalities of ordinary people' (p. 131 Lepore, 2001). In Lepore's reckoning the individuals who are the subject of microhistories are not necessarily valued by the researcher 'for their unique contributions to history, they are often people whose incompletely documented lives point historians toward a single questions shrouded in mystery' in other words, individuals are used as exemplars to tell larger historical narratives (p. 133 Lepore, 2001). In contrast, traditional biographers are telling a specific and unique story, their project is to 'profile an individual and recapitulate a life story' (p. 133 Lepore, 2001). Lepore proposed an interesting inversion of the researcher/ subject relationship. She posited that a 'biographer's alter ego is usually the subject of the biography, while a microhistorian's alter ego may be a figure who investigates or judges the subject. For this reason the microhistorian may be a character in his own book' (p. 141 Lepore, 2001). Academic rigour normally discourages over-identification and subjectivity but, as Lepore recognised, fondness and intimacy with the subject is sometimes an unintended consequence of close research and analysis. Regarding this project and my own subjectivity, I considered Lepore's essay as helpful note of caution. I have been careful

throughout to be clear about my own involvement in the narrative where relevant, particularly in Chapter Six. In an acknowledgement of Scotland's relatively small art scene, Craig Richardson suggested that it was 'the norm' for writers in the Scottish context, to occupy dual roles of participant and critic (p. 12 Richardson, 2011). In his 'Introduction' to the 1996 publication *Art of the Postmodern Era*, Irving Sandler also reminded us that subjectivity is inescapable, 'Art History is not transparent. It is written by individuals, who bring to it their own personal baggage of appetites, psychological makeups, ethnic identities, social positions, political and religious persuasions, and so on' (p. xxi Sandler, 1996). It is therefore with an awareness of these potential pitfalls that I have undertaken the project to write a critical biography of Campbell's life and work.

Overview of Key Terms and Arguments

In several exhibitions, and most of the existing literature, Campbell has been grouped with the cohort of similarly successful male, figurative painters who graduated from GSA in the early 1980s. Specifically they were: Adrian Wiszniewski, Ken Currie, Peter Howson, Mario Rossi and Stephen Conroy. Collectively they were referred to as New Image Glasgow, taken from the title Alexander (Sandy) Moffat's 1985 exhibition in which they all featured.² Alternative names given to the loose group have included the highly gendered New Glasgow Boys or the condescending, and somewhat repulsive sounding Glasgow Pups.³ It is the explicit aim of this thesis to detach Campbell from this terminology and consider his work and legacy within different contextual frameworks.

It is imperative to stress that New Image Glasgow/ the New Glasgow Boys did not represent a movement, there was no unifying ideology or regular meetings. The identity was conferred on them based on superficial similarities. The origins of the terminology were journalistic. It was originally employed by Waldemar Januszczak in *The Guardian* in the early 1980s and was picked up and used extensively by *The Glasgow Herald* art critic Clare Henry. These terms have enjoyed an enduring popularity, much to the chagrin of the artists associated with them. Carol Campbell later summarised, 'It was a misnomer... one of those facile things that was... very journalistic, it gave a lynchpin for an article' (C Campbell, M Campbell and Wallace, 2009). The

² Alexander Moffat, better known as Sandy to his students and friends, is referenced as Alexander when about his curatorial projects, publications, and his artwork. He is referenced to as Sandy in social contexts.

³ The gendered terminology was erroneous as several women artists were also associated with Glasgow's expressive/ figurative styles including: Gwen Hardie, Joyce Cairns, Lys Hansen, Margaret Hunter, Heather Nevay, Carole Gibbons, Helen Flockhart, and others.

mutual dislike for the New Glasgow Boys name originated from it having been conferred by Henry, a critic. In the history of art this was not unusual, many names associated with movements in *avant-garde* Modernism originated from pejorative or journalistic terminology. For example, Louis Vauxcelles' invention of the term Fauvist for the work of Henri Matisse, André Derain *et al* in his negative review of the 1905 *Salon d'Automne* in the *Gil Blas* periodical (Vauxcelles, 1905).

The New Glasgow Boys terminology implied a kind of seamless, shared identity and sense of purpose that was absent. Carol Campbell later recalled, '[t]hey all, Steven in particular, spent the rest of their careers trying to disassociate themselves from [it]' (C Campbell, M Campbell and Wallace, 2009). In identifying the loose grouping of individuals under the 'New' moniker, Henry was directly invoking the spirit and success of the late nineteenth-century group of Glasgow painters, who even in the 1980s, remained the last notable international artistic export from the city. The inference was obvious; one hundred years later Campbell *et al* had eclipsed the original Glasgow Boys.⁴

⁴ Championed by Francis 'Fra' Newbery, Director of GSA from 1885-1917, the original Glasgow Boys included James Guthrie, John Lavery, E. A. Hornel and E. A. Walton among others.



Fig. 2, 1989 art critic Achille Bonito Oliva front cover of *Frigidaire*, Jul-Aug issue (aisseriapuglam.blogspot.com)

The terminology of 'New' also derived from international artistic tendencies of the 1970s and 1980s variously named Neo-Expressionism in the UK, US and Germany, New Figuration or *Nouvelle Figuration* in France and New Image in the US. Crucial for understanding Campbell's work is the term *Transavantguardia*. Coined in 1979 by flamboyant art

critic and curator Achille Bonito Oliva, to imply that artists must look past the *avant garde*, it became synonymous with Italian Postmodernism. He collectively applied the term to the sensuous painting and drawing practices of an all-male group of Italian artists that included: Sandro Chia, Francesco Clemente, Enzo Cucchi, Nicola De Maria and Mimmo Paladino. In his seminal essay on the group, Bonito Oliva decried the 'Darwinistic and Evolutionary mentality' of Modernism (p. 7 Bonito Oliva, 1990). He argued the contradiction of the *avant-garde's* continual quest for novelty, was its inevitable co-option by the market. He identified in *Transavantguardia* a new 'affirmation' of 'pictorial practices' arising in reaction to the seriousness of *Arte Povera's* brand of conceptualism of the 1960s (p. 5 Bonito Oliva, 1990). According to critic Stefano Chiodi, *Transavantguardia* was a 'paradoxical and intellectually lucid attempt to appropriate the language of modern figurative art' (Chiodi, 2016). Bonito Oliva identified a disaffection with preceding artistic *avant-gardes*, a frustration at the inability, despite the rhetoric, to fracture the power of the corrupt post-war Italian state. For him the exuberant expressionist style of *Transavantguardia* was a means of grieving 'the end of modernity' (Chiodi, 2016). Although *Transavantguardia* developed in parallel to American Neo-Expressionism, for Bonito Oliva it represented an assertion of the 'self-sufficiency' of European

art specific to the Italian context (p. 70 Martino, 2005). Like many of their international contemporaries, the *Transavantguardia* artists developed an aesthetically pluralistic approach. The strategy, a critique of old certainties Bonito Oliva argued, broke down artistic hierarchies: 'the principle of centrality is shattered to favour oblique and mobile relations' (p. 14 Bonito Oliva, 1990). Of particular relevance to my reading of Campbell's work is Bonito Oliva's assertion that appropriation was an essential component of the visual language of *Transavantguardia*, '[the artist] thinks directly through images... allowing the work's fragments to maintain a mobile relationship... never bolted' to meaning (p. 18 Bonito Oliva, 1990).

Much like Surrealism before it, the use of figuration coupled with the ideological ambiguity of *Transavantguardia* problematised critics, 'they do not have any fixed programs or manifestos, even though they are lone warriors' (Faust, 1980). A few years later similar contentions were to dog the New Image Glasgow artists, and in particular Campbell. Bonito Oliva championed the *Transavantguardia* artists in critical essays and through curation of exhibitions such as *Aperto '80* presented at the 39th Venice Biennale in 1980. The exhibition, in the city's grand former salt warehouses, was the Italian precursor to the British and German-dominated exhibitions: *New Spirit in Painting* (1981) and *Zeitgeist* (1982). The blueprint of these three critically defining shows can be read in the curation of Alexander Moffat's New Image Glasgow exhibition in 1985 that was to include Campbell.

Like Campbell, several of the artists associated with *Transavantguardia* moved to New York in the early 1980s. Briefly the Italians dominated the gallery scene, achieving huge market success. Although in some ways *Transavantguardia* was an exemplar for the pluralist

aesthetics of contemporary art in the 1990s and 2000s, the artists associated with the term became critically marginalised in the intervening years. By the late 1980s figuration was out of fashion, leaving the *Transavantgardia* artists out of step with the market they once dominated. Chiodi observed they were ‘more than ready to take part in their world success, at the cost of losing critical contact with the real world’ (Chiodi, 2016). The biographical and aesthetic parallels between *Transavantguardia* and Campbell are multiple, and his own artistic journey was undoubtedly guided by the artistic model they provided.

The Oxford Dictionary of Art Online defined New Figuration as, ‘A very broad term for a general revival of figurative painting in the 1960s following a period when abstraction (particularly Abstract Expressionism) had been the dominant mode of *avant-garde* art in Europe and the USA (Chilvers, 2009). In this respect New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys can be understood as a localised manifestation of an international tendency. Although abstraction undoubtedly dominated artistic practice in the middle decades of the twentieth century, the figure and representation never really went away. Evident in the against-the-grain traditional academic work of artists such as Balthus or Gerald Leslie Brockhurst, subversive Surrealist practices and in commercial art. Recent art histories have sought to present alternatives to Greenbergian narrative of Modernism such as National Galleries of Scotland’s 2017 exhibition, *True to Life: British Realist Painting in the 1920s and 1930s* exhibition or Chika Okeke-Agulu’s overtly revisionist 2016 publication *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria*.

Alexander Moffat's 1985 New Image group exhibition arguably sought to stake a claim for GSA and Scottish art within an existing international movement in art. In the catalogue essay: 'Telling Stories: A New Figuration in Glasgow 1980-85' Moffat provided a lucid international context for the Glasgow artists, referencing international artists such as R. B. Kitaj, Georg Baselitz, Anselm Kiefer, A. R. Penck and Francesco Clemente. Moffat was at pains to emphasise he was not curating an artistic school: 'To imply that these six artists form a proper group, meeting regularly to discuss aesthetic projects, would be a mistake. All six have distinct creative personalities and are bound together only in intense yet humorous rivalries' (p. 6 Moffat, 1985).

The New Image/ New Glasgow Boys monikers entered critical vocabulary and stuck in the Scottish popular imagination to such an extent that they still have currency in museum interpretation. A typical example was found on the Glasgow Life (Museums) collections website that again deals with the artists collectively,

Glasgow Museums has a collection of approximately 215 works by the New Glasgow Boys which date from between 1983 and 1997. This collection includes approximately 33 paintings, 38 drawings and 144 prints by Steven Campbell, Ken Currie, Peter Howson and Adrian Wiszniewski, known collectively as the 'New Glasgow Boys'. Howson and Currie often choose to represent aspects of social deprivation in Scotland while Campbell and Wiszniewski show more interest in concepts, having started in the Environmental Art Department at The GSA before moving to the Painting Department (Glasgow Museums, 2013).

The final sentence illustrates a persistent factual error, all the artists listed graduated before the Environmental Art Department was established at GSA in 1985. Both Howson and Currie were enrolled in Drawing and Painting for the entire duration of their studies, Wiszniewski began his degree in Architecture and was, with Campbell, a student of the short-lived Mixed

Media department before transferring to Drawing and Painting in 1981. The Glasgow

Museums website continued,

Despite Campbell being the early star of the group, all members are now recognized in their own right... achieved national and international success for renewing interest in painting the human figure at a time when American Abstraction, Pop and conceptual art dominated Western art. The success of this group was an important factor in Glasgow's cultural renaissance of recent decades. (Glasgow Museums, 2013).

Whilst the text acknowledges Campbell's pre-eminence in the identity and critical success of the listed artists and that the 'members' of the group have forged their own identity.

In 2013 the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) website was comparatively subtler in its summary of the artists,

Most recently, in the 1980s, the international revival of interest in ambitious figure painting found a centre in the prodigious talents of Steven Campbell, Stephen Conroy, Peter Howson, Ken Currie and Adrian Wiszniewski. Their close association with Glasgow School of Art, where all had been students, and their forceful imagery led them to be dubbed the New Glasgow Boys (National Galleries of Scotland, 2013).

By 2018 the NGS website no longer referred to the New Glasgow Boys terminology in its tombstone descriptions of Campbell, Wiszniewski and others it had formerly associated with the name. As I will explore in later chapters, the associations of the New Image/ New Glasgow Boys terminology were not just artistic, the terms also took on aspirational as well as negative commercial connotations.

At its worst, the most *clichéd* tabloid characterisations of the New Glasgow Boys were as artworld wide-boys or ambitious yuppie-types (e.g. Long, 1987; Oldham, 1991).⁵ These antagonistic portrayals might be understood as a low-brow parallel to the heated artistic critiques of the mid-1980s. Later reflecting on the impact of the critical debate around New Image/ New Glasgow Boys Malcolm Dickson remarked,

The polemics continued in the letters pages of *Edinburgh Review* and *Variant*, and although it provoked a debate around the conservatism of the visual art narrative, it was less of a dialogue than a confrontation, serving to polarise positions between the old media of painting and the 'new' cultural forms of video, performance and installation – now considered to be pre-eminent at Transmission. This overlooked the role of painting exhibitions in the gallery's programme (p. 55 Dickson, 2008).

Despite the potential benefits of close artistic association, Campbell's reticence to accept group identity was understandable when considering heated critical responses to the terminology.

The Glasgow Miracle

Following the era in which New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys painters dominated in the 1980s came the so-called Glasgow Miracle of the 1990s. According to Ross Sinclair, the term was coined in the mid-1990s by Swiss über-Curator Hans Ulrich Obrist (Sinclair, 2002). The rhetoric of 'Miracle' originally denoted Obrist's astonishment that a generation of Glasgow artists were able to enjoy international critical success despite the lack of a commercial gallery infrastructure in the city. Over time the phrase evolved to suggest a perceived, from the outside at least, transformation of the city through culture. The term is now closely aligned to a specific group of neo-conceptual Glasgow artists - a half generation behind the likes of Campbell *et al* - who had studied in the recently established Environmental Art Department at

⁵ Although this rhetoric was not unusual when tabloids dealt with culture, e.g. the way that Tracey Emin or Nigel Kennedy were singled out for ridicule over the years.

GSA. Sometimes also termed the 'Scotia Nostra', they include Sinclair, Douglas Gordon, Jim Lambie, Christine Borland, Martin Boyce and (although not educated at GSA) Martin Creed amongst others (Mulholland, 2002). Unlike the artists associated with the New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys name, this group of artists had strong social connections and shared aesthetic interests in expanded and socially engaged practice.

Brief consideration of the terminology of Glasgow Miracle is relevant to any study of Campbell because it created, for the artists and critics aligned with it, an oppositional split from the aesthetics and success of the New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys painters. This bears direct relevance to later critical responses to Campbell, explored in the Literature Review and Chapter Five, and the post-1980s reception of his practice.

Douglas Gordon, the erstwhile figurehead of the 1990s Glasgow artists, expressed his indifference to the idea of artistic opposition, 'People ask us if we were reacting to artists like Steven Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski, who were prominent when we were at school. But really, nobody could be bothered... There was no point setting ourselves against them' (p. 144 Gordon quoted in Mulholland, 2003). Writing later in 1999 artist Ross Sinclair was less equivocal in delineating an oppositional position,

The situation that existed in Glasgow at the time my peer group emerged was called New Image Painting. From my perspective, this art movement consisted of boring monologues of white, middle-class, male artists... [New Image] became the new establishment. It was... an easy target to oppose (p. 262-3 Sinclair quoted in Thompson, 2010).

Sinclair's position has moved since the 1990s but in this context the term New Image is being used as shorthand for 'the past' and the artists associated with it as *passé*. Campbell in the

2002 *Artwork Scotland* documentary wryly commented, 'I didn't know I was a star and I didn't know I was overshadowed, I was probably fishing that day or doing something else' (TV: *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell, 2002*).

Any *avant-garde* or radical practice has the potential to become orthodox within a few years, and this can be observed in the creation of a mythology around the Glasgow Miracle. Despite its critical origins, the phrase was enthusiastically taken up as journalistic short-hand for the city's art scene in the 1990s and 2000s (Hartvig, 2012; Yentob, 2012; Jeffrey, 2014). As has been argued by Moffat and Neil Mulholland, the rhetorical concept of a 'Miracle' occurring in Glasgow's art scene was invisibly dependent on the critical attention Campbell and the New Glasgow Boys hype had drawn to the city a generation earlier (Mulholland, 2002; Riach, Moffat and MacDonald-Lewis, 2008). The rhetorical superlative also presumed the city was a culture-less void before the miracle of the 1990s occurred and, therefore, was underpinned by an unawareness of the centuries of cultural production in Glasgow.

The Glasgow Miracle was subject of a large AHRC-funded research project 2012-13 awarded to GSA and CCA. Beginning with the founding of the Third Eye Centre in the early 1970s, the project remit broadened the definition of the Glasgow Miracle, thus answering earlier critiques of ahistorical ignorance. The project's generous remit to 'organise and provide access to a spectrum of materials' for future research into 'variety of potential histories' provided access and a grounding for revisionist projects such as this (Glasgow School of Art and Centre for Contemporary Art, 2013).

New Image for a New Glasgow



Figs. 3-4, 1977 original Milton Glaser 'I Love New York' pin (ebay.com); inspiration for 1986 'Glasgow's Miles Better' Struthers Agency campaign (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web_Gallery_of_Art)

Although emerging from a fine art context, the rhetoric of New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys and the Glasgow Miracle were also indicative of shifts in the material and economic conditions in the city from the 1960s onwards – in short, the creation of a New Glasgow. In the later twentieth-century the economy of the wider Strathclyde region, no longer dominated by heavy industry and manufacturing, shifted Glasgow into being a post-industrial city dominated by service industries. Sociologist John MacInnes summarised this transition,

Manufacturing employment in the Clydeside conurbation now stands below one quarter of its 1952 level... This deindustrialisation of Glasgow, in terms of the absolute and relative decline in industrial employment, reflects the restructuring of employment away from manufacturing across almost all mature industrial capitalist economies. However, Glasgow represents the most extreme form of a shift which has itself proceeded farther and faster in Great Britain than elsewhere in the world (p. 1 MacInnes, 1995).

With the release of government papers under the thirty-year rule more evidence is emerging for the extent to which this shift was the result of deliberate political policies, that of a managed decline of Glasgow's resources in the Thatcher years. For MacInnes, the impact of these policies on the urban area of Glasgow as, 'the bleak one of a declining central urban area in a declining conurbation within a declining region located in a country whose industrial base

is becoming a relatively less important part of the world economy' (p. 2 MacInnes, 1995). Characterising the shift in economic terms from one of production (i.e. manufacturing and heavy industry) to one that is now consumption (i.e. culture and service industries) MacInnes, writing before more recent global economic crashes, was sceptical of the perceived benefits that the culture renaissance had brought to the city and its inhabitants. With reference to statistical data for employment and new business start-ups, MacInnes concludes, 'it seems clear that while unemployed workers in these areas [of deindustrialised Glasgow] will never find jobs building ships, they are more likely to find themselves assembling circuit boards or staffing telesales lines than working in the 'culture' industries' (p. 21 MacInnes, 1995).

The shifting economic context of late twentieth-century Glasgow is relevant context to Campbell's biography. The process of deindustrialisation in Campbell's home city can be mapped onto details of his life: his engineering job in the Clydebridge steel works, his departure, and the subsequent closure of the works. Analogies might be drawn between the economic instability experienced in the city in the period of the 1970s and early 1980s and instability of Campbell's characters, often depicted falling or tripping in accidents.

Cultural historian Ian Spring located the birth of what he termed 'New Glasgow' in 1986 with the launch of the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' media campaign and the announcement that Glasgow had been awarded the European City of Culture for 1990 (Spring, 1990). The ideology of New Glasgow was a mythology dependent on, for many Glaswegians, 'an overwhelming sense of loss' (p. 1 Spring, 1990). Foregrounding the anecdotal trigger for his research, Spring elaborated,

In the last twenty years which constitutes my own adult experience of Glasgow, I have seen the city utterly change. In 1972... there was a deprivation equal to any favela in South America, or any other inner-city slum... It's important to consider what these memories might mean. Glasgow... is a city irrevocably shaped by [this] legacy' (p. 2-3 Spring, 1990).

Spring located the genesis of the New Glasgow in 1986 with Pat Lally's first tenure as Leader of Glasgow Council and the launch of the 'Glasgow's Miles Better' media campaign.⁶ It was perceived at the time as a concerted official attempt to whitewash the post-industrial city's problems. Both the Miles Better and the later European City of Culture campaigns were deliberate antidotes to the prevalence of depressing representation of the city in television programmes such as the iconic detective series *Taggart* first broadcast in 1983, and the brilliantly wrought but politically damning four-part BBC documentary on the city from 1982: *The Blight, The Broo; The Bond; The Scheme*.⁷

In Spring's reckoning the New Glasgow comprised several constituent parts including: a revival of the arts; a re-evaluation and reinterpretation of the city's past; a physical remodelling and rebuilding of city to suit new post-industrial contexts which Spring summarised as,

the discovery of Merchant City as a source of yuppie homes... enterprising projects such as Princes Square [...] the increasing popularity of visual artists, the Glasgow school, feted in London and New York, whose most notable members have been Steven Campbell, Adrian Wiszniewski and Ken Currie (p. 39 Spring, 1990).

The terminology of New Glasgow Boys and New Image Glasgow therefore can be understood in this context as coinciding with the forging of the New Glasgow identity. The success and critical responses to Campbell and the New Glasgow Boys became inextricably linked to the

⁶ Modelled on Milton Glaser's 1977 'I ❤️ New York' campaign.

⁷ A televised sociological study of the city's most run-down East End areas documenting the results of the Comprehensive Development Area (CDA) demolitions and developments of previous decades.

creation of the new visual identity for the city, as they were commissioned to decorate the interior of the newly built Royal Concert Hall and collected to line the walls of new Gallery of Modern Art (GOMA).

Myth, Legend, and Anecdote

Working on the 2005 *Campbell's Soup* exhibition, I was struck that so many artists and colleagues wanted to share their stories of meeting Campbell or narrate incidents from their relationships with him. Subsequent research interviews typically began, quite spontaneously, with a humorous recollection of an encounter with Campbell. This felt significant for two reasons: first, it resonated with the narrative/ auto-biographical content of Campbell's paintings and his humour; and second, for the broader implications of how researchers deal with unofficial histories, folk traditions and anecdote – myths. In his 2001 essay, 'Friendship Socialisation and Networking' artist David Harding stated the socially cohesive function of this type of oral history within the context of the Glasgow art world, 'Myth is an understandable and necessary *modus vivendi* – a way for people to characterise themselves and to tell the world about it' (p. 71 Harding, 2014). Harding's cautionary note that, 'it is not neutral because to entertain it, even ironically, may involve becoming part of it' is particularly powerful for the researcher deeply embedded within the subject (Harding, 2014).

Extrapolating from Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*, the cultural significance of myth (and why it is considered here) is how it functions as metalanguage, 'material which has already been worked on so as to make it suitable for communication' (p. 108 Barthes, 1991). The appropriated, synthesised, and nebulous character of myths are the enemy of rigorous academic research. However, study and acceptance of myths - to become in Barthes terminology a mythologist - allows the historian the possibility to explore both micro and macro meanings. Barthes used the analogy of a passenger looking out of a car window, 'I look at the scenery through the window, I can at will focus on the scenery or on the window-pane'

(p. 122 Barthes, 1991). The windowpane is analogous to the canvas surface of a Campbell painting, it facilitates seeing what is literally written or represented on its surface at the same time as gesturing towards the broader Postmodern discourse on representation, reliability and meaning.

At the beginning of my doctoral project, with reference to Jane Gallup's 2003 publication *Anecdotal Theory*, I considered whether it was possible to capture some of the myths, stories and anecdotes (many self-created) about Campbell in this project. On the face of it, anecdote and myth are contrary to the job of the historian, to check and cross-reference facts and assertions and to understand how the object of study fits into or is even illustrative of a wider context (or in this case set of contexts) the meta-narratives. In the 1987 article 'Every Artist Paints Himself' art historian Colin Eisler began with the declaration, 'Anecdote is the right, not the wrong stuff of art history' (p. 75 Eisler, 1987). Investigation of Campbell's self-made myths became an integral part of this history precisely because of self-conscious, performative construction of his artistic persona. Campbell played with representation and meaning, deploying false signifiers and red herrings throughout his work. I will argue that this had direct bearing on critical responses to Campbell and how he has been represented and mythologised. As journalist and cultural commentator Ruth Wishart wryly observed in an interview in 1994, Campbell was 'in the business of creating his own mythology, weaving his own fantasies' (Wishart, 1994).

Campbell's interest in popular myths extended from classic stories such as Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio*, to true life crimes such as the so-called Black Dahlia murder in 1947. Never afraid to

mix high culture with popular references Campbell worked and re-worked stories, returning to them several times over his career. It is instructive to return to Gallup's proposition that researchers should attempt to 'tie theorizing to lived experiences' (p. 15 Gallup, 2002). I considered the value of anecdote as a source for this research, how it might be utilised and the potential weaknesses. Directly relevant, anecdote and subjectivity were key to Campbell's aesthetic interests. His approach to appropriated narratives aligned with Gallup's proposition that value can be found in the 'literary nature of the anecdote' (p. 2 Gallup, 2002).

There were numerous anecdotal episodes in Campbell's life that became woven into art school myths around New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys and the Glasgow Miracle. Shared recollections of Campbell's notorious bravado and swagger, his sell-out degree show, and his winning the Bram Stoker award were also significant for the construction of GSA's self-identity. These were useful pointers for research; through careful examination and cross-referencing of available sources, some have helped form biographical structure in the following chapters. As a well-known public figure Campbell's story belonged to a great many people. Consideration of how to unpick and interpret this folding-in of Campbell's personal stories with meta-narrative has been a key part of this project.

Structure of this thesis

This thesis is structured chronologically following trajectory of Campbell's life, it is subdivided into critical moments in his story. In an article outlining issues for teaching art history to undergraduates, art historian Patricia Mathews acknowledged that chronological approaches are 'one of the most difficult things for an art historian to relinquish because traditionally it has been the foundation of the discipline' (p. 51 Mathews, 1995). For want of a more effective approach, this thesis is structured into six chapters that follow the arc of Campbell's career chronologically through a series of key exhibitions and relevant contexts. Chapter One considers formative influences on Campbell's practice. It begins with an outline of Campbell's background and childhood, his apprenticeship and work in the Clydebridge steel works, it looks at his time as a student of GSA and concludes with a section on Campbell's critical success in the mixed *Expressive Images* exhibition days before he left Scotland for New York in 1982. Chapter Two looks at the period that Campbell lived in New York between 1982 and 1986, it begins with Campbell as student at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and looks at Campbell's early solo exhibitions with Barbara Toll Gallery and the critical responses to his work. This chapter includes Campbell's UK exhibitions within this timeframe and several short case studies of public and private collectors of Campbell's work and considers him within the context of studies of the New York art market at the time. Narratively the chapter ends with his *Viewpoints* exhibition, Campbell's first museum solo show at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis. Chapter Three begins with Campbell's return to Scotland in 1986 and looks at the institutional structures that supported Campbell's career up to the end of the 1980s. Campbell switched gallery representation at this time, joining the stable of established artists at Marlborough Fine Art and undertaking several large monographic exhibitions in London, New York and Tokyo. Chapter Four is devoted to a single year in Campbell's life: 1990. The chapter

is largely focussed on the production and reception of a single artwork his immersive *On Form and Fiction* installation at Third Eye. Chapter Five covers the period 1991-2001 which has been characterised as Campbell's disappearance from the public eye. In fact, Campbell continued to steadily produce work and this chapter considers the darker *Pinocchio's Present* exhibition in 1993 as well as lesser known but more experimental bodies of work he exhibited: *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* in 1994 and *Chesterfield Dreams* in 1997. It also considers artistic fashionability and looks at commissions as evidence for a continued demand for Campbell's work, albeit within tighter geographic context of Scotland. This chapter includes closer consideration of the sub-section of *collage* works Campbell made in the early 1990s and how they functioned as a form of self-directed art therapy that was both related to, and distinct from, previous modes of working. Chapter Six considers the period from the early 2000s when Campbell was exploring through his work dark themes of death and murder, it looks in depth at the connections to Surrealism and popular crime fiction Campbell explored in his work. This chapter also considers a perceived change in Campbell's fortunes that began with the Talbot Rice Gallery *Caravan Club* exhibition in 2002 and the re-discovery of Campbell by a younger generation of artists and curators. The chapter considers his posthumous legacy and critical re-framing through exhibition. Each section includes critical reception, visual analysis of key works and considers the visual and literary references that informed Campbell's practice. The conclusion to this thesis briefly considers legacy and post-doctoral potential for my research.

LITERATURE REVIEW PART ONE: Typologies of sources

The available sources for Steven Campbell, his work and the critical context for this thesis can be grouped into several categories which I will briefly outline by type in the first part of this extended section. Somewhat surprisingly, given his professional artistic achievements, there is relatively little academic or critical writing about Campbell and most of what does exist is in the form of exhibition reviews - of both his solo shows and some key group exhibitions. I will deal with the trajectory of critical writing about Campbell and discuss how the critical framing of his work has developed in the second part of this section.

Academic study

There are surprisingly few academic sources on Campbell. His own undergraduate dissertation from 1982 was titled: *Picasso: The Second Rose Period* and can be found in the GSA library. Curator Matthew Higgs wrote an (now lost) undergraduate essay on Campbell's Fruitmarket exhibition in 1985. As an art student in the mid-1990s Blair Cunningham visited and took photo-documentation of Campbell's studio. Campbell and critical responses to his work featured heavily in Neil Mulholland's 1998 University of Glasgow PhD which he later published as his first book *The Cultural Devolution* in 2003. The heated critical discourse around Campbell and his GSA Drawing and Painting peer group featured as a chapter in Susannah Thompson's 2010 doctoral thesis also at the University of Glasgow. In 2017 University of Edinburgh student Alice Coulson wrote her MA dissertation on Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* installation. No doubt Campbell has been referenced in other pieces of academic work over the years that remain lost or uncatalogued at this point.

Monograph

The existing literature on Campbell consists of a single monograph, Duncan Macmillan's 1993 *The Paintings of Steven Campbell: The Story So Far*. At the time of its publication Macmillan was Curator of the Talbot Rice Gallery and art critic for *The Scotsman* newspaper. The illustrated book was a narrative telling of the artists' work up to the point of publication. It included an extended original interview with Campbell and functioned as the catalogue for the Talbot Rice Gallery's *Pinocchio's Present* exhibition of Campbell's work curated by Macmillan. The book was the principal source for the preparation of the two Campbell exhibitions I worked on at GSA and an invaluable resource for this doctoral project.

The contemporary value of this publication is now somewhat limited having not been updated since 1993. Undoubtedly for pragmatic reasons Macmillan's text skimmed over the years Campbell lived in New York and focussed in greater detail on his art school years and on the period since his return to Scotland. Macmillan's bibliography was extensive and remains a useful reference. It includes a few minor inaccuracies, the list of collections that owned Campbell's work has since become outdated.⁸ Despite inaccuracies and the list Macmillan's text offered useful art historical and literary interpretations of selected works. It remains a valuable source to Campbell scholars both for Macmillan's thoughtful interpretations of his work and the volume of interview material and quotes that came directly from Campbell.

⁸ For example, the works subsequently de-accessioned from the museum collections of The Met and the Tamayo Museum in Mexico.

Catalogue essays

Critical texts on Campbell exist in the curator statements and catalogue essays published to accompany many of his solo exhibitions. Below is a list of all those I have located.

List of Steven Campbell's solo exhibitions and the accompanying catalogue essays:

Steven Campbell Barbara Toll and John Weber Galleries, 1983 – no catalogue found

New Paintings Riverside, London 1984 (travelling to Fruitmarket, Edinburgh 1985)

commissioned essay by Stuart Morgan

Steven Campbell Six Friedrich Gallery Munich, 1984 – no catalogue found

Steven Campbell Rhona Hoffman Chicago 1984 or 1985 – no catalogue found

Steven Campbell Barbara Toll Gallery 1985 – no catalogue found

New Image Glasgow catalogue Third Eye Centre, Glasgow (and tour) 1985. Essay by curator Alexander Moffat.

Viewpoints Walker Art Center, Minneapolis and Des Moines, Iowa 1985. Essay by curator Marge Goldwater.

Recent Paintings Marlborough Fine Art, London 1987. Commissioned essay by Tony Godfrey and Campbell's own 'Pre-Ramble'

Recent Work Marlborough Fine Art, New York 1988. Commissioned essay by Andrew Wilson

On Form and Fiction Third Eye Centre Glasgow 1990 (and tour). Commissioned essays by Stuart Morgan and Euan McArthur.

Steven Campbell Marlborough Fine Art, Tokyo 1990. Commissioned essay by Takeski Sakurai.

Pinocchio's Present Talbot Rice Gallery, Edinburgh 1993. Exhibition was accompanied by *The Story So Far* monograph by Duncan Macmillan.

Outside Right at the Sunset Gate William Hardie Gallery, Glasgow 1994. Catalogue did not feature an essay, but Campbell's own short story.

Chesterfield Dreams Pier Art Centre, 1996. Catalogue does not feature an essay but includes narrative extracts written by Campbell.

Jean-Pierre Léaud, Glasgow Print Studio 2004. Small, illustrated catalogue, no essay.

Campbell's Soup Glasgow School of Art 2005. Commissioned essays by Neil Mulholland, Michael Bracewell, and Susannah Thompson

Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven Glasgow School of Art, and Glasgow Print Studios 2008. Commissioned essays by Neil Mulholland and Barry Yourgrau. Curator's essay by Kathy Chambers and John McKechnie.

The Art of Steven Campbell Marlborough Fine Art, London 2017. Commissioned essay by Michael Bracewell.

Love Tramway, Glasgow 2018. Commissioned essays by Linsey Young and Michael Bracewell

Taken as a whole, these critical interpretive texts provide useful source material for scholars of Campbell's work and were often commissioned and written with the artist's approval and input. They offer an informed insider analysis of the work guided by Campbell himself and his Marlborough Fine Art representatives. However, as commissioned critical texts they cannot be understood as objective or neutral. Authors were explicitly appointed to positively interpret, or putting it more baldly, to sell the work. I have not been able to locate any commissioned essays from Campbell's solo exhibitions with the Barbara Toll Gallery in the period 1983-85. In this context, without a critical commissioned essay to refer to, the gallery press release took on a greater significance. I have found only one curator's essay on Campbell for the period he lived in New York. Written by Walker Art Center Curator Marge Goldwater, it was published in a pamphlet to accompany Campbell's 1985 *Viewpoints* exhibition in Minneapolis and Des Moines. This suggests very little critical material on Campbell was produced in US beyond newspaper and art magazine reviews, alternatively any material that was produced is currently lost or might have been too ephemeral to survive. More research into Barbara Toll's curatorial practice would help resolve this question.

Anthologies and Group Exhibition Catalogues

Campbell has been anthologised into a significant number of secondary survey texts considered here alongside group exhibition catalogues. The earliest published example can be found when Campbell was selected for the 1984 *The British Art Show* survey exhibition. The exhibition's sub-title: *Old Allegiances and New Directions* suggestive of the varied strategies the selectors had identified in contemporary British artistic practice. Campbell was briefly mentioned in selector Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton's two catalogue essays in the context of painting and poetics – the exhibition is considered in greater detail in Chapter Three. Critic and

curator Tony Godfrey included Campbell in his 1986 publication *New Image: Painting in the 1980s*, an introductory illustrated survey to figurative paintings for general audiences. Godfrey also wrote about Campbell in *The Burlington Magazine* and was also commissioned to write a catalogue essay for Campbell's first Marlborough exhibition in 1987.

As one of the leading artists, Campbell featured heavily in the text and illustrations of the catalogue for the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art (SNGMA) 1987 group exhibition *The Vigorous Imagination* which was curated by Keith Hartley, *The Glasgow Herald's* art critic Clare Henry and Henry Meyric Hughes from the British Council. Campbell featured in the 1988 publication *The New British Painting* by Edward Lucie-Smith, Carolyn Cohen, and Judith Higgins. The authors noted in the foreword that 'recent British painting has received less international attention that it deserves' (p. 7 Lucie-Smith, Cohen and Higgins, 1988).

Campbell's work was exhibited along with 70 other Scottish artists in the National Galleries of Scotland 1989 survey exhibition *Scottish Art Since 1900* exhibition also curated by Hartley. The exhibition travelled to The Barbican in 1990. Lucie-Smith later included Campbell in a chapter on 'Scottish Developments' in his 1990 publication *Art in the Eighties*.

In 1993 the BBC published *The Bigger Picture: A History of Scottish Art* by Andrew Gibbon Williams and Andrew Brown to accompany the television series of the same name. Campbell was featured with reference to Moffat's tutelage and the New Glasgow Boys. Campbell was also anthologised in the final section of Duncan Macmillan's 1994 survey textbook *Scottish Art in the 20th Century*. Murdo Macdonald's 2000 book *Scottish Art*, part of the iconic Thames and Hudson World of Art series, included brief mention of Campbell and his New Glasgow Boys

contemporaries. In his 2002 retrospective cultural review, *The Nineties: When Surface Was Depth* critic Michael Bracewell briefly paired the fortunes of Campbell and Wiszniewski and their path from artistic centre in the 1980s to margins in the 1990s. Neil Mulholland's 2003 doctoral publication *The Cultural Devolution: Art in Britain in the Late Twentieth Century* overtly positioned Campbell in relation to Expanded Painting practices, considering his early conceptual and performative experiments in depth. In the same year, *A History of Scottish Art: The Fleming Collection* by Selina Skipwith and Bill Smith featured a work by Campbell in the catalogue selection. Former GSA tutor Alexander Moffat firmly placed Campbell within the canon of Scottish culture in his 2009 publication *The Arts of Resistance*, co-authored with Alan Riach. Campbell was woven in and out of Sarah Lowndes' account of the entwined worlds of Glasgow's art and music scenes in her 2010 re-issue of *Social Sculpture: The Rise of the Glasgow Art Scene*. Campbell also featured in Craig Richardson's 'The Night Minds (1979-1988)' chapter in his 2010 academic history *Scottish Art since 1960: Historical Reflections and Contemporary Overviews*. Although it did not substantially move beyond the paradigms of late 1980s/ early 1990s criticism, it provided a significant contribution to the academic writing on Campbell by virtue of its relative rarity. Campbell also featured in William Hardie's personal recollections in his 2017 book: *Gallery: A Life in Art* providing some good detail and useful anecdotes for research.

Generally, anthologised writing about Campbell has tended to lodge his work within the discourse of the New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys, more loosely within a tradition of Scottish figurative painting of the 1980s. This framing usually referenced artists closely associated with these terms, such as Ken Currie, Peter Howson, Mario Rossi, and Stephen Conroy. In many cases Campbell's work has been treated in these sources alongside with his

art school colleague, collaborator and erstwhile artistic rival Adrian Wiszniewski, this dual association enshrined since the 1985 BBC *Arena* documentary *Two Painters Amazed* that followed the two artists in parallel.

Despite being represented by two commercial galleries in New York and having artworks in numerous American public collections, to date I have not found any US published histories of modern painting or recent survey exhibitions in North American museums that have anthologised or included Campbell in the narrative of New York scene in the 1980s. I can speculate this is in part be due to the relative brevity of the period that his practice was based in New York (five years) and the infrequency of his later returns. In addition, many of his paintings are held in private collections or by public collections outside of New York, further dislocating his legacy from the context of its production. Catherine Dossin made brief reference to 'Scottish artists' in her 2015 account of the American art market *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s* (p. 285 Dossin, 2015).

Press articles and exhibition reviews

By far the largest proportion of published material about Campbell were press articles and exhibition reviews. This type of published material on Campbell can be divided into two distinct types of publication: mainstream media and specialist art press. There is nothing *per se* about newspaper reviews that mean they must be superficial or uncritical, some of the key critical support Campbell enjoyed was from newspaper art critics: John Russell, Clare Henry, and Waldemar Januszczak. Reviews including excerpts of interviews with Campbell have provided insights into his thoughts and helped interpret specific bodies of work. The reviewer's

own observations have also been invaluable to this research. However, the depth and scope of a newspaper article is necessarily limited by word count, editorial ethos, and space on the page. Many reviews seem to have responded as much to the curatorial framing and gallery marketing as to Campbell's work itself. Therefore, this category of source material, although most numerous in availability has limitations and drawbacks for the researcher.

Newspaper reviews about Campbell began in 1981 prior to his art school graduation with reviews of the student group exhibition at the New 57 Gallery (later Fruitmarket) in Edinburgh and continue through to very recent posthumous press reviews and features on Campbell. I was able to source a great deal of this primary material through the Campbell Estate including a family scrap book of reviews covering the key period 1979-1985. In addition, I found previously unfamiliar published reviews in institutional archives such as SNGMA acquisition files and newspaper archives such as *The New York Times*.

The limited critical art writing that does exist on Campbell was largely concerned with the contemporary 1980s debates that surrounded Neo-Expressionism, New Image Glasgow and was largely confined to journals such as *Variant*, *Alba* and the *Edinburgh Review*. This discourse has been extensively covered in Susannah Thompson's 2010 PhD thesis *The Artist as Critic: Art Writing in Scotland 1960-1990*. Significant international reach was achieved by two early exhibition reviews by critic and artist and fellow ex-pat Scot Peter Hill, published in 1982 and 1984 in London-based art journal *Artscribe*. Kettle's Yard curator Jeremy Lewison reviewed Campbell's 1984 solo show for *Studio International*. A key critical interview with Campbell, published by artist and writer James Collins, appeared in *Flash Art* in 1986. Critic and educator

Tony Godfrey published an extended discussion of Tate's acquisition of Campbell's *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey* for *The Burlington Magazine* in 1987. From the 1990s onward the primary forum for writing about Campbell was in newspapers and cultural review and listings magazines, such as *The List*. Much of this type of material has been useful for the section on the critical responses to Campbell.

Research Interviews

For this thesis I undertook several research interviews with Steven Campbell's wife, Carol. She was key to this project being closest to him and his work process, she holds his archive and many original artworks. These interviews were semi-structured in format. Carol Campbell was an invaluable source of primary information for my research. Our interviews have given me informed interpretative readings of Campbell's work, biographical detail and they have been useful to authenticate *catalogue raisonné* queries. Our conversations have also offered research leads for other sources and contacts. I interviewed Richard Lenaghan, one of Campbell's former steelworks colleague. This interview provided context for the oft-repeated tropes about Campbell's working life prior to studying art. In addition, I also undertook semi-structured research interviews with Campbell's GSA tutors Alexander (Sandy) Moffat, Roger Hoare and Ray McKenzie to gain personal accounts of his art school years. To learn about the period Campbell lived in New York and the market conditions in which he operated, I undertook an extended semi-structured interview with Tom Cvikota, former Gallery Director for Barbara Toll. This discussion gave me additional details and insight into Campbell's experience as a rising art star in New York in the 1980s. I also interviewed SNGMA's Chief Curator Keith Hartley, an early supporter of Campbell. His personal recollections added depth to the archival research I undertook in parallel. To gain an insight into Campbell's outreach

work in the 1990s, I interviewed artist Neil Bickerton. He had been a teenage participant in workshops organised by Campbell. I recorded all my research interviews long-hand in contemporaneous notes in a series of notebooks catalogued by date which I have transcribed for use. I discussed the purpose of my interview notes for use in this thesis with all interviewees.

One unfortunate omission from my research has been the 17.5 hours of audio recordings of the British Library interviews with Campbell which have been closed to researchers for many years. He was interviewed in 2005 by Lydia O'Ryan as part of the *National Life Stories: Artists' Lives* project. Interviews took place at his home in Kippen and in the GSA Mackintosh Library. I have transcribed brief excerpts of Campbell's BL interview used in a short YouTube film produced in 2010 before access was restricted: *Steven Campbell: Unfinished*. In addition, Campbell was mentioned several times in the publicly accessible *Artists' Lives* interviews with Ken Currie and Moffat, a useful source material in the absence of the artist's own recordings.

Archives

My account of Campbell's student experience was expanded with reference to material held in GSA archives that included: Fine Art committee minutes, Director's correspondence, and ephemeral student materials relating to student-led activities. In 2015 artist Debi Banerjee undertook research on teaching practices at GSA in the 1970s and 1980s, looking at pedagogical documentation and interviewing key figures from the period including Campbell's Mixed Media tutor Roger Hoare. The resulting *New Wave: Materials, Methods and Media Glasgow School of Art 1970-1986* exhibition and podcasts were helpful in framing Campbell's

experience within the wider context practices and experiences of GSA. I am very grateful that she shared a full transcript of her unpublished interview with Hoare, a vital source for writing Chapter One.

Exhibition and acquisition files in the archives of Tate, SNGMA, Talbot Rice Gallery, Walker Art Center, Minneapolis and Yale Center for British Art, New Haven have provided additional curatorial, contextual and provenance details for the thesis narrative and *catalogue raisonné* research. Understandings of Campbell's New York years would benefit from additional post-doctoral archival work, specifically examining Met Curator William Lieberman's papers and to ascertain whether records from Barbara Toll, John Weber and Marlborough Fine Art Galleries exist.

Artworks & studio

A lot can be learnt from detailed examination of artworks. Over the period of my research Carol Campbell gave me access to Campbell's sketch books and material held by the Estate, including previously unexhibited works and related ephemera going back to his art school days and before. Most of the larger canvasses were held by Campbell's London gallery Marlborough Fine Art and in various public and private collections across the UK and US. I had previous experience of handling and stretching Campbell's paintings from working on two Campbell exhibitions. In addition, I closely examined paintings and prints in storage in the YCBA and Walker collections informing my understanding of the material qualities of Campbell's New York work.

For many years after his death Campbell's modest studio was left largely untouched. Many of the objects in it, including visual source material was documented by his friend and former collaborator, Ron O'Donnell in 2012. The photographs provided a visual record of Campbell's working process supporting written accounts provided by Clare Henry and Keith Hartley.

Audio/ Visual sources

The inaccessible *Artist's Lives* recordings withstanding, useful primary source material can be found in broadcast footage of Campbell at work and discussing his work. I reviewed and transcribed all the relevant sections from Alistair Scott's 1986 BBC *Arena: Two Painters Amazed* documentary about Campbell and Wiszniewski and the 2002 BBC *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary on Campbell's return to the spotlight. I undertook the same transcription process for two shorter online films: Steven Campbell: *The Creative Scotland Award* (2000) and the posthumous student film: *Steven Campbell: Unfinished* (2009). I also transcribed Campbell's 2002 BBC Scotland radio interview with Brian Morton and the recording of the public conversation with Neil Mulholland for the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition in 2005.

The transcripts I made from research interviews with Campbell's mother and wife, Mettie and Carol Campbell (recorded by Anne Wallace for Glasgow Museums in 2009) provided information about Campbell's life before art school. I also transcribed an audio recording of Lucy Askew's paper on the later joint acquisition and conservation of *On Form and Fiction* in 2017 (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017) which provided a wealth of material for Chapters Four and Six.

In 2012 Campbell's friend, Richard Lenaghan donated 16 mm slides of previously unseen photo-documentation of Campbell's collaborative 1981 *Poised Murder* performance to the Steven Campbell Trust. I am very grateful to the Trust for subsequently digitising them for use in this thesis. In exhibition files I found unarchived 16 mm slides of Campbell's 2002 Talbot Rice Gallery *Caravan Club* exhibition from 2002 including an uncatalogued wall-painting/ installation comprising some of Campbell's (now lost) polychromatic sculptures, also now digitised. This additional visual material has been enormously helpful for both my *catalogue raisonné* research and understanding of how Campbell dealt with installation.

Public talks and conference papers

Through the Steven Campbell Trust I have organised several memorial lectures since 2009, inviting key cultural figures each year to speak about different aspects of Campbell's practice.⁹ Some factual information and analysis in the thesis come from long-hand notes I have taken at public talks (such as Bruce McLean artist's talk in Edinburgh in 2011). In addition, I have delivered several public talks and papers on Campbell myself which has helped develop the project and provided useful feedback.

⁹ Speakers at the Steven Campbell Trust Lecture have included: Beca Lipscombe and Mairi MacKenzie (2019); Karen Strang, David Kinloch and Lach, introduced by Michael Pedersen (2017); Roger Hoare and Debi Banerjee (2015); Ellis Luxemburg, Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt, David Harding and Ross Sinclair (2014); Ron O'Donnell (2013); Peter Hill (in 2012); Barry Yourgrau, introduced by Ray McKenzie (2011); Duncan Macmillan and panel discussion with Sandy Moffat, Craig Mulholland, Alex Pollard and Claire Paterson (2010); and Neil Mulholland and Tom Normand (2009).

Catalogue Raisonné, process and method (Appendix One)

The chronology of this thesis has been informed by initiating and researching the *Steven Campbell Catalogue Raisonné* something that had never previously been undertaken for the artist. It is presented in this submission as Appendix I, and although virtually complete it is very much a work in progress.

I began the catalogue work when I started my doctorate, however the suggestion to undertake this research came from a meeting with the National Galleries of Scotland in 2008 who advised the best way to prepare the ground work for a serious revisiting of Campbell's work would be through a *catalogue raisonné*. The New York Art Resources project defined the *catalogue raisonné* as: 'a publication that provides information on an artist's complete oeuvre, has long been considered the definitive source of attribution and provenance information on the work of a particular artist' (p. 186 Atwater, 2012). Historically the purpose of an artist's catalogue has been to provide authentication of authorship. In a 2018 round-table discussion organised by Catalogue Raisonné Scholar Association (CRSA), New York gallerist David Nash summarised the catalogue's function for buyers who, 'want to be sure that what they have bought is authentic' (Catalogue Raisonné Scholars Association, 2018). Nash acknowledged the status of the *catalogue raisonné* had evolved over time as the 'rise in expertise, worldwide, has been balanced by the decline of the prestige of the French [family] experts' (Catalogue Raisonné Scholars Association, 2018). The implication of Nash's statement being that the *catalogue raisonné* is now more often an outcome of scholarship rather than only a tool of authentication dictated by birth right, or *droit morale* as it is termed in French law.

Neither Campbell or his galleries kept contemporaneous or methodical records of his work. In 2011 Marlborough Fine Art shared a partially redacted stocklist of Campbell artworks. The Marlborough list did not include any works produced before the period he joined the gallery in 1986, nor did it list Campbell's public commissions, ephemeral works or experimental installations/ *assemblage* works.

I transcribed the stocklist into an excel spreadsheet, which formed the basis of what became the catalogue. From Macmillan's *The Paintings of Steven Campbell* I transcribed titles of every artwork mentioned or illustrated in the book. Next, I contacted curators and registrars in each of the public collections listed by Macmillan as holding Campbell's work. From this communication I was able to follow up on leads and added useful cataloguing data. I worked my way through each of the printed solo exhibition catalogues and added numerous titles and additional information including dimensions, provenance, references, medium. Through museum archival research I found references to Campbell artworks not included in previous sources. Material included early drafts of exhibition object lists, also correspondence between artist and curators which – I know from experience – can include additional information about works in progress etc. that final exhibition lists would omit.

The next stage was to look at the records of sales of Campbell's work at auction. I took subscriptions in two industry standard auction price database websites (mutualart.com and invaluable.com) which allowed me to cross-reference data against one another. Through this method I found c.40 new artworks not referenced in gallery catalogues or publications. Online records exist for sales far as the mid-1980s when Campbell's work first appeared on the

secondary market. Sale record information gave me an overview and chronology of sale prices for Campbell's work – making visible the highs and lows in desirability for his work.

To date I have not located any public access commercial records from the Barbara Toll Gallery, contact with the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) Archives (Collectors Records) has proven inconclusive so far. The relationship between Campbell and Toll became complicated when he left the US and signed up with Marlborough Fine Art in 1986. Toll closed her eponymous gallery in 1994 but remains active on the New York art scene through consultancy work and various Trustee positions in arts organisations. The number of entries in the catalogue has increased by reference to works referenced in secondary source materials, such as art anthologies, and materials held in the Campbell family archive of newspaper cuttings and correspondence.

The active process of compiling the *catalogue raisonné* has run parallel throughout the research and writing period of my project. It has been at times a systematic process of transcribing data from the various sources into the spreadsheet; significant because it is the first time all of the information has been brought together in one place, applying a consistency of language and tone. At other times, the process has been interpretive: deciding how to resolve duplicate records with slightly differing titles or amending data fields when a more reliable source provided different information. For example, the title of Campbell's 1985 painting *Hunter in a Camouflage Decoy Landscape* has been consistently mistitled in auction house listings as *Hunter in Camouflage Docey Landscape*, cross-referencing this against the original exhibition list of works provided a more reliable, and logical, title for the painting. I

have tried to include all major artworks in the *catalogue raisonné* I chose to include several unrealised performances and some of the untitled components of larger ephemeral installations. I have included some untitled drawings and smaller works on paper held in the artist's Estate however additional post-doctoral work would complete this work. A further level of input and resolution of titles etc. in discussion with the artist's family is required to be able add to the *catalogue raisonné*.

The notion of a *catalogue raisonné* as a fixed, authoritative work in print has evolved in recent years as digital technology has allowed for the development of more dynamic methods of recording and disseminating catalogue information. In the 2018 CRSA panel Jim Coddington, former Agnes Gund Chief Conservator at MoMA proposed that scholars 'in some way regard the *catalogue raisonné* as a large hypothesis that is in the process of being tested all the time? Therefore, that is part of the hypothesis and the testing of the paradigm around this one artist and more generally, *catalogues raisonné*' (Catalogue Raisonné Scholars Association, 2018).

The process of cataloguing has been an important reminder for me to *really* look at Campbell's work in detail, to consider the materiality and to understand the circulation and value of the works in the secondary art market. It has allowed me to discern consistent and recurring themes or cycles in Campbell's work, to make links between distinct periods of his practice that I would not necessarily have made otherwise. The routine of methodically cataloguing has allowed me a deeper engagement with Campbell's work over the whole twenty-nine-year period of his career as an active artist (c.1978-2007) and has therefore been fundamental to my research process.

There is more research to be undertaken in the US, specifically to follow up on sales from Campbell's time with Barbara Toll Gallery between 1982-1987. Further descriptive tagging could be added to the *catalogue raisonné* to facilitate searching for thematic grouping of works within Campbell's oeuvre. As the catalogue exists only in the form of an excel spreadsheet it could be developed into an online database to enable dissemination of the research and create access.

LITERATURE REVIEW PART TWO: Critical Reception and Critical Contexts for the work of Campbell

This section presents a chronological review of contemporaneous critical responses to Campbell's work from the early 1980s to mid-2000s. I will also consider here relevant critical texts into which Campbell's biography and my approach to this research intersect. From early in his career reviews and critical writing about Steven Campbell appeared the range of publications, from local to national newspapers, broadcast media to specialist art journals.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: First reviews early 1980s

Shortly after Campbell graduated in 1982, he was selected for *Expressive Images* an exhibition of work by emerging Scottish artists at the New 57 Gallery (discussed in Chapter Two). *The Guardian* published a parallel review of the graduate show and *Scottish Art Now*, an exhibition in the same building that featured work by more established Scottish painters. Januszczak's review was an excoriating comparison of the two painting shows framed with an eye on a London readership. He unfavourably summarised the official exhibition as a display 'of astounding dullness... the 1970s are now officially dead' (Januszczak, 1982). Duncan Macmillan's catalogue essay for *Scottish Art Now* came under fire for being 'ranting, jingoistic' (Januszczak, 1982) although his concerns that SNGMA had not done enough to support contemporary art in Scotland was hardly misplaced. Januszczak complained 'one of the exhibition's strict rules that its artists must be living in Scotland has effectively excluded artists of the calibre of Bruce McLean or Craigie Aitchison' citing the possible exclusion of Raeburn,

Ramsay and Mackintosh had they been around at the time (Januszczak, 1982). By contrast he praised the youngsters upstairs:

seven young Scottish artists... Here at last is some vigour... This is where the pupils run rings around their teachers [...] immature, rash and flashy but no one could accuse it of being dead [...] What is immediately obvious is that [it] draws much of its energy from outside Scotland [...] *Expressive Images* shows that the avenues of influence should be opened up and not closed (Januszczak, 1982).

Januszczak's review - and arguably the positioning of these two shows - reflected a perennial discussion in Scottish culture, the paradox of being both self-referential and vs. an overtly outward, internationalist outlook. Marina Vaizay in *The Sunday Times* drew a similar conclusion asserting that *Scottish Art Now* was, 'worthy... but in the main both derivative and dull' (Vaizay, 1982). In contrast she declared the work in *Expressive Images* as, 'Derivative but far from dull... Here painting is alive and kicking' (Vaizay, 1982).

Artist and critic Peter Hill, a key figure in Campbell's trajectory, also published a double review of the two exhibitions in *Artscribe*. His response, more measured than Januszczak's, looked more closely at the shared characteristics of the two exhibitions:

Two of the exhibitors here, Simon Fraser and Steven Campbell, were older than at least one of the painters downstairs at the Fruitmarket, so not only was there no real divide between style and content, but neither was there a true division of age, which makes one wonder if a larger, joint exhibition between the two galleries would not have been more comprehensive and truer to the idea of 'Scottish Art Now' (p. 70 Hill, 1982).

Like Campbell, Hill had gone to art school in Scotland (Duncan of Jordanstone in Dundee), although slightly earlier in the mid-1970s. Unlike Januszczak, Hill knew the Scottish scene from the inside. Hill's response to Campbell was a preview of his later critical responses to his work,

It was the work of Steven Campbell that most excited me. Two days after the opening he left for New York to begin two years of study at Pratt Institute as a Fulbright Scholar. I would guess that on his return he will be one of the one of the finest painters in Britain,

for he is not far off it now. His work is an amalgam of a number of international styles, not least the *Bad Painting* of Mark Schwartz and Richard Bosman, yet they go beyond pastiche through their use of a very personal narrative theme and autobiographical element where the artist is seen as explorer in strange, exotic lands as in *Steel Moustache* and the *Axe* and *Admiral*. All four of his large compositions have been painted within six weeks since his graduation from Glasgow where, fittingly perhaps, Jack Knox was head of department (Hill, 1982).

Closer to home, two articles in Campbell's local papers reported on his degree show and the subsequent Edinburgh exhibition. Running under the headline: 'Former fitter wins scholarship at leading art college' *The Rutherglen Reformer* ran a personalised piece including biographical details that would be often repeated: his time at the Clydebridge steelworks, the Bram Stoker medal, the Fulbright scholarship (*The Rutherglen Reformer*, 1982). Campbell's father George was quoted: 'We are naturally very proud of him indeed' (*The Rutherglen Reformer*, 1982). *The South Glasgow and Rutherglen Reformer* reported his future move to New York: 'Already he has been asked to present some of his work at the forthcoming Edinburgh Festival, where it is sure to attract plenty of attention' (*The South Glasgow and Rutherglen Reformer*, 1982). The *Expressive Images* reviews set a precedent for the popular critical contexts in which Campbell's career was reflected. Although low on critical or art historical analysis, non-academic, newspapers have proven useful for providing primary detail for this project being the largest and most readily available writing on Campbell.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: New York Reviews 1982-86

Many of the recurring critical tropes about Campbell and his work were established in early reviews of his New York shows. Press-cuttings supplied by the Barbara Toll Gallery clippings service were collated by the Campbell family in a scrapbook, an invaluable resource for this thesis. By considering Campbell's early reviews holistically, it became evident that critics

often picked up on the same details and used similar language. In the absence of critical or catalogue essays, the gallery press release would have been the primary source for writers, effectively commodifying early critical responses to his work.

A key critical response to Campbell's early exhibitions at Barbara Toll Gallery came from *The New York Times* art critic, John Russell. An ex-pat Englishman, he had been art critic for *The Times* of London for thirty years before he moved to New York in the 1970s. Perhaps it was their shared cultural references points that Russell responded to. Russell's interest and support changed everything for Campbell. The paradigmatic significance of Russell's review is considered in Chapter Two. Kim Levin's review for *The Village Voice* picked up on Campbell's Scottishness:

The paint is as stodgy as oatmeal... Some of the paintings such as *Davie Hume's Soup*, feature the 18th century Scottish philosopher Hume... And as for the new breed of nationalistic painting, *Wee Nook Cottage*... seems to be a symbol of Scotland (p. 119 Levin, 1983).

In an attempt to locate newcomer Campbell's aesthetic Levin identified relevant influences and parallels to other contemporary artists working in New York,

the cottage interior with the same kind of careening perspective as in Immendorff's *Café Deutschlands*... his facility with paint handling is akin to Gerard Garouste's. And his bloated figures – overgrown boy scouts – are relatives of both Chia's and Botero's. Is this influence or affinity? Who knows. Perhaps it's just the outcome of some kind of pervasive historical development: emaciated blue Picassos at the eager start of the century, fat bloated figures towards its reluctant end (p. 119 Levin, 1983).

At the time *The Village Voice* had a strong track record for covering contemporary culture Campbell's inclusion was significant. Similar adjectives were used in a follow-up piece published a week later in *The Village Voice*, 'Steven Campbell: His is neo-Expressionist figuration of the Scottish variety, with paint as stodgy as oatmeal, tweedy colors' (Uncredited, 1983). These very early reviews of Campbell's work founded some of the

regular journalistic tropes about Campbell's working-class identity using descriptor: 'stodgy' or 'bloated' that came up regularly.

Known for his clear and insightful writing *The Christian Science Monitor's* art critic

Theodore F. Wolff wrote an excellently to-the-point response to Campbell's December

1983 solo exhibition at the Toll Gallery,

As things stand now, however, this 29-year-old Scottish painter currently living in New York is sitting pretty close to the top of the world. His inclusion last summer in a group show in New York's SoHo district drew good critical response, and his two-gallery exhibition this past December was taken seriously by most of those who saw it [...] What he may lack in finesse he more than makes up in formal structuring, psychological insight, and a good clear instinct for the pictorial potentials of paint. [...] This ambiguity and oblique approach to narrative is very typical of the art of the 1980s, which tends more toward an anxious examination of the human condition and of human fate that toward the sort of formal purism that engaged the artists of the past several decades (p. 34 Wolff, 1984).

With relatively few critical and academic sources available on Campbell journalism such as

Wolff's piece take on greater significance to researchers as a contemporary critical

response. Despite its overtly religious title, the *Monitor* was known for its solid, objective

journalism. Wolff's review acknowledged the speed with which Campbell had received

accolades declaring he, 'might soon joining the small group of marvellously idiosyncratic

artists of artists of stature this century has produced' (p. 34 Wolff, 1984). The article

represented a huge endorsement for Campbell, Wolff was an important art critic in the US

reflected perhaps by the fact that his archive is now held at the Smithsonian.

Representing the voice of a younger generation, creative writer Barry Yourgrau wrote an

elegiac review of the same December 1983 solo show for *ARTS Magazine*. Yourgrau departed

from the ground laid by John Russell and *The Village Voice* reviews although featuring the by-

now familiar biography: 'It's of note that before Campbell took up painting at the Glasgow School of Art (before that he worked in the steel mills), he was a performance 'pose' artist, à la the wacky Pose Band' (Yourgrau, 1984). The review was the catalyst for a fruitful creative relationship resulting in a collaborative print work and performance in the mid-1980s. Reviews and critical responses in US publications abruptly end following Campbell's return to Scotland in 1986.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: British Critical Responses to Campbell 1984-86

Reviews of the exhibitions Campbell had in the UK in the period he lived in New York are considered separately in parallel to the critical responses to his work in the US. Campbell's 1984 *New Paintings* exhibition at the Riverside Studios in London was his first British solo show. It was reviewed in national newspapers and key art journals including *Studio International*. In an interview with Andrew Graham-Dixon published in 1985 in *The Sunday Times* Campbell drew out some of the contrasting attitudes evident to him as he operated in the contexts of New York and UK, 'In America there is no shame in getting rich by painting... not like Britain, where you can become quite well known and not really make anything out of it. Museums and collectors in the USA don't watch and wait' (Graham-Dixon, 1985). One year later Graham-Dixon's review of the *New Image Glasgow* touring show continued the thread,

four of Campbell's paintings were sold to museums and private collectors in America. This contrasts sadly with the negative response of the Arts and British Councils and the Tate, none of which purchased... Young artists need to be sponsored to reach that audience and compete in the market, and the government should invest in their energy. The alternative is the dreary and uncertain wait for a retrospective at the Tate or Whitechapel, at the end of which whatever talent they had may have been ground out of them. (p. 41 Graham-Dixon, 1985)

It is doubtful that Graham-Dixon's review was the only catalyst for UK institutional support, but as I explore in Chapter Three, all three organisations referenced went on to buy work by Campbell before the end of the decade.

CONTEXT: Campbell in the Context of 'The European Invasion'

Whilst the primary purpose of this thesis is to draw out the particularities of Campbell's story and critically reframe his artistic reputation, it is useful also to place Campbell's oeuvre within broader cultural histories of the 1980s. Recent scholarship on the period has sought to revise the established narrative that has considered the success of European painting in the early 1980s in purely stylistic terms. Art historian Catherine Dossin's 2015 publication *The Rise and Fall of American Art, 1940s–1980s* moved the discourse from purely aesthetic considerations to consider a wider structural economic framework. Dossin presented a credible, evidenced counterargument to critical assumptions that, in the period after World War II, New York was the new undisputed centre of the art world, leaving Europe behind. Using exhibiting statistics and market data Dossin questioned Greenbergian accounts that prioritised American Modernist artists,

The vivid debates about painting focused on the ontological nature of the medium and the philosophical implications of using it at the end of the twentieth century, rather than on the particular historical circumstances of its return in the 1980s, and in Western Europe in particular (p.230-1 Dossin, 2015).

In what she termed the 'European Invasion,' Dossin gave an alternative critical account of the group of Italian and German artists that came to dominate the New York art world in the early 1980s. Although she acknowledged, 'the French, Scottish, and Scandinavians did not have much success' (p. 285 Dossin, 2015). Dossin distanced Neo-Expressionist painting from romantic assertions about a return to painting or critical arguments about a backlash against

Conceptual art instead relating it to geopolitical trends in the mid-twentieth century including: globalisation of wealth, the collapse of American state support for art and the strengthening of art infrastructures in post-war Europe. By Dossin's account the invasion was rapid and left American market somewhat confused,

European artists took New York by storm. Suddenly German and Italian paintings were hanging everywhere. This barbaric invasion of expressive painting baffled the New York art worlds... The problem was not just the swiftness of the European takeover but also the Americans' overall lack of knowledge about these artists, who until then were almost completely unknown in New York... they had little background information on them beyond what their galleries were saying (p. 278-9 Dossin, 2015).

Dossin's assertion that the market's lack of context echoed what Campbell's New York gallerist Barbara Toll had said about feeling 'hesitant' to take on artists from other countries (Toll in Scott, 1986). Because of her lack of knowledge of the Scottish context, when faced with a Campbell for the first time she had wondered, if 'all paintings in Scotland look like this' (Toll in Scott, 1986).

The market was so hungry that differentiation between countries of origin and generations of the artists were glossed over so that German Georg Baselitz (b.1938), who began painting in the 1950s was presented alongside Italian Sandro Chia's (b. 1946) 1970s paintings, as part of the same Neo-Expressionist trend. There were various global factors at play in determining the market's demand for these artists such as: the impact of the OPEC-driven economic crash in the US in the 1970s. Also, the strength of the network of West German galleries and collectors in the 1980s was a factor, and the efficiency of various state-sponsored cultural bodies that promoted the successful European artists and networks through art fairs and biennales. In this respect, the success of European artists in the 1980s was arguably a consequence of post-war reconstruction and the market finding an antidote to the international prevalence of American art. What is striking about Campbell's initial New York success was the lack of support from

either a gallery at home or strategic national cultural bodies, the only visible support coming from the US-based Fulbright Institute, internationalist by its very nature, and a lot of goodwill from Glasgow School of Art.

The symbolic triumph of European painting's re-emergence has tended to be referenced by two key international group exhibitions: *The New Spirit in Painting* at the Royal Academy in London in 1981 (curated by Berlin-based Greek-born art historian Christos Joachimedes, Norman Rosenthal, Exhibitions Secretary of the Royal Academy in London and Nicholas Serota of the Whitechapel Art Gallery) and the follow up *Zeitgeist* at Martin Gropius Bau in Berlin the following year (curated by Joachimedes and Rosenthal). They signalled the end of mid-twentieth century dominance of American critics promoting American art in terms of universalist, Modernist values. *New Spirit* and *Zeitgeist* were by Dossin's assessment, 'the attempted rewriting of art history by European art historians' (p.264 Dossin, 2015).

John Russell's review of *Zeitgeist* for *The New York Times* suggested that the exhibition was a vehicle to legitimatise West German painting,

the prime object of "Zeitgeist" was to validate the School of Berlin as it is represented in the show by Georg Baselitz, Rainer Fetting, K. H. Hodicke, Markus Lupertz, Dieter Hacker, Helmut Middendorf and Salome, with Anselm Kiefer and others as guests from other parts of Germany (p. 33 Russell, 1982).

Russell's summary offers contemporary support for Dossin's assertion that there was a strategic re-positioning of the critical narrative of art occurring at the time. In this sense, a similarity might be observed in Alexander Moffat's conscious recalibration of Scottish contemporary art through both *Expressive Images* exhibition in 1982 and *New Image Glasgow* in 1985.

By the early 1980s American critics, including Irving Sandler and those associated with the journal *October*, such as Rosalind Krauss, Benjamin Buchloh, Hal Foster, Douglas Crimp *et al*, also emphasised a rupture between Neo-Expressionism and the American Modernist canon (Abstraction, Minimalism and Conceptualism) that had come before. Arguably the commercial and intellectual dominance of American conceptualism of the 1960s and 1970s had hardened into an orthodoxy by the late 1970s and Neo-Expressionism was a challenge to this. Taking another nuanced and revisionist approach Alison Pearlman's 2003 publication *Unpackaging Art of the 1980s* was a scholarly reappraisal of some of Campbell's New York contemporaries associated with the East Village scene: Julian Schnabel, David Salle, Jean-Michel Basquiat, Keith Haring, Peter Halley and Jeff Koons. Like Dossin, the primary geographic location for Pearlman's study is New York - even more specifically East Village, Soho, mid-town Manhattan in the 1980s. She focussed on the shared network of studios, galleries, critics and even collectors these artists had in common. The artists Pearlman characterised as 'aesthetically diverse [but] unified in important ways that contradict the critics polarities' (p. 2 Pearlman, 2003). In much the same way that Campbell was to attract disapproval, they were critiqued at the time for being too commercial and aesthetically reactionary, what Krauss referred to as 'a depleted modernism... increasingly porous, admitting more and more citations from past art... to retain its "art" value (and thus its market value)' (p.41 Krauss, 1986). However, Pearlman's thesis challenged this assumption arguing the artists in her study represented the 'inheritance of the 1960s and 1970s Conceptualism, its thoroughly Warholian understanding of the artificiality of public identity, and its most deliberate and nuanced use of past styles and media' (p. 2 Pearlman, 2003). Pearlman argued the *October* critics' aversion to these artist's lack of distinction between high and pop culture 'blinded them to the very changes in this relationship [between art and critic] that make this era of American art so distinctive and

significance' (p.2 Pearlman, 2003). Instead a more nuanced appraisal of the appropriative strategies employed by these artists would acknowledge the approach was a synthesis of European Expressionistic tendencies, American Conceptualism and Warholian ironic commercialisation. Pearlman also took account of popular media reception and representations of 1980s art, what she terms 'the packaging',

[does] not mean simply the sales pitch surrounding particular artists and trends. Instead, I refer to the mutually reinforcing processes of art achieving prominence in the marketplace and art becoming defined in the media. Packaging requires consensus among influential people about particular art (P. 3 Pearlman 2003).

By Pearlman's reckoning these artists were exceptional semioticians, reading consumer culture and incorporating critical readings into their work - a explanation that could equally apply to Campbell's artistic practice.



Fig. 5, c.1985, *Steven in his studio* (CC collection/ @GreerCamp1)

There are obvious overlaps in time, geography and critical framing between Campbell and the artists explored by Dossin and Pearlman; although represented by different galleries and not part of the same social circle, Campbell knew

both Schnabel and Haring and his professional network overlapped with as Basquiat's.

Campbell was a novelty on the New York scene for being an identifiably Scottish-British artist.

His sartorial styling could be read as projection of a Warholian branding, his vintage plaid and plus fours synonymous with the sharp suited characters in his paintings. For Campbell there was undoubtedly an element of artworld savvy about his style choices which certainly would have suited his gallerists and the brand they were cultivating. Campbell's willingness to

perform his artistic aesthetic might also be traced back to his formative interest in performance art.

Pearlman offered two modes of critical writing about art in the 1980s: academic-theoretical criticism vs. insider-journalistic criticism,

journalists who wrote for the *New York Times* had special status among peers of journalists [...] Generally speaking, in the 1980s, insider-journalistic criticism exerted the most influence on artists' reputations at the moment it was first published, as news or hype (p. 5-6 Pearlman, 2003).

This observation is particularly relevant to a study of Campbell for whom relatively little academic critical writing exists and for whom journalism was significant in forming his artistic reputation. Pearlman proposed that despite its ephemeral nature, newspaper criticism has 'most strongly shaped the reception of 1980s art in academia [...] Through canonization... and repeated citation, the significance of critical polemics has been reinforced and further strengthened within academic culture' (p. 5-6 Pearlman, 2003). Arguably, this was also true for Campbell, for example Henry's continued use of the New Glasgow Boys phraseology in her reviews of his work has shaped critical framing of it since.

When looking back to an era of bombast and brand-building hyperbole, Pearlman was wary of using artist's statements in interviews as source material to, 'avoid intentional fallacy - mistaking intentions for results, rhetoric for deeds' (p. 7 Pearlman, 2003). Instead Pearlman interpreted intentionality through a matrix of close readings of the work, conditions of production and consumption, 'The proliferation of unverifiable anecdotes and gossip about personalities is and has been one of the plagues of journalism and criticism on art in the 1980s' (p. 7 Pearlman, 2003). Leaning back on Pearlman's words, it is

notable that some critical responses to Campbell over the years have prioritised his sometimes-flippant rhetorical positioning at the expense of engaging with the work and considering the specific contexts in which it operates. For example, the trivialising tone of the 1991 *Daily Record* interview with Campbell 'I Do It For Beer Money' caused damage to his reputation. Pearlman's cautionary position presented a dilemma for this research: Campbell's voice has been frequently missing from the scholarship on the period, his accomplishments interpreted as luck. Yet his words, frequently revealing, are generally found the sources Pearlman termed 'insider-journalism' (Pearlman, 2003). There is a fine line between my intention to reinsert Campbell's voice into the critical narrative and over-relying on the anecdotal.

Understandings of the 1980s New York art world are informed by headline stories such as Julian Schnabel's *Notre Dame* selling for \$85,000 in 1983, just four years after his first solo show in New York. For Pearlman the 'rapid rise to prominence of young artists' in the 1980s typifies the 'clichés and symbols describing careerism and aggressive affluence of the 1980s middle and upper-middle classes' (p. 10 Pearlman, 2003) parodied in Marissa Piesman and Marilee Hartley's *The Yuppie Handbook* published in 1984. In 1996 Schnabel wrote and directed the *Basquiat* biopic. Although widely recognised as an extremely partial recollection of the East Village scene, it offered an insider's eye for detail and atmosphere. Jean-Michel Basquiat's rapid rise and market hype of the era were summarised in the movie by character Rene Ricard's comment: 'no one wants to be part of a generation that ignores another Van Gogh' (Schnabel, 1996).

In Pearlman's reading, the critical unease toward the celebrity turn in the art world in the 1980s

evoked, 'unresolved feelings about the enormous success and influence of Andy Warhol... the ever-ready suspicion that avant-gardism was incompatible with commercial success' (p. 10 Pearlman, 2003). The implication that Campbell's commercial success somehow represented something cynical and apolitical was also proposed by British critic and curator Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton's 1988 'Völkisch Kitsch' essay dealt with later in this section.

Arguably, Campbell's proximity to the market success of the East Village artists has also coloured critical responses to his work. Picking up on Pearlman's account of the synthesis of graffiti street culture in the work of Haring and Basquiat, Neil Mulholland suggested their blend of commercialism and 'semiological approach' was also relevant to readings of Campbell's New York work (Mulholland, 2005). Although Campbell was on the fringes of this scene where he lived, worked, and socialised, New York's subculture aesthetic did not really impact on his artistic language. Campbell's use of text pre-dated his move to New York and could be more readily understood as a response to Roland Barthes' 1964 essay 'The Rhetoric of the Image' than a response to the street culture semi-fictionalised in Charlie Ahearn's 1983 *Wild Style* movie. Partly inspired by an 'Art of the Insane' exhibition in Assisi, Campbell later incorporated stylised representations of Basquiat's work into his *Baby-Faced Killer* paintings (2006-07).



Figs. 6-7, c.2006-07, both *Untitled* from the *Baby-Faced Killer Series*; right: with blue typewriter.
Left: with Lytton Strachey

CONTEXT: Changes in Collecting Tastes

Campbell's departure from New York at the end of 1986 coincided with broader changes taking place in the American art market in the late 1980s – the decline in interest in figurative painting and a growing market for the Commodity Art of Jeff Koons and followers of Warhol. This broad change in artistic fashion coincided with the deaths of Joseph Beuys in 1986 and Andy Warhol in 1987. The loss of the leading lights of previous generations, symbolically at least, signalled the end of an era. In interview Campbell's former gallerist, Tom Cvikota wondered what sort of work Campbell might have made he had stayed in New York, speculating that a change in style and approach would have suited the shifting market dynamics of the context. It was an interesting thought experiment, but it is hard to imagine an artist as grounded as Campbell – whose style was so definite and established – would have been willing to make an aesthetic compromise.

In an echo of the rhetoric around the 1981 *Zeitgeist* painting exhibition, the narrative of

American contemporary art was ruptured by the 51st Carnegie International exhibition in 1991, critically heralded as the signifier of the new era of the 1990s artworld. New York-based curator Mónica Espinel summarised the exhibition selection as one, 'characterised by artworks conveying a sincerity that breaks away from the irony of the 80s (p. 242 Espinel in Nieves, 2011). Although as *The New York Times* review at the time wryly observed, sincerity was still perceived to be the preserve of a narrow demographic, 'The 1991 Carnegie strives for diversity, although it rustles up fewer than a dozen women, and nobody from Africa or South America, among other places' (p. 31 Kimmelman, 1991).¹⁰ The aesthetic turn in late 1980s New York was later echoed by similar developments in Scottish art in the 1990s, what Craig Richardson named as 'Rational Practices' in his historic survey *Scottish Art Since 1960* partly characterised by 'formal site-specificity and a renewed interest in representational politics' (p. 156 Richardson, 2011).

In her 2011 essay 'The Journey from the Studio to the Collection' Campbell's former dealer, Barbara Toll underlined the change in market, 'Art doesn't fly off the walls of galleries right into collectors' homes anymore [...] In many ways, the art advisor is symptomatic of our times. He or she mediates the art experience' (p. 147 Toll in Nieves, 2011). Underlying my own research method of data gathering, Toll asserted, 'The ultimate test is the auction house, the only transparent market for art in the world' (p. 147 Toll in Nieves, 2011).

More than fifty Campbell artworks have been sold at auction since the mid-1980s, some on

¹⁰ Forty-three artists were exhibited in the 1991 *51st Carnegie International in Pittsburgh* including: Christian Boltanski, Bruce Nauman, On Kawara, Richard Avedon, Boris Mikhailov, Richard Serra, Sophie Calle, Tony Cragg, Louise Bourgeois, Ann Hamilton, Mike Kelley and Allan McCollum, Richard Serra and Maria Nordman.

more than one occasion. The low point for secondary sales of his work came at the beginning of the last decade. Since 2014 there has been a small but perceptible upswing in hammer prices after the re-staging of his *On Form and Fiction* installation. The subsequent joint acquisition of the work in 2016 by National Galleries of Scotland and Glasgow Life (Glasgow Museums) has continued the interest. A quick comparison to the sales records of exactly contemporaneous US painters such as David Salle or Ed Paschke show a similar relative drop in price (with an additional few zeros added to hammer prices) demonstrating this dip was by no means unique to Campbell. Although the star painters of this period Salle, Schnabel, Chia *et al* were well represented in American and European collections their work has been rarely exhibited since except in survey shows of the era. For example, in 1983 Sandro Chia had twenty catalogues produced about his work, had ten solo shows and was in twenty-three group shows worldwide, by 1992 the numbers were reduced to one catalogue, four solo shows and one group show (p. 280 Dossin, 2015). As a less established artist the numbers for Campbell's exhibitions in this time period do not directly compare, however taking one of his busiest years, 1985 as a comparator: Campbell had one catalogue produced about him; four solo shows in London, Edinburgh, New York and Washington D.C.; and was in six group shows including the *British Art Show*, *New Image Glasgow*, *Selection II* at The Met, the *Hayward Annual* in London and smaller shows in New Jersey and Virginia. In the 1990s he had three solo shows in the entire decade.

Irving Sandler's 1998 survey, *Art of the Postmodern Era* was a key textbook for American art and artworld of the period. He admitted in his summary of the 1980s he had 'nagging doubts' about the validity of 'art-world consensus':

fashionable art was increasingly hyped by mass media, notably such magazines as *Vogue*, *Interview* and *Vanity Fair*... it was no longer clear not only whether aesthetic values were primary but even how they counted (p.xxiii Sandler, 1996).

Sandler's unease at the loss of traditional artworld consensus resonated Barbara Toll's attempts to resist the overt commodification of her artists by not selling works as investments. The Barbara Toll Gallery were not the only dealers in town to question new art/ business models,

As the influential Cologne dealer Paul Maenz, himself significantly responsible for the creation of the new market, lamented: 'Art and the art business have entered today into an alliance that has never before been so complete, [and this] has a negative, perverting influence' (p. xxiv Sandler, 1996).

Ultimately Sandler argued art market growth in the 1980s had a destabilising, and therefore rupturing, effect on the way critical value was ascribed to art, 'The growth in size and power of the art market forced me to question whether the art-world consensus could still be used as a credible standard to establish the significance and quality of art? (p. xxiv Sandler, 1996).

Another key factor in the change in taste and artistic practice at the time was the more prosaic pressures on prime Manhattan real estate,

The East Village art world's most intense period of commercial growth and media blitz was between 1982 and 1984, after which the neighbourhood's rents became prohibitive... By 1986, most of the galleries that gained notoriety in the first half of the 1980s had folded or moved. The scene had run its course (p. 17 Pearlman, 2003).

Pearlman's summary of the changes to the local downtown scene resonated in Campbell's story: his move back to Glasgow in 1986 and his former gallerist Toll's move out of her SoHo location. Pearlman's description of how Commodity Art born out of (or into?) gentrification of the East Village art scene (which she dates as 1984-86), paralleled the Glasgow Miracle in in the mid-1990s:

The rough and ready, makeshift, and business naivete of the first phase gave way to the cerebral, professional, and business-slick second phase. Gentrification had left little room for amateurism ...a sharp turn away from the emotionally expressive styles (p. 20 Pearlman, 2003).

Echoing the shift from naïve to business savvy, critic Sarah Lowndes charted the parallel proliferation in Glasgow of informal and artist-run exhibiting spaces in the 1980s and 1990s into the expansion of gatekeeper institutions and a short-lived crop of commercial galleries in the city in the mid-2000s. Campbell did not benefit from the increase in exhibiting and commercial opportunities, he rarely exhibited in his home city. However, in many ways Campbell, represented what a successful international practice might look like for Scottish artists paving the way for the growth of the Glasgow scene. After art school Campbell had wanted to be in New York, the epicentre of the art world, later the Glasgow art scene brought a version of the New York model to Glasgow. The similarities were superficial and the political/ economic contexts vastly different. Nevertheless, like New York in the era post-1975 city bankruptcy, space in post-industrial Glasgow in the 1980s and 1990s was cheap and abundant because of the same global economic shifts.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: British Critical Responses to Campbell in the 1980s



Fig. 8, 1984 *Owl butting hiker on the knee* (christies.com)

By contrast to the American critics, there was in the 1980s a discernible pattern of uncertainty toward Campbell amongst English curators. In 1984 Jeremy Lewison reviewed Campbell's *New Paintings* exhibition for *Studio International*. At the time of

writing the review he was Curator of Kettle's Yard (later Director of Collections at Tate).¹¹

Lewison picked up on a recurring trope in much of the American criticism dubbing Campbell, 'Scotland's answer to Sandro Chia' (p. 53 Lewison, 1984). Alluding to Campbell's mid-Atlantic positioning Lewison concluded the works in the show, 'will clearly appeal to a wide audience in Britain. They are witty, active melodramatic and luxuriant and they challenge the viewer to make sense of a narrative which is as hard to reconstruct as it is to enter' (p. 53 Lewison, 1984). Lewison identified the expanded nature of Campbell's practice as significant,

The willingness to become a character in one of his paintings indicates a degree of involvement in the work beyond the act of painting [...] The trials of the characters are mirrored by the trails of the artist (p. 53 Lewison, 1984).

The review ambivalently concluded, 'The marriage of monumentality with eye-boggling detail seldom comes off convincingly' (p. 53 Lewison, 1984).

In April 1985, just prior to *New Image Glasgow* opening, Third Eye produced a one-off visual arts magazine *Visual Arts in Glasgow: Tradition and Transformation* in association with London-based periodical *Arts Review*. Artists and writers were commissioned to write state of the nation essays on the conditions of art making at the time. Key themes in Moffat's eulogistic 'The New Glasgow style' essay prefigured his later essay for *New Image Glasgow*, citing many more Glasgow artists than were included in the exhibition. In it he introduced a binary argument about the end of Modernism and what was to be done about Postmodernism,

All that was disallowed in the Modernist era - history, storytelling, literature - all of this has flooded back into Painting with a terrible vengeance. A new wave of European

¹¹ At the time *Studio International* was edited by Michael Spens, a polymathic figure who at the same time was also a practicing architect and Head of Architecture at Duncan of Jordanstone.

painters, chiefly German and Italian... has turned a type of figurative expressionism in to an international fashion (p. 6 Moffat, 1985).

Moffat acknowledged that an over-promotion of certain characteristics had led to, 'bombastic, daubing method... being emulated all over the Western World' (p. 6 Moffat, 1985b). He hailed the, 'potentially liberating impact... bringing about an overnight transformation in attitudes to making art' (p. 6 Moffat, 1985). In an odd turn of phrase, Moffat described Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski as 'extraordinary folk artists', a descriptor that reflected both Wiszniewski's whimsical style and Campbell's rough, DIY-aesthetic (p. 6 Moffat, 1985). However, the phrase came loaded with anti-Modernist meaning and an implied retrogressive attitude. Critic Charles Jencks offered a useful corrective to this conflation a few years later. Acknowledging that ironic Postmodern eclecticism was sometimes mistaken for kitsch traditionalism, Jencks asserted that Postmodern artists, 'keep something of a modern sensibility, some intention that distinguishes their work from revivalist' (Jencks, 1987). In 2002 Michael Bracewell dubbed the work of Campbell and Wiszniewski an 'update of' the English Neo-Romantic artists of the 1940s (p. 11 Bracewell, 2002). The earlier artistic movement was undoubtedly a visual reference point for both artists; however, they were not operating within the same aesthetic or philosophical parameters of English pastoral Modernism.

The arguments declaring painting as either traditional vs. progressive art form were at the heart of the competing critical narratives ascribed to Campbell. Moffat's evocation of irrationality and subconscious was suggestive that Campbell could be an inheritor of surrealist legacies. By framing Campbell in this way Moffat was establishing a connection to older European traditions. In this essay and his *New Image Glasgow* exhibition Moffat was

asserting a clear break from the recent Scottish art history and Modernist stylistic tendencies of the GSA Drawing and Painting Department. Moffat was unrestrained in his praise of Campbell,

[he] has established a reputation in the United States with his monumental pictures - vivid in imagery, complex in detail and with a strong literary basis - towers above those feeble 'pseudo-expressionists' who over-populate the international scene... they owe a great debt to their own city... its modern history, and its atmosphere... have helped create an artistic programme which is perhaps revolutionary and full of far-reaching consequences for Scottish art (p. 7 Moffat, 1985).

Taking a somewhat contrary position within the same publication, artist and educator Peter Seddon warned against celebrating anti-intellectual posturing in visual arts,

There is a strong distrust of the ironical stance and the role of theory required to sustain such art practices for any length of time, and concomitant with this is a male-based intuitive gutsiness which has only begun to be challenged (p. 4 Seddon, 1985).

Although Moffat was (and continues to be) a champion of intellectual artistic concerns, the caution expressed by Seddon exemplified a wariness in respect of the packaging of diverse artists together based on what he understood to be superficial aesthetic similarity,

In recent years modernism has re-emphasised its notions of the transforming spiritual power of art, the artist as shaman or hero. It is no accident that the semi-autobiographical secret narrative picture of much New Imagism has a strong Glasgow base (p. 5 Seddon, 1985).

The stark machismo of painters such as Peter Howson and Mario Rossi (and their many followers) and the overtly Realist style of their work never sat comfortably with the more complex Postmodern and allegorical practice of Campbell. The paradox for Campbell – and in part why he was open to criticism – was that his public persona (as opposed to the imagery in his work) was often reduced to a series of *macho* signifiers; his apprenticeship in heavy industry, his footballing past, his family life, the appropriation of imagery from *Boy's Own Adventures* stories, the jokes and self-deprecation and his fondness for bacchanalian good

times. A certain scepticism towards biography in art criticism belies the belief that the approach can over-shadow the discussion and analysis of artworks. In the 1985 BBC film *The Lunch Party* Glasgow artist Jacki Parry echoed this, 'the public are more interested to know Van Gogh by his razor than his brush. So that they are more interested in the life of the person than his art' (BBC Scotland, 1985). There are plenty of examples where media representations or off-the-cuff journalistic tropes endure in readings of an artists' legacy and reappear in every review such as PG Wodehouse's shattered literary reputation after his war time broadcasts from Germany or Leonora Carrington's mental breakdown after the arrest and subsequent departure of her lover Max Ernst in 1938.

[redacted for copyright] Fig. 9, press launch (possibly Scottish Bestiary, c.1986). Left to right: Bruce McLean, Campbell, Alan Davie, Adrian Wiszniewski, John Byrne

The artists gathered under the *New Image Glasgow* umbrella did not particularly enjoy the collective identity it conferred, though Campbell and Currie were most clearly vocal in resisting the moniker.¹² In an 1987 interview with James Collins for *Flash Art* Campbell spoke of his lack of interest in being categorised in this way, 'I never thought I was an Expressionist... It was exciting because it was a new movement. But the work wasn't terribly exciting' (p. 78 Collins, 1987). A few years later Campbell made an indirect dig at the socially conscious robust figuration of Currie *at al*, "'Political art" is just an embarrassment. It's inauthentic' (p. 38 McEwan, 1990). Later still, Campbell continued to distance himself from the group identity, 'All that's got nothing to do with me. I was just doing my own thing at GSA in 1979... So I don't see myself as part of a school or anything' (p. 18 Patrick, 1993). Campbell's statements of demarcation were not untypical of artists

¹² Except for Peter Howson and Mario Rossi who could be seen to have traded on it since.

self-consciously positioning themselves as distinct from the movements they come to be associated with. For example, Eduardo Paolozzi's claim to be a 'Radical Surrealist' in an act of deliberate disassociation from Pop Art (p. 199 Spencer, 2002).

In his poignant *Obituary* for Campbell Adrian Wiszniewski retrospectively expressed a more sanguine approach to the endowed group identity,

We showed together... and became known as the New Glasgow Boys. In the 1980s there were nice trips... where we met but did not really mix with the New British sculptors such as Anthony Gormley, Anish Kapoor, Richard Long and Tony Cragg. While they pushed CVs and business cards, Steven and I went to shops and cafes and on the occasional bender (Wiszniewski, 2007).

Wiszniewski's emphasis on camaraderie was shaped by art school and their mutual experiences of being the only Scottish artists on the British Council tour.



Fig. 10, 1983 Ken Currie *War* (Glasgow Museums/ artuk.org)

By contrast, Ken Currie in a 1986 essay for the *Edinburgh Review* made his feelings clear about the forced association, 'As one of the

artists resentful of being lumped in with this 'New Glasgow School' (p. 71 Currie, 1986). In 2002 in an interview published to accompany his exhibition at Glasgow School of Art, Currie reflected on his earlier position, 'I was trying to distance myself from a great deal of the hype and rhetoric associated with the New Glasgow School... Certainly I still have reservations but generally I think the whole thing was enormously beneficial - for my own direction as a painter and for Scottish art' (Currie and Thompson, 2002). By distancing

themselves from the New Image group identity the associated artists were not acknowledging the extent to which they had been shaped by the specific context of GSA in the 1970s and 1980s. Campbell often spoke about references and appropriation in his work but was often restrained in his discussion of influences, not an unusual position for an artist. Moffat's curatorial thesis articulated his sense of a shared figurative tradition they were drawing on.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: BBC Arena: Two Painters Amazed BBC, March 1986



Fig. 11, screenshot from Campbell and Wiszniewski sitting in the 'Hen Run' Mackintosh Building (*Two Painters Amazed* 1986)

Campbell and his work reached a broad popular UK audience through two key television documentaries. In 1986 BBC *Arena* documentary crew followed Campbell and Wiszniewski for several months in 1985 in New York, London, and

Glasgow. The 45-minute film, directed by BBC regular Alistair Scott, was subtitled 'Two Painters Amazed' - a reference to Campbell's 1983 painting *Young Man Amazed at the Height He is Up*. Broadcast on a national channel, *Two Painters Amazed* had mainstream rather than minority reach. It aired directly after the *9 O'clock News*. Before deregulation of broadcasting in the early 1990s impacted commissioning, British arts and culture broadcasting in the 1980s was more integrated into mainstream schedules with weekly cultural programming such as

The Late Show, the *South Bank Show* and *Monitor*. In their history of arts programmes David Lee and John Corner argue arts programming in the UK in the 1970s and 1980s took a 'postmodern turn... broadly within arts broadcasting at the time there was a clear trend towards programming which challenged the high/low boundary' (p. 367 Lee and Corner, 2015) of which the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary might be seen as a prime example of.

The documentary narrative focused on the rapid journey both artists made from art school to artworld success. It opened with Campbell and Wiszniewski in the darkened Mackintosh Lecture Theatre discussing slides their work. The atmosphere was louche, Wiszniewski was smoking and both were smartly dressed in sharp Yuppie-suits. Art school interiors featured heavily and as well as footage from the *New Image Glasgow* exhibition preview night at the Third Eye Centre in Glasgow. A studio sequence followed Campbell boldly improvising a composition on a blank canvas. He later expressed his dissatisfaction with the original painting in the film, 'it was terrible. I was in front of the cameras' (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005). Despite his bravado on film, Campbell's self-consciousness about being filmed resulted in what was for him a stilted working process, 'I did everything I knew I could do well... I was showing off' (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005). By the end of the documentary the finished painting *A Man Possessed by a Demon of the Retina* was entirely different, having been repainted by Campbell off camera. A fragment of the original paintwork can be seen in the oval shape in the top right of the finished work. The painting's title hinting to Campbell's ambivalent feelings of being filmed, 'demon of the retina' his poetic but dystopian description of television technology. The demonic shadow on the stair seems reference to Remedios Varo's late Surrealist work *Fenómeno*.



Figs. 12-13 Left: 1985 *A Man Possessed by a Demon of the Retina* (image from CC Collection).
Right: 1962 Remedios Varo *Fenómeno* (remedios-varo.com)

The *Two Painters Amazed* documentary was widely reviewed in the Scottish press at the time in both television and arts coverage – reviews encompassed biographical pieces in the Campbell family’s local paper *The Rutherglen Reformer* through to *The Glasgow Herald’s* congratulatory take on the broadcast,

Today their paintings hang in some of the world’s most prestigious galleries... New York’s Metropolitan Museum is currently showing their Campbell... as part of their major selection of twentieth century. This is the only work included by an artist born since 1945 (Young, 1986).

The tabloid *Daily Express* adopted a less reverential, trivialising tone in its assessment of the programme,

Stephen Campbell [sic] is a painter from Glasgow who in the local vernacular, is making a bomb in New York, know what I mean, Jimmy? [...] I must say I have never seen anything like them in Scotland. But let us not knock a canny wee laddie who can charm a dollar or two out of our American cousins (Murray, 1986).

Arguably the documentary, and the press’s reaction to it, served to embed Campbell (and Wiszniewski to a lesser extent) within a wider Scottish public discourse. Both documentary and

reviews can be understood as part of the apparatus of popular cultural discourse and for a time Campbell occupied a visible central role. This was highly unusual for a visual artist at the time and influenced the subsequent framing of his work.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: Edinburgh Review 'Editorial' Edinburgh Review No. 72 1986

pp3-6 Editor Peter Kravitz

The weightiest critical response to New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys was in *Edinburgh Review* at the time was one of the few Scottish forums critical debate. Originally established in the eighteenth-century as vehicle for Scottish literary criticism, the title was revived under editor, Peter Kravitz in 1984.¹³ Kravitz was also editor at University of Edinburgh imprint Polygon and an early supporter of several Scottish writers including Alasdair Gray, Janice Galloway and James Kelman. His editorial approach was characterised by Susannah Thompson,

Kravitz had an interest in the history of 'counter culture' in Scotland...he shared an interest in the crossovers and overlaps between the arts... [his] approach to content and coverage in the *Edinburgh Review* reflected the growing interest in postmodern 'mixing' of so-called high and low culture (p. 187-88 Thompson, 2010).

Kravitz's 'Editorial' in Number 72 (1986) was a brief narration of Scottish New Image painting and a summary of various critical positions opposed to it; highlighting the younger painters and women artists excluded from their ranks, and the artworld establishment's disapproval of working-class artists doing well. Kravitz problematised Campbell for what he deems 'cynical market-awareness' (p. 5 Kravitz, 1986) acknowledging the opportunities for other artists that

¹³ The *Edinburgh Review* title was originally published between 1755-56, briefly revived in 1773-76 and again in 1802-1929 before its final incarnation 1984 to present (*Wikipedia: Edinburgh Review*, no date).

success for one in their ranks can bring.¹⁴ Much of the issue was given over to Glasgow figurative painting with essays by key participants including Alexander Moffat, Ken Currie and Malcolm Dickson. The tone and themes of the issue typical of what Thompson described as, ‘a particular brand of overtly politicised, ‘angry’ criticism which became increasingly prevalent in the early 1980s in Scotland and beyond’ (p. 161 Thompson, 2010).

The Editorial recounted the story of a ‘friend’ who moved to New York and was selling figurative paintings for \$10K each,

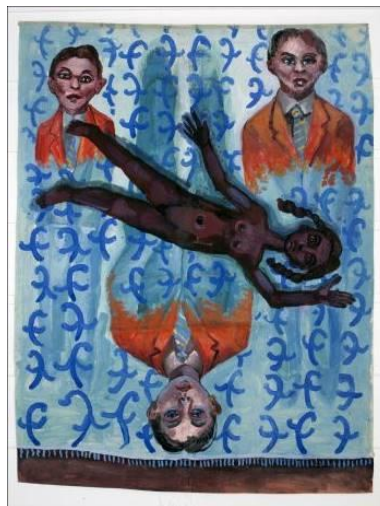
the dealers of East 57th St... had run out of things to sell. So every Sunday took their limousines down to the tough (but gentrifying) lower east side, and progressively bought up whole studios of work... Once stockpiled, they turned to their regular stream of investors, and not for the first time in the art world, a supply was found to meet the demand (p. 3 Kravitz, 1986).

The anecdotal and over-simplified description of collecting tastes in the American artworld did not account the generational, economic shifts at play. The taste for figurative paintings, was for Kravitz, a market response to the ‘anti-commercial nature’ of prevailing conceptual and performance art of the 1970s that had set out to disrupt the dealer system (p. 3 Kravitz, 1986). Although he acknowledged Campbell’s indebtedness to performance, Kravitz contrasted an apparent lack of criticality, ‘Nothing could be further from this in intent and effect than the paintings of Steven Campbell... Marketable images travel quickly in the art world’ (p. 3-4 Kravitz, 1986). Kravitz suggested Campbell’s commercial success was a result of a cynicism on his part, hinting that he had developed his aesthetic on the back of the *New Spirit in Painting* exhibition to suit the tastes of ‘all and sundry in New York’ (p. 3-4 Kravitz, 1986). Accordingly,

¹⁴ Perhaps tellingly an image of a work by Gwen Hardie, one of the few women associated with New Image Glasgow, was selected for the cover art of this issue. One of the most persuasive critiques of Scottish painting at the time is that success and representation was overwhelmingly male.

Campbell was 'in the situation where everything he paints in the next few years has already been bought by anyone from Saatchi and Saatchi to someone on Long Island. Sounds quite like the financial futures market' (p. 3-4 Kravitz, 1986).

With a clear disdain for commerciality the piece over-estimated the prices Campbell was commanding for his work at the time. To reinforce the (erroneous) argument, the essay linked Campbell to fashionable and financially successful artists Sandro Chia and Francesco Clemente. The superficial fraternity was based on them all being painters in New York. The aesthetic commonality, that they were figurative (i.e. not abstract) painters was broad, despite his admiration for them and the scene that brought him to New York, Campbell did not identify himself with their brand of Neo-Expressionism. Several early reviews, such as a 1984 *Artforum* review, explicitly referred to Campbell as the 'Scottish Chia' (Liebmann, 1984). The commonalities in the reviews read as though lifted from rhetorical marketing statements of a gallery press release, designed to reassure potential clients of the investment potential of buying.



Figs. 14-15, Left: Georg Baselitz, *Finger Painting Female Nude* 1972 (Authors own image); Right: *Untitled* from the *Black Dahlia* series

The connection Kravitz and New York reviewers drew between Campbell and Chia was one that persisted although it is hard to discern a strong visual or intellectual connection beyond the superficial. A more convincing correlation could be made to other New York contemporaries: Campbell admired Baselitz's rough style and willingness to disrupt conventions of picture-making. He later made direct visual reference to the German artist's obscure methods in works such as the ambiguous pictorial orientation of his *Untitled [Black Dahlia]*, c. 2002.

Similarly, Campbell's work also shared common visual strategies with David Salle's 1980s work. Both artists referenced high and low visual cultural source material to make complex, painted *collage* or composite pictorial spaces from imagined and appropriated imagery. Therefore Kravitz inclination to align Campbell's work with that of Chia, Clemente and their brand of New York painting was really to serve his point about its perceived 'inauthenticity' (p. 3 Kravitz, 1986). As Thompson emphasised, 'The issues stirred up by the essays and correspondences in the *Edinburgh Review* remain some of the most frank, controversial and heated critical debates in Scottish art criticism...represent a defining moment in Scottish art criticism' (p. 215 Thompson, 2010). The debate was to be reheated in 1988 by Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton's take down of the Glasgow scene discussed later in this section.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: Tate acquisition: The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey, 1986

To coincide with Tate's acquisition in 1986 of Campbell's *Dangerous Early and Late Life of*

Lytton Strachey, Tony Godfrey published an extended evaluation of the painting for *The Burlington Magazine*. The article was ostensibly about the Tate's acquisition but Godfrey offered several points for critical enquiry including a speculative address to the future: 'One of the more intriguing tasks awaiting the future historians will be to determine the exact influence of performance art on painting in the 1980s, and in that investigation Campbell will be seen as an important figure' (p. 150 Godfrey, 1987b). The piece was a rare example of non-journalistic response to Campbell and made a significant contribution to the critical writing about Campbell. Godfrey's stated intention was to address, in his words, 'mis-estimations' about Campbell (p. 248 Godfrey, 1987b). Godfrey's phrasing highlighted that even by this relatively early stage in his career, Campbell's work was open to misinterpretation. For an artist intent on subverting semiotic meaning, the confusion was deliberate with perhaps unintended consequences. The piece addressed a series of (imagined) negative critiques about Campbell's work including the assertion that, 'the paintings are little more than jokes... has in part been invited by Campbell's own wit and eccentricity, especially his tendency to make flippant remarks about his own art' (p. 248 Godfrey, 1987a).

Having dealt with a list of possible negative criticisms, Godfrey turned his attention specifically to the Strachey acquisition, Godfrey quoted Campbell from the *Tate Gallery Biennial Report of 1984-86*, which I quote at length as a means of bringing Campbell's voice to the fore:

The setting is what obviously appears to be a shooting gallery of sorts where the targets are the mature Lytton and the boyish Lytton and the very, very young Lytton as a cabbage. On the target entwined among the arrows is a portrait of Queen Victoria made up of the hairs of Lytton's beard while the arrow heads make a portrait of Queen Elizabeth the First - the two Queens Lytton is most associated with.[v stylized profiles] The younger Lytton's cricket cap if seen from above would resemble a target, while the Indian rope trick refers to Lytton's biography of General Gordon. The term 'Dangerous Life' comes from the situation Lytton would have been in had these biographies been

published during either of these two women's lifetimes. The pansy wallpaper obviously refers to Lytton's particular desires and inspired by a more recent painting, *The Death of Pansy Potter...* (p.248 Godfrey Burlington 1986)

As an exemplar for how to undertake a close reading of Campbell's work, Godfrey's piece for *The Burlington Magazine* was measured, giving readers a variety of ways into the work that other writers frequently did not. His approach must have pleased Campbell and Marlborough, as he was to write the catalogue essay for Campbell's *Recent Paintings* exhibition in 1987. The placing of Godfrey's article in the high-end *Burlington Magazine* was curious; a publication better known for articles on old master connoisseurship than contemporary art acquisition reports. However, Godfrey's art historical method of analysis was consistent with overall content and editorial tone. Perhaps the slightly traditional context justified Godfrey's critical approach of raising and countering possible criticisms of Tate's acquisition.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: Recent Paintings, 1987

Critical responses to Campbell's first solo exhibition with Marlborough Fine Art in London were again largely journalistic reviews. Having previously reviewed Campbell's Scottish exhibitions Waldemar Januszczak's review for *The Guardian*, titled 'Walking Class Hero', emphasised a narrative telling of Campbell's biography, 'The latest instalment in the rags to riches story has opened at the prestigious Marlborough Gallery where our hero is now installed alongside Mark Rothko, Kurt Schwitters, Francis Bacon, having made his mark in New York and returned to Scotland wealthy and famous' (Januszczak, 1987).

Januszczak decoded Campbell's *Portrait of an Island Splitting* as a metaphor for divisions of

class and wealth encouraged by neo-liberal Thatcherite policies, speculating that Campbell's feelings might have been a legacy of the 1979 vote for Scottish devolution. He concluded, 'Campbell's art courts ambitious interpretation... The jokes fly thick and fast in Campbell's paintings but they never dispel the impression that you are watching a very serious discussion of contemporary issues' (Januszczak, 1987b). Januszczak's reviews had enthusiastically praised Campbell since 1982, he had even appeared in the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary. Whilst the emphasis on Campbell's puns and humour could be understood as a simplistic, journalistic response to the dense literary and visual references, the 1987 review was generally positive, and positioned Campbell as a serious artist.

Clare Henry's response to the Marlborough show for *The Glasgow Herald* was a full-page preview. It featured a prominent portrait of Campbell in dapper outfit, sitting in front of his paintings: 'His image is one of stylish scruffiness' (Henry, 1987). Henry's analysis of the work, based on interview, has been useful to this thesis, giving voice to Campbell's ideas and working practice. Campbell, evidently in flippant mood, was quoted,

I've always wanted to have a go at the philosophical stuff; to deal with absolutes: the laws of nature. I love the idea of the pastoral and the literary figures and scientists involved. It's a big stew: Hume, Foucault, Wallace, Darwin. Much of it's pretty much wrong when you look back but it's full of beautiful poetic ideas, amusing and odd. I just pick from them. Cannibalise (Henry, 1987).

Although light in tone, this remark provided insight into the depth and breadth of Campbell's ideas. On Campbell's pictorial spaces Henry wrote, 'Campbell has long talked about "Setting up my own world so that I can go for a walk inside it, start playing, using it." He began as a student in performance art' (Henry, 1987). Campbell's comment suggests he made a direct equivalence between performance space and internal pictorial spaces of his

paintings.

Henry's interview with Campbell offered insight into his practice; on his spontaneous approach to composition he said, 'It has to be a surprise. If I know what I'm going to paint beforehand there's no point in doing it' (Henry, 1987). On Campbell's appropriative strategies, Henry explained, 'no painstaking drawings, no sketches; just lots of second-hand books and old illustrations to prompt and inspire. A flower from this page, a gesture from that' (Henry, 1987). Campbell usefully elaborated on the illustrative source material he was working from, 'If you look at some of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century British magazines the heights those people reached were marvellous. A couple of swift strokes and it's all down on the page' (Henry, 1987). Henry also included a vivid description of Campbell's studio where she had interviewed him,

These torn illustrations, the battered second-hand books, are just some of the layers of detritus on his messy studio floor. They fight for survival amid piles of rubbish, squeezed out paint tubes, polystyrene chips, empty bottles of turps, old rags, cassette tapes, and the odd half bottle of vodka trodden into a congealed paint landscape of neglect. Campbell likes to work in a cell-like room, little natural light, no heating, canvases nailed skewwhiff one on top of another like tapestries... Yet out of the Presbyterian gloom and disorder comes some of the wittiest paintings ever (Henry, 1987).



Fig. 16, screenshot of detritus in Campbell's Tribeca studio (*Two Painters Amazed* 1986)

Campbell's studio environment might be read as a sort of expanded painting, as if the picture (and Campbell's thought process) had slid off the canvas surface and solidified on to the floor. It is not unusual for artists to work in this level of disarray. Francis Bacon's studio, permanently recreated in Dublin's Hugh Lane Gallery, worked similarly as a prompt for his making. As Christopher Turner observed, 'Bacon was proud of his disorderly studio, which was a kind of metaphor for the creative act: "I feel at home in this chaos," he said of his workspace, "because chaos suggests images to me"' (Turner, 2009).

Concluding the feature Henry expressed mild regret for the positive attention Campbell was enjoying at the time as, 'too much... lionising' (Henry, 1987). Given the volume of adulatory copy she was had written about Campbell and the Glasgow painters, her comments were somewhat inconsistent and may have been a veiled comment about his mood at the time of the interview. Being so personality-driven, Henry's brand of popular arts criticism has been an invaluable source of direct quotations from the artist offering Campbell's own observations about his work albeit filtered through Henry's partisan position.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: Vigorous imagination, 1987

In the period from his return to Scotland in 1986, up to the opening of *On Form and Fiction* at Third Eye in 1990, Campbell became established as a public persona. The press and broadcast coverage of the 1987 SNGMA exhibition *The Vigorous Imagination* played a big role in personalising and popularising his work. In a preview that set the tone for popular

critiques, Glaswegian tabloid, the *Evening Times* interviewed Campbell at his home. The front-page teaser image was a staged family photograph in the cottage and studio. Although largely positive, it represented Campbell as boastful and flippant. His speech was written in broad Glasgow dialect, perhaps a strategy to make contemporary art more accessible for the readership or perhaps, because Campbell knew interviewer Rosemary Long from Rutherglen, he naturally slipped into informality. Whatever the paper's intent, it confirmed for readers Campbell's working-class origins if it was at the expense of trivialising his achievements. Campbell's surreal humour got a bit lost in translation in the tabloid format. For example, when describing his home, Long emphasised his 'straight-faced' sincerity, declaring 'I modelled it as close as I could get to the Black Bull in Milngavie... with stag's heads and tartan carpet. Good int'it?' (Long, 1987). The piece quoted Campbell's hubristic claim to be the original (in their words) 'Glasgow Pup': 'I started it all. You just need to look at the dates on my pictures and the dates on theirs... I'm the ba'-heid that did it, the inspiration to them all' (Long, 1987). This interview somewhat complicated Campbell's later stance of distancing himself from the Glasgow painter's group identity. Returning to Pearlman's proposal that researchers must avoid intentional fallacy and not always take artist's hyperbole as literal, Campbell's statement here should be disregarded.

In contrast to Kravtiz' critical position, the *Evening Times* article was at pains to emphasise Campbell's sincerity and ability as an artist. Long noted his work was in demand with paintings selling for up to £12,000. The description of Campbell's cottage mentioned drawings by Stanley Spencer and other artworks owned by Campbell, collected partly for

pleasure and partly for investment. From the material descriptions readers might discern Campbell's upward social mobility and all the implied judgement that would go with it. The piece concluded by paraphrasing the trite Scottish aphorism, 'the Campbell's have come and wha's like them?' (Long, 1987).

Arguably tabloid articles were evidence that Campbell's renown had moved beyond the rarefied context of the artworld into mainstream awareness, that he was an established figure in Scottish popular culture. Scottish tabloid journalism is one of the significant cultural (but largely uncritical) frameworks through which Campbell and his work has been read and therefore cannot be avoided in this survey. This trivial critical framework has arguably had a significant impact on how seriously Campbell was subsequently taken as an artist. Articulating the dilemma for working-class artists on whether to engage with popular journalism, Glasgow writer Chris McQueer commented, 'when I sit down with journalists and get interviewed, the focus is almost always on how unlikely it seems to them that I've managed to write a book due to my background' (McQueer, 2019). Although, positive and light-hearted in tone, tabloid articles like this located Campbell within a specific class context, one that made it easy to dismiss and later knock him for demonstrating a lack of decorum and sufficient gratitude. Although risky in terms of reputation, Campbell's engagement with tabloid journalism was arguably part of his democratic ethos providing access to art.

CRITICAL RESPONSE: Backlash: Glasgow's Völkisch Kitsch

The following section is a lengthier analysis of Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton's 'Glasgow's Völkisch Kitsch' essay for the *Edinburgh Review* in 1988. It was in many ways a typical example of prevailing British critical suspicion toward Postmodern appropriative strategies. With hindsight, the troubling ideology Allthorpe-Guyton ascribed to Campbell, and the essay's highly charged rhetoric, read now as rather overblown. Arguably the source, this essay was part of a trend of critical responses that marginalised Campbell's own critical position and fuelled negative readings of his work, therefore it is worthy of a more detailed examination.

By contrast to tabloid light-touch polemics, Allthorpe-Guyton's essay addressed class and cultural capital in more ideological terms. Allthorpe-Guyton's argument, that Campbell was aesthetically aligned to quasi-fascist ideology or, at best, a naïve appropriator of fascist aesthetics requires a close reading. Although her essay was lengthy and referenced, Allthorpe-Guyton's text lacked nuance, humour and offered no genuine examination of Campbell's work. The essay attempted to fit Campbell into a particular reading that served the author's ideological position but was not an evidenced critique of his work. Although inaccurate, as a well-placed curator her critique of Campbell was powerful and had possibly exerted an unfair influence on subsequent critical readings of his work.

The circumstances of how the essay was commissioned are unclear, it formed a significant contribution to the dialogue about Scottish painting in *Edinburgh Review* between 1986-88.¹⁵ In line with the prevailing academic culture in the UK the articles in these issues were broadly

¹⁵ By email correspondence in 2018 the commissioning editor Kravitz was unable to recall how Allthorpe-Guyton's essay came to be published.

Marxist in their analysis of contemporary politics and culture. The context for Allthorpe-Guyton's essay was established a few years earlier. As I will discuss in Chapter Two, Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton had been one of three selectors for the *British Art Show* in 1984 along with Alexander Moffat and Jon Thompson. It was perhaps notable that it was Moffat's former students Campbell, Wiszniewski and Howson that were critiqued by Allthorpe-Guyton two years later.

The essay began in bombastic tone,

This summer there was a bad smell coming from a corner of Cork Street, London [...] The gates of the citadel have finally been breached – by a flood of pure Kitsch (p. 235 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988).

Whilst acknowledging that much of the contemporary criticism of Glasgow painting was class-based 'English metropolitan snobbery' (p. 235 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988) Allthorpe-Guyton charged Campbell, Wiszniewski and their Glasgow peers with exhibiting 'alarming symptoms' of kitsch in their work (p. 235 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). With reference to Clement Greenberg's 1939 overtly anti-fascist essay 'The Avant-Garde and Kitsch' and Milan Kundera's mid-1980s account of kitsch aesthetics in Czech soviet culture political discourse, Allthorpe-Guyton outlined what she saw as the dangers for contemporary art: 'The tendencies in Glasgow's New Image painting which seems to satirize and at the same time feed bourgeois appetites... are "tuned to the wrong key"' (p. 238 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988).

In the essay Allthorpe-Guyton made no distinction between Campbell's sophisticated approach to retro appropriative strategies to image-making and the more literal (or prosaic) paintings of Howson and Stephen Conroy. Along with her 'unease with New Image painting in general, with its banality and technical weakness' she charged the 'flatulent rhetoric' of contemporary art criticism (p. 238 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Ken Currie was intentionally by-passed in her argument, Currie's aesthetic appropriation was deemed not problematic because it was aligned to the discourse of 'revolutionary muralist painting and Russian Social Realism' (p. 244 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988).¹⁶ This position seems to be either hopelessly naïve or wilfully myopic given the volume of irrefutable evidence documenting decades of Soviet-led genocides and the



indisputably kitsch quality of the much of soviet Social Realism that tacitly got her approval.

Fig. 17, 1983 *Two Hunters Immobilised by an Excessive Use of Camouflage*

Allthorpe-Guyton continued, 'Stephen [sic] Campbell is the most complex artist of the four. A colleague recently dubbed

Campbell 'the Landseer of our time': Landseer's painting, which is a favourite of Campbell, was the purest expression of the British Victorian bourgeois' heart and soul' (p. 238 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Campbell appropriated stag and hunt imagery from Landseer in several early works.¹⁷ A Postmodern pastiche, Campbell was engaged in a critique of problematic traditional

¹⁶ A political position Currie was to later disclaim and distance himself from (Currie and Dyke, 2005).

¹⁷ He said in the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary about his 1982 painting *After the Hunt* 'This is an attempt at a Landseer...But it's very inept, the painting in the back is terrible' (Scott, 1986).

representations of Scotland in these works. Landseer's own complicated position as a nineteenth-century English court artist was not accounted for in Allthorpe-Guyton's argument. Although not consistently successful in his lifetime, Landseer's paintings represented a sanitised, romanticised version of Scotland for his largely London-based upper-class clientele who owned the land but rarely visited it. It was this complexity that interested and even amused Campbell. However, Allthorpe-Guyton misread both artists to fit the argument about kitsch ideology and taste and in doing so, highlighted patrician undertones toward what she characterised as petit-bourgeois tastes. Allthorpe-Guyton's 1985 interview for *Variant* revealed a somewhat metropolitan attitude towards provincial Scottish art that may have informed her later reading of Campbell's work,

'Scotland... has a very rich past which none of the work [New Painting] seemed to engage in at all [...] for these painters to stay in Glasgow or Edinburgh... is a great thing. But on the other hand, I was looking for something else initially.... if you live in London... the work you come up with is more likely to be influenced by current fashion... out of London there is a chance... to create' (p. 22 Brown, Brotherton and Dickson, 1985).

In other words, there was an expectation of authenticity in Scottish contemporary art, untouched by external artistic influences, a standard to which Campbell's Postmodern, appropriative strategies art did not conform.

Allthorpe-Guyton made a direct link between Campbell and Rudolf Otto, a Nazi-approved Austrian Secessionist painter of nationalist and military scenes (p. 239 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). However, the comparison cannot be evidenced by looking at Campbell's work which was a completely lacking in militaristic or jingoistic imagery. The comparison also ignores the avowedly awkward and buffoonish characters found in Campbell's work – far from the heroic Aryans engaged in historical battles scenes as Allthorpe-Guyton inferred. It must also be noted that Otto died in 1913; so, any Nazi associations were retrospectively applied and not by direct

intent, even if the imagery was very clearly the kind of conservative National Romanticism high on fascist aesthetic agenda. Again, the comparison fell short, Campbell never engaged in national romanticism except through complex, ironic mixed signifiers, unlike arguably Currie and Howson's depictions of archetypal Scottish heroes and anti-heroes. Allthorpe-Guyton was completely off-target in her argument, not least because of Campbell's well-documented affiliations with the Communist Party. Campbell's ambivalence towards the more overtly left-wing aesthetic of Currie *et al* may have come from his actual lived experience (as opposed to an academic or theoretical position) of working in Clydebridge steelworks, at the time one of the last vestiges of industry. The Clydebridge was by the 1970s a run-down, under-invested relic described by Campbell's former colleague Richard Lenaghan as 'worst place in the world to be' (Rice and Lenaghan, 2012).

Tom Cvikota commented that for some American collectors of Campbell his work appealed because it bore (unwitting) aesthetic similarities to the Regionalist School artists, such as Thomas Hart Benton, they already had in their collections. In the 1930s many Regionalist School artists were commissioned by the leftish Federal Art Project part of President Roosevelt's New Deal plan for the US. Under the state-sponsored mural project imagery of happy workers, landscape and national progress proliferated national-wide. These artworks shared superficial aesthetic similarities with the noble Aryan workers represented by Nazi-approved artists such as Franz Eichhorst, however, to draw an ideological connection would be spurious.

Allthorpe-Guyton's assertion that the, 'very gesture of Campbell's hiker in his large woodcut (1986) seems to suggest that resistance to change' was entirely subjective (Allthorpe-Guyton,

1988). It would equally be possible to read into it a resistance to power or even a benign wave. Quoting two critics, New York-based artist and writer Nicolas Moufarrege and Welsh art critic and editor Stuart Morgan, the essay continued to map out visual similarities between Campbell and Nazi art, 'parody the primary aesthetic of National Socialist painting where unlocalised mountains and forests, hunters, fishermen and shepherds promoted anti-urbanism and the blessings of the blood and soil' (Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Not acknowledged by Allthorpe-Guyton, much of the same aesthetic and iconography was at play in the visual culture of inter-war British *Boys Own Adventure* stories that Campbell collected. Campbell might also have been working from *cliché*-heavy representations of the enemy in the popular culture of the inter-war and post-war period typified by the sinister border guards in the 1938 film *The Lady Vanishes* or Charlie Chaplin's 'Hitler' character in his 1940 movie *The Great Dictator*.



Fig. 18, 1986 *Painting on a Darwinian Theme* (visualarts.britishcouncil.org/collection)

Allthorpe-Guyton suggested racism was at play, 'Two recent paintings *English Landscape with a Disruptive Gene* (1987) and *Painting on a Darwinian Theme* (1986), with their dominant ape/ man are disturbingly ambiguous. Unwittingly or not they raise the spectre of racist social Darwinism' (p. 239 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988).

The charge here, as with Catherine Millet's similar critique of Ian Hamilton Finlay in 1987, was

that he was not doing enough to prove he was not racist: 'This is not to suggest any common intention between Campbell and the art of Nazi Germany but it is clear that he is engaged with its myths' (Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). The two paintings referenced were exhibited in Campbell's 1987 exhibition *Recent Paintings* (discussed in Chapter Three) represented his synthesised response to Darwin's evolutionary treatise and Foucault's 1966 work *The Order of Things* on taxonomies.

Reviews of the *Recent Paintings* exhibition interpreted the ape man character as another Campbell alter-ego, 'at school they used to call me monkey face' (p. 7 Henry, 1987). Januszczak was a little closer to the mark, 'In fact the wild gene, half monkey, half Steven Campbell, sits on their backs unnoticed' (Januszczak, 1987b).



Fig. 19, Exhibition sponsored by the League of Artists in Support of Front Soldiers in Berlin-Wilmersdorf City Hall (from Berthold Hinz *Art in the Third Reich*, 1980 Basil Blackwell Ltd.)

Allthorpe-Guyton rejected Stuart Morgan's assertion that Campbell's ambivalent aesthetic and images were semiotically 'emptied signs...

this is questionable particularly when not only the images but the painted surface, its airless, clotted, dense colour' (Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Campbell's use of decorative pattern was critiqued for being the antithesis of Modernist or formalist aesthetic. However, his interest in pattern and surface read in the context textile aesthetics might be read as feminine rather than fascist. Allthorpe-Guyton primary critique was how Campbell's work fitted within Modernist tendencies to eliminate subjectivity - it did not; therefore, by this criterion was

judged suspect. Allthorpe-Guyton cited Saul Friedlander's 1982 essay, *Reflections of Nazism*, 'The elimination of all free space, the proliferation of even images, can create in the spectator... an impression of fusion and of sugary harmony that reflects Kitsch... and of vague religiosity that suffuse Nazism' (p240-241 Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Her reading of Campbell relied on a Greenbergian, Modernist notion of kitsch and did not take into account revisionist, Postmodern understandings exemplified in Linda Hutcheon's 1985 *Theory of Parody* that emphasised 'contextualized production and reception of texts' (p. 108 Hutcheon, 1985) to generate meaningful readings.

As a riposte to Allthorpe-Guyton's reading of Campbell I will consider the main arguments of Susan Sontag's seminal 1964 essay 'Notes on Camp' presented in list form, as a more relevant context for his artistic sensibilities. Sontag acknowledged, amongst an almost exhaustive list, camp characteristics included detachment, aestheticization, *naïveté*, extravagance, and an interest in the past. Sontag's detachment could be what Allthorpe-Guyton described as the 'glassy-eyed godlike presence' of Campbell's figures (Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). In Campbell's paintings characters were impassive or detached embodying, 'Lebensztein's memorable description of the Postmodern gaze as 'calm and blank', seeing everything in its field of vision but withholding all judgment' (p. 59 Adamson and Pavitt, 2011). Campbell's use of the performative terminology of 'pose' and 'gesture' in the titles of his painterly *tableaux vivant* could be likened to the practice of striking a pose in the underground in the New York voguing scene and therefore read as subcultural, transgressive and politicised.

Sontag acknowledged camp's sentimentality towards the historic without using the term nostalgia: 'this is why so many of the objects prized by Camp taste are old-fashioned, out-of-

date, *démodé*' (p. 113 Sontag, 2014). She argued camp made no distinction between high and pop culture: 'arts of the masses... Camp - Dandyism in the age of mass culture - makes no distinction between the unique object and the mass-produced object' (p. 116 Sontag, 2014). There was a theatricality and 'spirit of extravagance' about it (p. 112 Sontag, 2014). Sontag's reference to dandyism resonated with Campbell's carefully constructed public persona and taste for vintage apparel; retro being both *avant-garde* and kitsch. Contrasting camp with serious (i.e. less fun) taste value-judgments associated with high culture, camp offered an alternative sensibility, its position therefore had potential to be subversive. Sontag aligned camp with homosexuality as 'a gesture of self-legitimization' (p. 118 Sontag, 2014). Finally, offering a distinction relevant to my argument about Campbell, Sontag asserted that 'Camp taste nourishes itself on the love that has gone into certain objects and personal styles. The absence of this love is the reason why... kitsch items... aren't Camp' (p. 119 Sontag, 2014). A year later, Sontag's 1965 essay 'On Style' expanded her notion that style and content in art were often incorrectly read as antithetical to one another. The assumption underlying Allthorpe-Guyton's critique of Campbell was that he was unaware of the associations of his chosen style or mode of representation, having appropriated styles without understanding their weighty associations. This not only mis-read the actual source material Campbell was working from, denying him authorial agency, but also failed to understand appropriation and parody as a critical strategy within Postmodern discourse or 'camp' sensibilities.

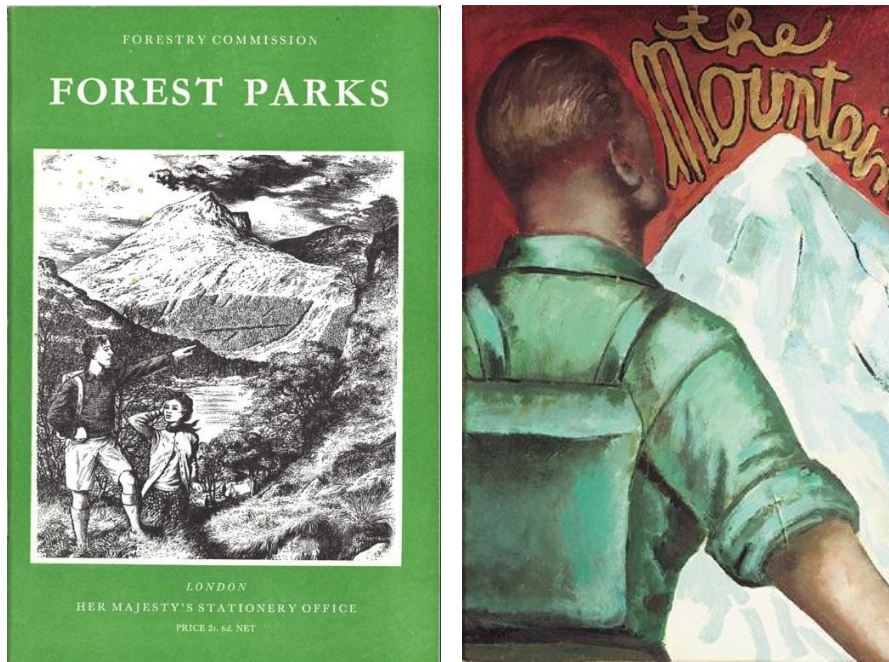
Allthorpe-Guyton's response, typical of a strand of negative criticism directed toward Campbell, now reads as over the top; aligning Postmodern retro-style appropriation with actual Nazism was an extreme response.



Fig. 20, 1982, *Ding-Dong* (on long loan to NGS/
nationalgalleries.org)

I would argue the specific Campbell artworks cited in Allthorpe-Guyton's essay: *Ding Dong* (1982), *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey* (1985) and the two *Disruptive Gene* paintings (1986 & 1987) did not display the specific kitsch (Nazi) iconography she claimed for it. However, as indicated by Stuart Morgan in his 1984 essay for Campbell's *New Paintings*

exhibition at Riverside, his paintings did in fact pastiche Hitler Youth propaganda, 'Campbell's student pictures... androgynous figures in expressionless poses, in a style indebted to Nazi art' (p. 33 Morgan, 1984). Campbell's character Hunt, partly derived from retro illustrated detective stories, appeared in some early works nude, in others appeared to be wearing a uniform, carrying a knapsack and a rolled-up flag, Campbell later described Hunt as an alter-ego, 'He's basically a kind of existentialist type of character... He doesn't know what it feels to be... worldly. ... He had no one to talk to you see ... he has a great loneliness... that if you're born with that you never quite lose it' (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).



Figs. 21-22, Left: 1961 *Forest Parks*, HMSO; Right: c. 1982 *The Mountain* (sothebys.com)

Campbell paintings with overt Nazi visual references:

1984, *Young Camper Discovering a Grotto in the Ground* features a Hitler-like character in the foreground

1989, *The Sadness of Swiss Peasants on the Rhine* derived from Ruskin's description of Swiss vernacular architecture and features characters wearing Hitler Youth-style uniforms

1994, *Sunset Gate/ 7 on the Right Wing*, the surreal central figure features a Nazi saluting hand and nose whilst her anthropomorphic gate-body is almost in the shape of a swastika

c. 2007, *Coming through the window* features a hybrid character with the features of Lytton Strachey morphing into Hitler

This group of paintings also bore a visual resemblance to utopian health and hygiene movements of the early 20th century, including Kibbo Kift, Woodcraft Folk, Wandervogel, Ramblers association and the Soviet equivalents - suggesting again Campbell was responding to common tropes in visual imagery in circulation throughout industrialised Europe in the 1930s and post-war period. Many of Campbell's works in this early group featured text as part of the composition, which could reinforce the reading that this was the appropriated

aesthetics of propaganda. Alternatively, his use of words could be understood as a sort of an intertextual commentary on the action, a reminder of the comic-book origins of the source material for the borrowed imagery. I do not attempt to argue here that there are no references to Nazi Germany in Campbell's work there in fact several, however this is not in itself evidence of ideological alignment. This reductive reading would imply that the use of any iconography or symbolism is equivalent to an artist's views. In which case Kenny Hunter's 2003 sculpture *3 ft Thatcher* would equate him with holding Thatcherite values, which he avowedly does not.



Fig. 23, 1984 *Young Camper Discovering a Grotto in the Ground* (lyonandturnbull.com)

The multiple references to P. G.

Wodehouse in Campbell's early work

may also have served to further link

Campbell in the mind of Allthorpe-

Guyton to the Nazi regime.

Wodehouse, a war-time internee, and

political prisoner took part in ill-

advised 1940s radio broadcasts from Nazi Germany. His reputation forever tarnished despite having previously made his position in relation to fascism very clear lampooning the British Black Shirts in his 1938 novel *The Code of the Woosters*. In the story, the unlikable character of Roderick Spode, 7th Earl of Sidcup, was modelled on Sir Oswald Mosley who by the climax of the narrative became a laughingstock.

The fascination of this era for a Postmodern artist like Campbell is not hard to understand. In her 1996 book *Fascist Virilities: Rhetoric, Ideology, and Social Fantasy in Italy* Barbara Spackman analysed Italian Fascist discourse as rhetorically and semiotically over-defined but ultimately lacking 'stable ideological content' (p. xiv Spackman, 1996). In the context of both Italian and German fascism, style and symbols were employed to manipulate feelings based on the fantasies of shared social, racial, and gendered characteristics. It was this rich territory of rhetorical emptiness that Campbell and other visual artists have explored despite the inherent risk of misinterpretation.

In the 1970s and 1980s there were numerous examples of *risqué* appropriation of Nazi iconography to be found in the Punk and New Romantic scenes, such as the band names *Joy Division* (formed Salford, 1976) and *Spandau Ballet* (formed London, 1979). The intention was subversive and deliberately antagonistic; when confronted with a sarcastic and provocative Siouxi Sioux wearing swastikas in 1976 Bill Grundy's infamous television interview, viewers were bamboozled by the mixed message of appropriated Nazi symbols and anti-establishment values. Dick Hebdige offered an interpretation for apparent contradictions that saw members of a radical subculture appropriating symbols of repressive ideologies. What follows is an extended quotation attempting to unpick the paradox,

The punks were not generally sympathetic to the parties of the extreme right... the punk subculture grew up partly as an antithetical response to the re-emergence of racism in the mid-70s... the swastika was worn because it was guaranteed to shock... This represented more than a simple inversion or inflection of the ordinary meanings attached to an object. The signifier (swastika) had been wilfully detached from the concept (Nazism) it conventionally signified, and although it had been re-positioned... within an alternative subcultural context, its primary value and appeal derived precisely from its lack of meaning: from its potential for deceit. It was exploited as an empty effect. We are forced to the conclusion ... the symbol was as 'dumb' as the rage it provoked. The key to punk style remains elusive. Instead of arriving at the point where we can begin to make sense of the style, we have reached the very place where meaning itself evaporates' (p116-117 Hebdige, 2002).

Parodying Nazis with subversive humour was a standard trope in the 1970s and 1980s that stemmed from an understanding that to laugh at something is to take away its power. This was brilliantly explored by Mel Brooks in his 1967 film *The Producers*, numerous Monty Python Nazi sketches and the *Monty Stubble* series in *Private Eye*; a pastiche of war-time comic-strips positing Thatcher and her cabinet ministers as the baddie-Nazis. It was also an era of powerful anti-Nazi films including *Marathon Man* (1976) and *The Boys From Brazil* (1978) suggesting that enough critical distance had been established for the post-war generation to explore and re-frame the extremely disturbing recent past within the context of art and entertainment. The period might be understood as less fearful of visual imagery, with Nazi imagery specifically, fodder for piss-take and subversion. Campbell's hermaphrodite quasi-Nazi character Hunt can therefore also be read within tropes of gallus Glaswegian provocative humour, to say the unsay-able as a means of subverting traditional power.¹⁸

In much the same way that many early punk bands (and their subcultural 'cousins' the Skating skinheads) were long dogged by mis-understandings of their appropriation and subversion of loaded imagery - dogged also by actual racists and fascists who in turn appropriated their look and sound - Campbell was dogged by Allthorpe-Guyton's and others mis-reading of his works. For example, a review in 2017 *Frieze.com* blankly wondered why in Campbell would use the hybrid figure of Lytton Strachey morphing into Hitler as an alter-ego in one of his very late works, *Coming Through the Window* (Sherlock, 2017). In *Scottish Art since 1960* Craig Richardson referred to Allthorpe-Guyton's *Edinburgh Review* piece as a 'patient demolition' of Campbell's reputation, in doing so he effectively regurgitated her problematic

¹⁸ For example, the near-the-knuckle routines of comedians Bing Hitler (Craig Ferguson) and Jerry Sadowitz or the edgy-surreal storytelling of Stuart Murray and Chris McQueer.

reading without analysis thereby reintroducing back it to the critical discourse (p. 125 Richardson, 2011).

There were qualitative differences between the critical reception of Campbell's work in Britain and America. For example, American responses, were generally very positive if a little uncertain how to interpret, emphasising the Scottish or English aspects of Campbell's aesthetic. British critical reception tended to be more mixed, filtered through the lens of class and positioned between the unadulterated praise of writers such as Clare Henry, and curators such as Alexander Moffat, and those such as Kravitz, who express a wariness of the market's enthusiasm for Campbell and *vice versa*. As an example of long-form criticism Allthorpe-Guyton's essay sits somewhere outside the usual discourse but had a long-lasting impact. Her reading - that Campbell's work falls into the category of quasi-fascist kitsch - was not noted by any of the Jewish curators and collectors of his work in New York. For example, it went unremarked by William Lieberman, who acquired Campbell's for The Met or Marge Goldwater, curator of Campbell's 1985 *Viewpoints* exhibition at the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis - who subsequently became Director of Arts and Cultural Programs, Israel Institute in Washington DC. It seems unlikely that either would blindly support an artist whose work exhibited either an unwitting Nazi-aesthetic or overt fascist sympathy. Allthorpe-Guyton dealt with the American reception for this work a generalised, off-hand statement, 'Glasgow New Painting has had its greatest commercial success in the United States; it affirms an American middle-class taste' (Allthorpe-Guyton, 1988). Campbell, the only one of the artists mentioned in the essay to have lived and worked in the US and was largely collected by an urban class of loft dwelling lawyers. They can hardly be deemed the anti-intellectual 'silent majority' that Allthorpe-Guyton implied were susceptible to the unconscious lure of fascist kitsch aesthetic.

In summary, Allthorpe-Guyton's essay raised some valid points in relation to the ideological dangers of kitsch in art and in her call for an increased awareness of the aesthetics of fascism. However, her argument in respect of Campbell failed to consider the complexities of retro appropriation, visual culture, and semiotic subversion at play in his work. Her position left little room to manoeuvre for artists, without the correct degree of sincerity for her the work becomes suspect. By contrast, in Sontag's reckoning, sincerity was what differentiated kitsch (sincere) from camp (sensuous enjoyment) where Campbell's work might be more appropriately aligned. The legacy of Allthorpe-Guyton's critique was perceptible in the title of Ross Sinclair's catalogue essay for the 1991 exhibition *Windfall* 'Bad Smells But no Sign of a Corpse' - an oblique reference to the essay's opening line although it included no direct reference to Campbell.

CRITICAL RESPONSES: Changing times, the 1990s

Following the critical battering Campbell received in the late 1980s, the 1990s was a decade of minimal critical engagement with Campbell's work. There continued to be press coverage of Campbell's exhibitions, however these pieces tended to be superficial and in certain cases straightforward *ad hominem* criticism. To briefly speculate, there were several possible reasons for this lack of critical engagement: the change in gallery representation may have been detrimental, although the higher profile Marlborough should have worked in his favour. Perhaps it was the loss of a few key critical champions: Stuart Morgan became gravely ill and later died in 2002, Clare Henry moved to New York and Peter Hill had left for Melbourne. Another explanation may be found in the limited

range of specialist art journals that were commissioning art writers. In 2005 Susannah Thompson argued that for an art infrastructure to fully function it needed a range of critical journals and publications which challenged and responded to the work it was critiquing (Thompson, 2005). In fact, several Scottish journals closed in the late 1980s and early 1990s such as *Alba* and *Variant* (in its original incarnation) with the result that the opportunities for focussed visual art writing and critical engagement with Scottish Art had become increasingly limited to Scotland's national newspapers, exhibition catalogues and zines.

To fully account for the lack of critical engagement in Campbell's work in the 1990s we must also consider the changes in prevailing tastes. Michael Bracewell wrote about Campbell several times in the early 2000s framing him as an artist out of step with the times,

Through the middle to late 1980s, the rise to prominence of young Scottish painters from Glasgow School of Art - most notably Steven Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski - had delivered a muscular, enigmatic body of deeply literary painting that seemed to articulate - literally depict - the anxiety, doubt and confusion of a twilight, pre-post-modern generation. The aesthetic and philosophical agenda of these painters could seem like an update of that concerning the Neo-Romantic artists of the 1940s (John Minton *et al*), which has been aptly labelled by the historian Dr David Mellor to include 'nostalgia and anxiety, myth-making, organic fantasies' (p.10-11 Bracewell, 2002).

Bracewell's historicising narrative aside, he considered Campbell and Wiszniewski 'the last gasp (for a while, at least) of a particular artistic sensibility, honed and empowered through atelier skills, responsive to the history of painting' (p. 11 Bracewell, 2002). Bracewell acknowledged the performative aspect of their work when he remarked that, '[b]oth artists look remarkably like their chosen characters' (Bracewell, 2002). Bracewell's critical strength was his ability to cross-reference Campbell's characters within a broader cultural discourse around style, the characters being types,

that Peter York might once have described as “the neurotic boy outsider” ...romantic, aesthetic, self-questioning young mad, existentially challenged and a teensy it self-obsessed. Campbell’s stock character at the time was a kind of lost rambler - dressed somewhat in the clothes (grouse-moor tweeds at a glance) that ex-Skid turned model and TV presenter, Richard Jobson, had worn during his ‘Armory Show’ poet phase (p. 11 Bracewell, 2002).

Bracewell considered how the overt Yuppie styling and association with 1980s market success came to define Campbell (and the other Glasgow painters) in the decade that followed. Echoing Mulholland’s sentiments about the perception of the closed ranks of Glasgow neo-conceptual artists Bracewell, ‘The painters didn’t sink without a bubble, but almost: they became Newly Marginalized as Reactionary, or whimsical, which would become the stock 1990s way of dealing with cultural opposition’ (p. 12 Bracewell, 2002).

Paraphrasing Tom Wolfe’s line about the art scene becoming ‘cosily anti-bourgeois’, Bracewell suggested that the 1990s, for artists like Campbell, was a period of critical realignment ‘so the newly perceived Reactionary (for instance, a certain kind of painting itself being considered reactionary) would become the New Margins - the anxiety dumps, the unfashionably alcoholic, the not Post Anxiety’ (p. 13 Bracewell, 2002). As explored above, Campbell had been decried as reactionary within certain modes of art criticism from the late 1980s onwards. Campbell certainly perceived, an actual process of ‘marginalisation’ in the art world i.e. the scaling back of institutional support, fewer commissions, and fewer buyers for his work. It is from his position within, the ‘margins’ that the rediscovery of Campbell and his oeuvre, by a younger generation of artists and curators in the 2000s, I as outline in Chapter Six.

The clarity of Bracewell’s visual argument is somewhat lost when he conflated the two

artists in his rhetorical declaration that, 'The lost young men of Campbell and Wiszniewski just didn't seem hip to the Attitude of the 1990s - they were too awkward, too obscure, too straight-laced too fey' (p. 22 Bracewell, 2002) his description does not entirely ring true for Campbell's characters. As the 1990s wore on the, 'culture of self-conscious artifice had been replaced by a culture of authenticity' (p. 23 Bracewell, 2002). Alternative comedy for example became a prime-time Saturday night TV television fixture, indie and underground club music topped the pop charts and neo-conceptual artists espousing market-resisting strategies became the new orthodoxy (and ironically, the collector-friendly darlings of the art fairs and biennials) Bracewell declared 'it would take some fancy footwork to remain oppositional' (p. 23 Bracewell, 2002). Citing artist, writer and activist Stewart Home's self-declared 'culture strike' Bracewell's suggestion that 'the only way to become culturally confrontational was to make a choice to cease your cultural production' (p. 23 Bracewell, 2002) resonated with the evidence that Campbell's own productivity decreased at the time.

In 1991 Glaswegian red-top tabloid *The Daily Record* published a gotcha piece on Campbell. The tone of the piece was a classic tabloid stitch-up, Campbell was at a low point dealing with bereavements and the lawsuit in progress and may have lowered his guard. The negative main feature on Campbell was contrasted with a smaller more positive section on Peter Howson; the message being clear: work hard and be a well-behaved artist and you shall be rewarded. The piece continued multiple references to 'booze', free holidays, and Campbell's lack of interest in art. Taken at face value, Campbell reads as cavalier, a chancer, and the labour he put into making each painting was minimised,

I do the work and get the hell out as quick as I possibly can... All I do when I've finished a painting is ring a gallery in London to say that I've done this thing, they send a van up, in it goes, the van goes away and hopefully I don't see it again (Oldham, 1991).

There was a melancholic, self-doubting aspect to Campbell's words, 'Look the word perfection and me don't really mix' he said. 'If I were to draw you now it would look like a child's drawing - it's as bad as that. Christ, I tried drawing my wife and she ended up looking like a coal miner' (Oldham, 1991). The piece quoted prices realised for his work £20,000, £25,000, £40,000 – the point to emphasise Campbell's apparent personal wealth and an implicit lack of gratitude. The piece presented a caricature and was typical of the kind of set-up usually reserved for undeserving lottery winners.¹⁹ For example it made no reference to the costs of materials, studio or percentage of each sale taken by his gallery. The article also demonstrated a lack of understanding for how the artworld operated and how artists made their livings. There was no reference to the number of paintings sold vs. numbers unsold. As Hans Abbing suggested in his 2002 book *Why Are Artists Poor?* rather than getting carried away by headline sales figures for star works 'it is instructive to look at the monetary value of a body of work rather than on single works of art' as an indicator of artist's 'actual income' (p. 107 Abbing, 2002). At the time the *Evening Times* article had a big impact on Campbell, he was devastated by the intent to misrepresent and take his humour and parodic persona out of context.

More negative press came later the same year when *The Glasgow Herald* ran a front-page headline article outlining Campbell's legal dispute with the Third Eye Centre. The story detailed how Glasgow lawyer and television personality Professor Ross Harper was

¹⁹ See Owen Jones *Chavs: Demonization of the Working Class* 2011 for an account of how class is distorted through the tabloid lens in the UK.

involved in a legal dispute over the ownership of a painting *You Eat Fruit as You Wave Me Goodbye* (1990) purchased from the *On Form and Fiction* installation. Harper was quoted as having paid a five-figure sum for the painting from the 'stricken' Third Eye Centre some eighteen months earlier but had yet to take possession of it (Douglas, 1991). As befitting a broadsheet, the tone of the piece was less hyperbolic and less overtly critical of Campbell than *The Daily Record* piece. It gave insight into the toll the dispute was taking on Campbell,

Yesterday the artist said he was unaware of the dispute over the custody of the painting. He maintained that he took little interest in his work after it had left the studio, because to become involved in the financial side of the art world would reduce him to the status of a "dreary wee puddle." (Douglas, 1991).

The piece again emphasised Campbell's material wealth, highlighting where he lived and the total value of £375,000 of the 170 works in the *On Form and Fiction* installation: 'However, as the show was taking pace, the financial problems which resulted in the Third Eye Centre's closure earlier this year were already looming' (Douglas, 1991). Marlborough had appointed Third Eye Centre to act as agents for the show. Harper was quoted as saying he is in 'delicate negotiations' with Marlborough (Douglas, 1991). Campbell acknowledged the difficulty of his position, 'It's hard enough to do the work and handling the flak that sometimes comes about



as a result of that, without getting involved in the selling side as well' (Douglas, 1991). This remark possibly a comment on the *Daily Record* article a few months earlier. His 1993 painting, *Born Under a Cloud* represented Campbell's gloomy feelings about this period.

Fig. 24, 1992 *Born under a Cloud* (thestevencampbelltrust.com)

There was a growing sense in the late 1980s into the early 1990s that Campbell and GSA peers were over-exposed, that commercial exploitation of the new-found interest in Scottish art had exhausted them and the public's interest in them. Sandy Moffat was to later comment,

There was a perception that the Scots were taking over London, even a *Private Eye* spoof: there was the exhibition *100 years of Scottish Art* at the Barbican; Bellany was rediscovered; Clare Henry got on the bandwagon. The success was mercilessly exploited, there was no critical evaluation, [they] just went into production. This is what inspired the backlash (Rice and Moffat, 2012).

By the close of the decade Campbell's productivity dipped and the critical framework that located him within New Glasgow Boys hype felt stale. From this point onwards there was little critical engagement with Campbell's work. Shifts in taste and fashionability made Campbell's brand of figurative paintings less appealing to curators and collectors. He experienced minimal institutional support in this period, specifically he did not exhibit in either national contemporary art gallery SNGMA, Edinburgh or Tate in London during the 1990s. Other than Duncan Macmillan at Talbot Rice Gallery (TRG) and the Bill Forsyth portrait commission from SNPG Director James Holloway, Campbell enjoyed no consistent curatorial champion in this period. Marlborough continued to represent him, essentially underwriting his painting practice but did not initiate any exhibitions in this period. The three exhibitions of his work (*Pinocchio's Present* in 1993, *Outside Right* in 1994, *Chesterfield Dreams* in 1997) were initiated by smaller Scottish galleries later travelling to Marlborough in London. Commissioned writing about Campbell also fell away in this period, whilst *Pinocchio's Present* was accompanied by Macmillan's excellent monograph on Campbell, the latter two exhibitions were accompanied only by Campbell's own creative writing. Whilst this represented was an interesting development of his own writing practice it could and should have been supplemented by

deeper critical engagement with what was some of his most interesting and experimental work.

Campbell's first (and only) major exhibition of the decade, *Pinocchio's Present* at TRG coincided with the Edinburgh Festival. It attracted reasonable newspaper coverage from Scottish and national titles with reviews in *The Times*, *The Guardian*, and *The Herald*. Most of the coverage was positive, lauding the work and picking up on Campbell's dark turn. In a turnaround from his dismissal of *On Form and Fiction* three years earlier, W Gordon Smith was encouraging, 'So far, nothing I have seen in previews of this year's Festival exhibitions matches the impact, confrontation, invention and bravura... In the space of only 15 months he produced this extraordinary volume of work – almost 40 paintings and collages' (Smith, 1993).

Campbell's expansive *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* exhibition at the William Hardie Gallery a year later drew even less critical attention, with reviews restricted to the Scottish papers. Henry's preview for *The Herald* provided a mouthpiece for Campbell's intentions,

I want to see how many things you can put into a painting and make it work... I wanted to create a whole new world. Build up my vocabulary. With these small works I can be creative; play around. On this scale I can rip them up or take them on. I can show a bit of my mind; give vent to my emotional life. I chase a concept through two or three paintings. The next day I have another idea (Henry, 1994).

Campbell's 1997 *Chesterfield Dreams* exhibition drew far fewer newspaper reviews or critical attention than any previous Campbell endeavours. Henry's review of the show was, as ever, overwhelmingly positive, 'It's a shock to the system – but undoubtedly his best and bravest show' (Henry, 1997). The *Ecosse* edition of *The Sunday Times* by contrast, published only a short preview panel (Rawlings, 1997) and few other reviews or

commentary exist. The lack of critical response was not entirely surprising - *Chesterfield Dreams* opened in the same year as the much-vaunted *Sensation* exhibition at the Royal Academy in London. It was curated by Norman Rosenthal who had also co-curated two key neo-Expressionist exhibitions of the previous decade (*A New Spirit in Painting* in 1981 and *Zeitgeist* 1982) presenting a different artistic generation and artistic sensibility. Campbell, as the popular face of 1980s Scottish painting, symbolised an antithetical (nay, old fashioned) mode of artistic practice. The *Sensation* group show, characterised by yBa artist-curator Gregor Muir as 'a shared English aesthetic of sensationalism' would have represented a triumph of the following generation of artists (p. 201 Muir, 2010).

CRITICAL RESPONSES: Campbell in the 2000s

The new decade heralded a modest revival of interests in Campbell's work when he was included in the Transmission Gallery 2000 group exhibition *Charisma: It May Be a Year of Thirteen Moons But It's Still the Year of Culture* curated by artists Keith Farquhar and Lucy McKenzie. Although the audience for the exhibition was limited by virtue of the niche venue and esoteric rationale it was significant. The exhibition placed Campbell into a new critical framework, aligning his practice with German art of the 1980s, foregrounding the vagaries of artistic fashionability. Arguably it might have been significant that it took artists trained in Dundee to do this for Campbell, being less directly involved in the partisan discussions around New Image Glasgow and the Glasgow Miracle. In *homage* to one of Campbell's painting from 1985, Neil Mulholland's absurdist review of the exhibition was titled 'Nasal and Facial Hair Reactions to Various Heritage Disasters' (Mulholland, 2000). Stylistically, Mulholland's review leaned heavily on Campbell's surreal aesthetic including its irreverent tone and the imagined

dialogue with kitsch-y Radio Clyde DJ Tiger Tim. Ideas nascent in Mulholland's review were developed into the lengthier curatorial thesis of his 2005 exhibition *Campbell's Soup* at Glasgow School of Art. However, Mulholland's review sought to revise misunderstandings of Campbell's positioning in the Scottish scene, 'it is unsurprising that his performance-based paintings were spurned by the Glasgow art world throughout the 1990s, his *oeuvre* systematically excluded from critical debate, forever typecast as 'neo-expressionist' opportunism' (Mulholland, 2000).

In an update of the 1986 BBC documentary on Campbell, BBC Scotland made an *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary about his *Caravan Club* exhibition at Talbot Rice Gallery in 2002. It represented a huge official endorsement of the artist and reignited his presence in public discourse. The programme suggested that Campbell had disappeared from public life and to be subsequently rediscovered through the process of making TRG exhibition. The convenient fiction drew a veil over the lack of critical engagement over the previous decade. In a BBC radio interview at the same time Campbell laconically told host Brian Morton that he began working with thoughts of a much a larger project:

I thought it was going to be a retrospective... I got kind of confused by that... thinking about things I'd done years ago... one of the first things I ever did was something called *Poised Murder*, that was about 20 years ago. It was a similar kind of adventure but very much in a theatre. (BBC Radio Scotland, 2002).

In addition to the BBC coverage, there was a good reaction in press to the exhibition. The newspaper archive held by the Campbell Estate has little from this show, although this may in part be due to the decline in print media beginning at this time and the increased availability of online news. The Talbot Rice Gallery exhibition files contain reviews from the usual local and national sources. Moira Jeffrey opened her review of *The Caravan Club* for *The Herald* with a

teenage anecdote of having her photograph taken with Campbell at the opening of the *British Art Show* in 1984 demonstrating an early interest in his work. She went on to express her concern for Campbell's artistic abilities in 2002, 'I think his painting skills may genuinely, and I hope temporarily, have unravelled through circumstances' (Jeffrey, 2002).

Interest in Campbell accelerated and after the TRG show and he was exhibited at Glasgow Print Studio in 2004. With no critical responses to Campbell at the time it is necessary again to consider press responses to the exhibition which were again generally positive. Campbell gained four and five stars reviews in all the major Scottish newspapers many publishing large features on the exhibition. Many of the paintings in Campbell's exhibition referenced Rosslyn and featured the famous 'Prentice Pillar' as a recurring motif. Susan Mansfield's review picked up on another theme in the works, 'this is also a show about masters and apprentices. Just as Léaud was apprenticed to Truffaut, Campbell casts himself as the apprentice, learning from the masters of the past' (Mansfield, 2004).

Mulholland's critical reframing of Campbell continued with the *Campbell's Soup* group exhibition at Glasgow School of Art in 2005 presented as part of *GI: Glasgow International Festival of Contemporary Art*. The festival brought with it a national and international focus on the city and wider critical responses. The press reaction to *Campbell's Soup* was mixed, the Scottish critics were warmer towards it, the English ones seemed confused and lacked the requisite contextual knowledge to locate it. *The Guardian's* Adrian Searle was less than generous,

a horribly cramped exhibition of congealed, glutinous, unappetising works, centred around a large 1984 painting by Steven Campbell. For a while, Campbell was a rising

international star of what was called New Image painting [...] There's something smug and self-regarding about almost everything in this show... I guess this is all meant as a joke or provocation. I didn't laugh. I ran (Searle, 2005).

As already discussed, Campbell was invited to participate in the British Library's oral history project *National Life Stories: Artists Lives* at the time of *Campbell's Soup*. The sub-series focussed on Scottish artists was funded by the Fleming-Wyfold Foundation (home of the largest non-institutional collection of Scottish art). Others interviewed for the project included Alexander Moffat, Ken Currie and Philip Reeves. The interview with Campbell was recorded over several days in Mackintosh Library during the run of the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition. The Campbell recordings are currently unavailable as a source for this thesis. The interviews with Currie and Moffat were structured chronologically, starting with formative art school experiences so we can make a reasonable assumption that the recordings with Campbell would start in the same way.²⁰ Sitting in the Mackintosh Library being interviewed just along the corridor from the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition in the Mackintosh Gallery would have provided interviewer and interviewee with a wealth of prompts and recollections as this brief excerpt reveals,

Ah'll probably gie you that, ah probably am the best painter of a generation. Yeah, probably. But then again I invented it so I should be the best. In the true modern sense... Seemed to me the only point of being at art school was to be an artist, the bohemian nineteenth-century kind of thing. So I was being a romantic artist at art school which as a trend has caught on quite a bit in this country (Sinclair, 2010).

Many of the reviews and sources referenced for this thesis were openly or implicitly reactive to Campbell's boastful, direct, and self-assured assertions. There was a level on which this can be read as Glaswegian gallusness on Campbell's part, even that there was an element of self-

²⁰ According to the British Library online catalogue Campbell was interviewed by Lydia O'Ryan, a regular interviewer on the project. The BL catalogue entry lists seventeen files of 60-minutes recordings made on 17 & 19 January at the Campbell family home and 25 & 27 April 2005 at GSA.

aware irony in them. There was also a sense that the critical and tabloid take-downs of Campbell have been reactions to working-class achievements and pride (such as Currie's aversion to Campbell's self-confidence or the accusatory articles that appeared in the Scottish tabloids in the early 1990s). There was also a sense in which these reactions to Campbell's gallus wit were also an inherent manifestation of what author and CEO of the Centre for Confidence and Well-Being, Carol Craig deemed 'The Scots Crisis of Confidence' Scottish culture's discomfort with success. Although on the face of it, Campbell projected confidence verging on hyperbole about his achievements the following excerpt from the British Library recording shows his ambivalence about his artistic drive and achievements,

I have an impossibility not to work. I don't really understand about anything in the world whatsoever, I don't know anything about how to live a life, banks and... I don't know how to do anything except this and have a family. I'm compelled to do something from inside my head which makes me do this or create or something. It's kind of like a craziness but it's not a boastful craziness, it's damn uncomfortable and most of the time pretty bloody miserable. But then again when you're in your own world of your own making: your own director, writer, producer, actor - inside a drama that might change by ten brushstrokes - it can be wonderful (Sinclair, 2010).

Following Campbell's untimely death in 2007 critical engagement with his work continued posthumously. There were numerous obituaries published including one by Neil Mulholland for *Frieze*, his tutor Alexander (Sandy) Moffat in *The Guardian* and GSA painting contemporary Adrian Wiszniewski for *The Herald*. Reviewing the follow-up solo show at GSA in 2008 *The Scotsman* unusually included an account of the opening night on the one-year anniversary of his death,

The crowd... in the Mackintosh Gallery at GSA could rarely have experienced such intensely mixed emotions at an exhibition opening... The place was packed but the atmosphere at first hesitant. Were we at a celebration or a memorial? ... It was undeniably odd that the artist alone was absent. Campbell's family... and his close friends... turned out in force... determined to mark the occasion. When New York performance poet Barry Yourgrau, an old friend of Campbell's, addressed the gathering it gave everyone permission to laugh and... the freedom to cry. "When a poet pal of

mine read my review of Steven's first show, he said to me, 'Gee, he must have paid you a lot of money!'" joked Yourgrau (*The Scotsman*, 2008).

Critical engagement with Campbell and his legacy has continued arguably increasing in the years since. As I will discuss in Chapter Six, much of this has been due to the rediscovery of Campbell by a younger generation of artists and curators reframing his legacy through curation and participation in engagement programmes, rather than through academic or critical writing. Critical engagement with Campbell has become even more dispersed through the proliferation of digital formats. The vastness and dematerialised nature of this research terrain presents an interesting challenge for researchers but

has proven to be fruitful for this research.

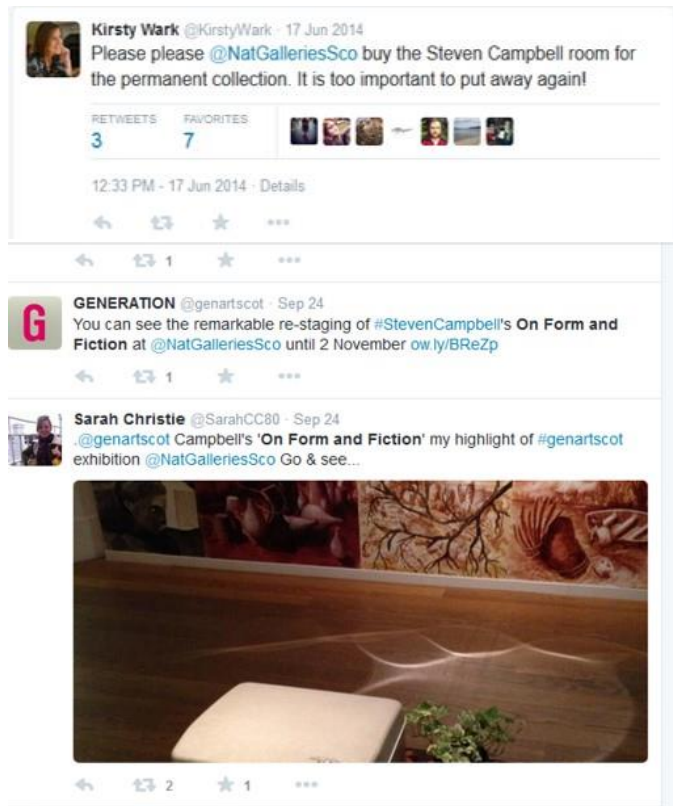


Fig. 25, 2014, selection of responses to re-staging of *On Form and Fiction* (twitter.com)

CHAPTER ONE: CAMPBELL'S FORMATIVE YEARS 1953-1982

Introduction to Chapter One

This chapter deals with Campbell's formative years and considers the extent to which his artistic practice was shaped by this developmental period in his life. In the chronological structure of the thesis, this chapter covers the period from his birth in Glasgow in 1953 to when he left GSA for New York in 1982. Within the context of academic writing, clearly not all phases of this formative period are given the same weight, however it is a long span of almost 30 years that encompasses: family life, high school, under-eighteens league football, his steelworks apprenticeship, night school classes and his experiences of art school. The scope reflects and coincides with a period in Glasgow's history spanning the immediate post-war period to the zenith of Thatcher's Britain. In art historical terms it this chapter parallels the definitive end of the broadly defined artistic period of classic High Modernism and the beginnings of the period of artistic practice broadly defined as Postmodernism. Although this is not necessarily how Campbell himself would have understood or engaged with the terms and concept in his formative years.

Some of what is covered here offers context to decipher aspects of specific personal iconography and themes Campbell explored in his work, for example the recurring variations on footballing subjects and the specific character archetypes inspired by Bram Stoker's *Dracula*. Iconographic readings of his work and understandings of his career can be better understood by knowing the contexts in which Campbell operated and through which he has subsequently been framed. The structure and content of this chapter also comes from a desire

to expand and explore, with reference to empirical data, on some of the frequent tropes (veering into *clichés*) found in the critical writing about Campbell, specifically his working-class identity and the years he spent working in the steel industry. I also look at Campbell's time working in the Mixed Media studios and Painting Department at Glasgow School of Art (GSA) and the semi-mythical status of those pedagogical spaces in the early 1980s.

For this approach I take as my starting point Michel Foucault's 1982 lecture *Technologies of the Self*, in which he argued that education and self-education:

permits individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immorality (Foucault, 1988).

Foucault was a key source for Campbell and therefore an appropriate reference point for this thesis. As an auto-didact, Campbell's determination to shape himself through education and experiential learning – both formal and self-directed – can be read as his personal 'history of how an individual acts upon himself' (Foucault, 1988).

Campbell's Origins: Home and background 1953-1971

In 1971 Steven Campbell met Carol Thompson on a coach trip from Glasgow to the Belgian seaside town of Ostend, they were eighteen and seventeen, respectively. They returned home a couple (C Campbell and Young, 2018). The narrative of the thesis begins here as this is the most significant relationship of the artist's life. Carol Campbell came to be an instrumental figure in the development of his work and supporting lifestyle. She was a performer/participant in several early works including the collaborative student performance *Poised Murder* in 1981, discussed later in this chapter. After their holiday romance Carol and Steven dated for a few years and were married in 1975 before heading to Cannes on honeymoon. Campbell was ambitious from the start with a keen sense that he had more to offer to the world than the path mapped out for him by his apprenticeship in heavy industry (C Campbell and Young, 2018).

Campbell grew up in a mid-twentieth century suburban house at 34 Milrig Road in Rutherglen in the south east of Glasgow with his father George, mother Mettie and brother Graham and attended Rutherglen Academy. He later observed he had not enjoyed school very much, he recalled getting six lashes for messing up a school report card. Still outraged years later he said, 'I mean it wasn't exactly evil behaviour was it? Not exactly wicked?' (Wishart, 1994).

A familiar trope of biographies and art histories is that formative childhood experiences are read as decisive and aesthetically important. It is a truism that artists often returned to early themes, interests and the landscapes of their childhood, an argument proposed in Alex Danchev's 2012 biography of Paul Cézanne and Hilary Spurling's 2005 book *Matisse: The*

Master. In Campbell's case his imagination was arguably shaped by suburban street names rather than pastoral landscapes. Perhaps it is too neat, but the romantic names of the local Rutherglen avenues, named after abbeys in the Scottish Borders, were later echoed in Campbell's work about the 'mysterious' fourteenth-century Gothic Rosslyn Chapel.²¹ In the narrative of this thesis, Campbell from an ordinary working-class *milieu* went on to do extraordinary things in his work.

Issues of Working-Class Identity: Campbell's Apprenticeship, 1970-1977

Campbell left school aged sixteen in 1970 to begin a four-year apprenticeship at the Clydebridge steelworks where his father and uncle both worked. Clydebridge was the major employer in the area and Campbell became a time-served maintenance engineer/ fitter for the plant.



Fig. 26, Steven Campbell's British Steel apprenticeship certificate (Author's own image, CC Collection)

References to Campbell's time working at Clydebridge have been a recurring motif in most of the writing about his work (Russell, 1982;

Levin, 1983; McEwan, 1990; Henry, 1997 etc.) Although rooted in fact, Campbell's steelworker

²¹ Such as his 2004 woodcut *The Rosslyn Experience* part of the *Jean-Pierre Léaud* series.

past became part of the mythology that accumulated around him. Campbell became closely identified with the masculine identity of Glasgow's heavy-industry, and because it was representative, became short-hand to signify Campbell's class background and position. Class identity and politics were as important to Campbell as they were inescapable, but came with a lot of, at times unhelpful, baggage that I will attempt to unpack here.

In her 1997 essay, 'Boy Trouble', Adele Patrick, artist, writer and co-founder of Glasgow Women's Library characterised the macho culture of GSA as, 'located in a 'masculine' culture, one that the city and the school (self-) consciously reflects, rejects and promotes' (p. 49 Patrick, 2014). Reflecting on her own experiences as a new undergraduate arriving at the School in 1981, Patrick emphasised that,

Glasgow's culture was represented in the English press (pre-Garden Festival) as industrial, working-class, left-wing, sectarian, violent, hard-drinking and its culture, almost entirely represented by men - Billy Connolly, William McIlvanney, Rab C. Nesbitt, Jimmy Reid and Jimmy Boyle (p. 49 Patrick, 2014)

Somewhat unfairly, Campbell was to become synonymous with the 1980s artistic version of this identity. While Campbell's biography certainly reflected the masculine, 'industrial, working-class' signifiers identified in Patrick's essay, these have been overstated.

Simultaneously the intellectual and literary aspects of his practice, that go some way to contradict this type of reductive reading, were downplayed. Reflecting Glasgow's various attempts at cultural reinvention and the later conscious invocation of the New Glasgow Boys name, Patrick noted that,

male artists were once again homogenised in to a seminal 'movement' in the 1980s and 1990s [...] Glasgow's guardians of culture... elaborated on, ironised and revised its

image. The surfaced as a major player in the promotion of a cultural regeneration (p. 50 Patrick, 2014).²²

Campbell's working-class identity is relevant to this study in three key respects. First, the relationship of his personal narrative to the specific social and economic context of Glasgow and Britain in the 1970s. Second, Campbell's work clearly demonstrates, through specific references and appropriation, his equal interest in both popular and high culture. Third, that his socio-economic background had a significant impact on his critical reception and how he, as an artist, navigated the art world. Accounts of Campbell's background and autodidacticism can be understood in the context of continuous self-improvement narratives that have their origins in nineteenth century working man's colleges and the 'Lit and Phil' societies documented in Jonathan Rose's 2001 publication *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. Campbell's success in the 1980s coincided with a period of the disintegration of working-class culture in Britain, which according to cultural theorist Jeremy Gilbert, can be understood as combined consequence instrumentalising policies of the Thatcher government as well as active working-class participation education and self-organisation (Gilbert, 2016). Campbell was at times caught between negative anti-mobility stereotypes such as Harry Enfield's comic 'Loads a Money' character and left-wing wariness towards narratives of social mobility that lift-up individuals rather than distribute opportunities more widely. The issue of access to education and the arts for people from working-class backgrounds remains and is even more acute today as highlighted by sociologist Dave O'Brian's 2018 report: *Panic! Social Class, Taste and Inequalities in the Creative Industries*.

²² Adele Patrick's observation that GSA was then a 'major player' in the city's reinvention remains true today - witness the political and cultural reactions to both fires in the Mackintosh Building in 2014 and 2018 (p. 50 Patrick, 2014).

Campbell's own story of political participation - through union activity, as a Communist Party activist, of self-improvement through education and the eventual closure of the Clydebridge steelworks - is a micro-story of British class mobility in the 1970s and 1980s. Carol Campbell later reflected that she, 'did not meet an artist, she met a young guy full of passion for life which was initially channelled in to politics' (C Campbell and Young, 2018). As indicated by Patrick, left-wing politics have been a key element of Glasgow artistic identity and something that Campbell was frequently prompted to comment on,

But was it politicising? Was Campbell politicised by the steelworks? 'Oh aye', says Campbell. 'I did the whole bit. I went door to door for the CP and all that. But I began to see I was being used. The CP nobs were all in the pub, while I was ringing doorbells' (p. 37 McEwan, 1990).

Paradoxically, whilst the artists associated with the New Glasgow Boys moniker have been frequently critiqued for embodying romanticised masculine stereotypes,²³ a parallel and contradictory position – that the figurative work of Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski was somehow less critical because it did not literally represent the city's industrial history or the post-industrial reality of the 1980s – emerged. This counter-critique can be observed, for example, in the early published writing of artist Ken Currie and in the pages of *Edinburgh Review* under Peter Kravtiz's editorship in the 1980s. Arguably this critical contradiction comes from a generalised reading the work of a disparate group of artists with disparate interests, as one homogenous group. In a 1990 interview that coincided with Glasgow's transformative and divisive year as European City of Culture, novelist and critic Todd McEwan probed Campbell

²³ This would be fair commentary on both Peter Howson's urban low-life stereotypes and Ken Currie's Mexican Muralist-inspired early work but can hardly be read in Campbell and Wiszniewski's paintings which are populated by an effete and ineffectual cast of allegorical characters.

about why, given his personal experience of working in heavy industry, he 'didn't... paint steelworks, and people working hard, and mighty Processes, towering rooms filled with sparks' to which Campbell replied,

That kind of art doesn't take the over-all life, and humour, into account...when I worked in the steelworks, I wasn't heroic. I used to play table-tennis at work. That's what I did. That kind of life is humour. Making workers into heroes is stupid. Glasgow people aren't these downtrodden masses. Glasgow people are resilient (p. 37-38 McEwan, 1990).

Campbell's emphasis on humour and the absurd is relevant for readings of his work. Perhaps it was specifically because of Campbell's years of experience working at Clydebridge that he had no desire to revisit or celebrate the culture of heavy industry in his art: '[the] realities are that people are working for their money. So? "Political art" is just an embarrassment. It's inauthentic' (Campbell quoted in McEwan, 1990). In trying to probe Campbell on why he drew inspiration from the middle-class literary fiction and pulp detective fiction of the inter-war years, McEwan got the response, 'because it was alien. In appearance it wasn't related to me at all. And because it was fantastic' (p. 37-38 McEwan, 1990). By seeking out and responding to this type of retro material - abundant, familiar but referencing lifestyles outside of his direct experience - Campbell was creating a rupture between his lived experience and his work. This is not unusual for artists, but it is notable that Campbell, an artist so strongly associated with his working-class identity was being held to a standard of representing reality that others, arguably, were not.

Campbell's friend and former British Steel colleague, Richard Lenaghan, painted a fuller picture of working life at Clydebridge in the 1970s. Their friendship began at the steelworks in 1976, Campbell was a time-served employee having begun as an apprentice mechanical engineer in 1970 with Motherwell Technical College on a four-year City and Guilds scheme. Both Campbell

and Lenaghan worked in the plate mill, nicknamed 'The Howff', that processed ingots into steel plates. At the time British Steel was operating a continental shift pattern which employees worked in rotation. Campbell and Lenaghan were paired for the nightshift and developed a friendship based on their shared politics, lively banter, and a mutual love of reading. Campbell later described he worked with 'a wee group of fitters in this funny old place with 19th century machinery that kept breaking down. We were the romantic wing of the repair squad' (Long, 1987). The decrepit nature of the machinery for which Campbell was responsible perhaps gives some insight in to why he did not see his future in the steelworks.

Outside work they both enjoyed motoring, Campbell drove a Citroën 2CV and Lenaghan was into MG Roadsters. He recalled they would drive up to Eaglesham Moors between shifts to talk and take drugs and fish. Campbell was to remark later, 'we'd be on the night shift and he'd be reading Genet and I'd be reading Sartre. In the cabin. Curious nights' (p. 6 Wishart, 1994). They attended night school together at Duncanrigg College in East Kilbride taking O-grade and later Higher exams. Campbell and Lenaghan also both played for the non-league Langside amateur football team. Both joined the Communist Party selling communist newspapers at the gates of the steelworks when they were off shift. Describing a workplace fraught with risk, Lenaghan recalled once being caught in the guillotine machinery, Campbell saved his life by pulling him free. They disliked the danger and grinding physical work of Clydebridge. Their political activism was a response to poor and dangerous working conditions and, Lenaghan suggested, fostered a life-long habit of questioning authority. Reflecting ascribed traditional working-class values, Campbell saw education as a way out of a lifetime of working for British Steel and his qualifications a route into Higher Education. Lenaghan also left Clydebridge a year after Campbell to begin university. At the time Campbell gifted Lenaghan a painted copy of Jean-

François Millet's *The Gleaners* (1857, Musée d'Orsay) he had made for his art school portfolio application.²⁴

They remained friends after leaving Clydebridge, later collaborating on one of Campbell's second-year projects exploring conditioned responses. Overnight they set up a series of signs, traffic cones and painted arrows around Glasgow's Royal Exchange Square, next to Rogano's Bar and Grill. From a first-floor position in a nightclub, they spent two days taking photographs of people taking detours around the fraudulently signed route. The project can be read as foreshadowing Campbell's interest in the way audiences interact with designed environments, something which he was to explore in his 1990 installation work more fully, *On Form and Fiction* discussed in Chapter Four. Their friendship took Lenaghan into casual life-modelling work at GSA and learning photography. His documentation of Campbell's collaborative 1981 *Poised Murder* performance remains the only original source material for that work, the original slides later donated to the Steven Campbell Trust.²⁵

²⁴ The image of Millet's crouching woman wearing an archetypal proletarian headscarf was much later re-visited by Campbell in one of his last works, *Self-portrait as Lytton Strachey being both Thor and Madame Butterfly* 2006-07.

²⁵ Lenaghan also has (yet unseen) photographs of Campbell in the sheds at the steelworks, at the East Campbell Street studio and the Girls High School studio which the art school let him work temporarily work in 1984.

Football: player and observer

Football is a key facet of macho Glaswegian stereotypes and the Campbells were a footballing family. The game, its history and culture provided a rich strand of metaphor and imagery for Campbell. He was an accomplished footballer in his youth, and his father, George, was an unofficial scout for Aberdeen and Rangers on behalf of Alex Ferguson (C Campbell, M Campbell and Wallace, 2009). Campbell also played for the Scotland Under-18s, even touring to Ireland to represent the national team (C Campbell and Young, 2018). In 2011 the *Rutherglen's Greatest* football fan-site set up a user poll to rank Rutherglen's greatest footballing heroes, Campbell came thirty-fifth out of almost 200 with a total 16,015 votes cast online. The comments posted reveal deeper local memories of Campbell and an engagement with his legacy that goes beyond the artworld:

Posted by 'Jungle Jim' Sunday 05th of February 2012 21:59:40

Great keeper, played on the same side at Fernhill Athletic and against him when he was in goal for Rutherglen Academy, bloody hard man to get the ball past. Could have gone a lot further in the game but his interests lay elsewhere. J

Posted by 'View from Main Street' Thursday 22nd of December 2011 21:36:54

Brilliant goalie. Nuff said. Also when he was teenager, long before he became a famous artist, he worked down the steelworks in Cambuslang. He used to draw sketches in his break and then sign them. He gave a book full of drawings to a co-worker who drinks in Rutherglen. Unfortunately he did not recognise the value and chucked them out. That is like having a winning jackpot lottery ticket and losing it.

Posted by 'Town cryer' Friday 21st of October 2011 20:03:21

Stephen [sic] signed amateur forms for Glencairn in 1970. He was a good keeper. he played in a very good Rutherglen Academy team (*Webpage: Rutherglen's Greatest*, 2011).

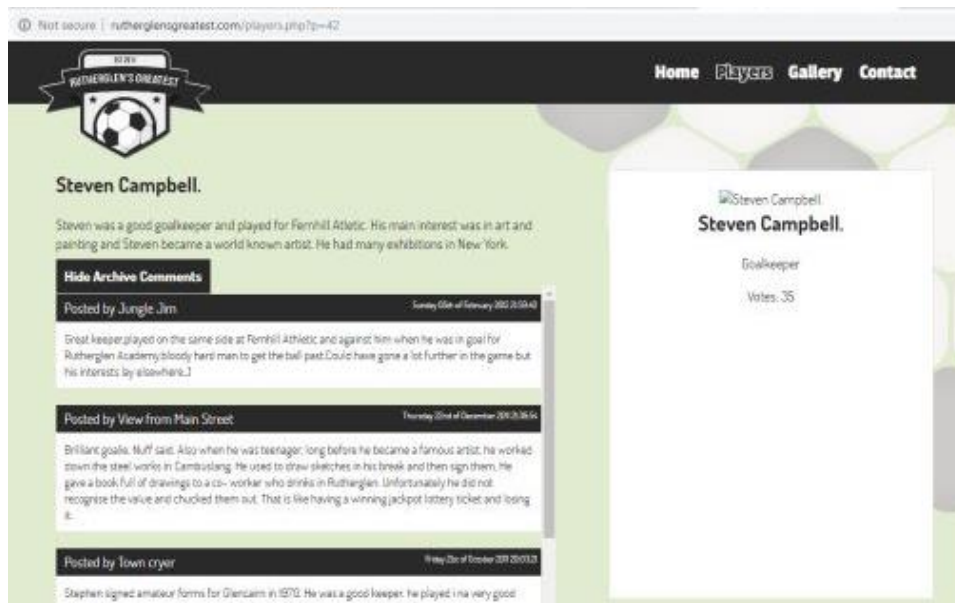


Fig. 27, screenshot *Rutherglen's Greatest* website

Although his early footballing promise is a lesser known part of Campbell's history it is interesting to consider how it connects to a larger story of men's participation in sport in the city, and again how it might influence readings of his work. The *Rutherglen's Greatest* forum comments offer some useful insights, comments like 'hard man to get a ball past' and 'Brilliant goalie' are suggestive of the enthusiasm, aptitude and physical ability that he was to later bring to his art. Perhaps Campbell's ability in the realm of football might have helped to anchor him within the deeply masculine environment of the GSA in the 1970s and 1980s. The prevailing blokish, sporty atmosphere also fostered Roderick Buchanan's 1995 football-related *Work in Progress* series, the all-star Glasgow art world five-a-side teams of the early 2000s and even David Shrigley's 2015 designs for the Partick Thistle mascot, Kingsley.

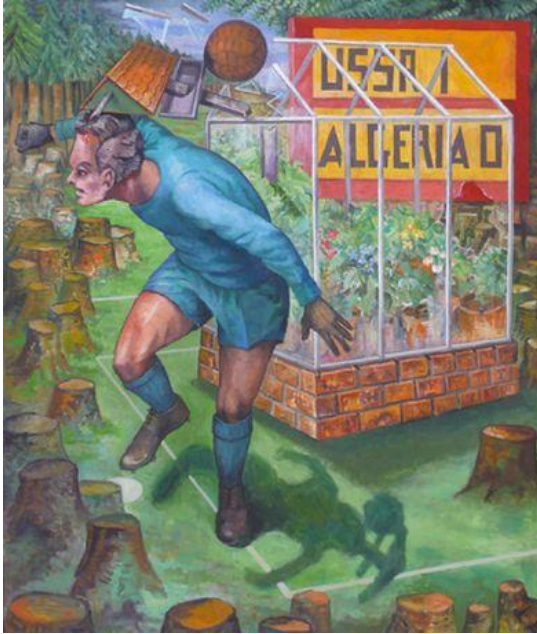


Fig. 28, 2006-07 *Untitled III* [USSR 1 Algeria 0] from the Extreme Sports Series

Football culture appeared as a subject in several of Campbell's major works, such as the 1988 painting *The Tyranny of Maths* as well as the later *Untitled III [USSR 1 Algeria 0]* (c. 2006-07). The later work includes reference to the score line from the famous international match in which philosopher Albert Camus played in goal for Algeria.

Campbell also explored footballing metaphors in a series of smaller drawings and compositional sketches dated between 2000-04. In these drawings Campbell represented the figure of Alex Ferguson (a cipher for his father who scouted for Ferguson) both in his real role as football manager and as an alter-ego of the Master character in the Rosslyn Chapel myth. In the apocryphal story, the master stonemason, struck by the virtuosity of the apprentice's carving on the so-called *Prentice Pillar* became so jealous he murdered his junior. Campbell's football sketches were the development themes he explored in more depth in the works exhibited in the 2004 *Jean-Pierre Léaud* exhibition at the Glasgow Print Studio, examined later in Chapter Six.

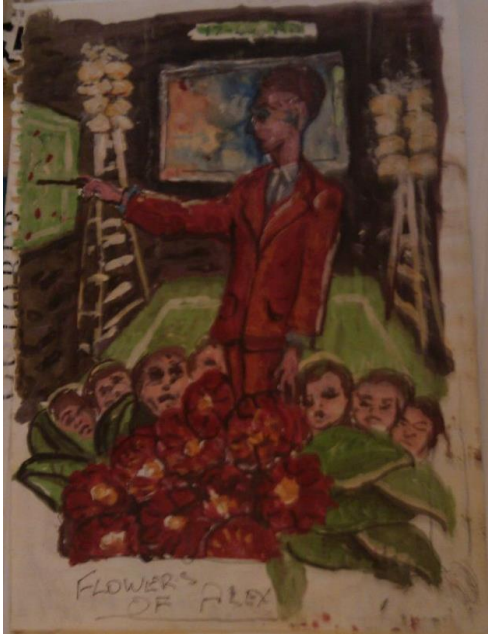


Fig. 29, c.2000s *Flowers of Alex* (CC Collection. Author's own image)

Campbell's Alex Ferguson drawings are mostly ink line drawings and a few small colour paintings on paper such as *Flowers of Alex*. In this image Campbell transformed the football stadium into a close domestic interior, the tactic board becomes a painting, the formations become abstract pattern and the football pitch becomes a domestic rug. In the foreground faces of the

players are gathered into a posy of flowers gazing upward to Alex. The Alex Ferguson sketches do not constitute a major body of work for Campbell and remain unexhibited.²⁶ Although Campbell did not generally use sketches as the basis of finished paintings, this discrete group provide an insight into Campbell's later working methods, how he processed ideas before embarking on larger scale projects. The interplay between figures ambiguously embodying both Campbell's father and Alex Ferguson in these works offer a highly personal iconography and underscores why biographical details can aid in-depth understandings of Campbell's strategies and his ambiguous narratives.

²⁶ One drawing from the series *Home and Away Ties* (early-2000s) was included in the Fine Art Society's *Intimate* exhibition in Edinburgh 25 July-31 August 2019.

Evening classes, the autodidact

In 1975 Campbell was given a copy of the popular novel *Moulin Rouge* by French/ American writer Pierre La Mure.²⁷ Reference to this as a turning point is made numerous times in the literature on Campbell (Sakurai, 1990; Macmillan 1993, Henry 1987) and is firmly part of the Campbell creation mythology. The novel was first referenced in Peter Hill's 1983 interview with Campbell (published 1986) in which he recounts the impact of reading the novel,

My grandmother gave me a book on Lautrec when I was about twenty-two... One of those ridiculously romantic things. I was totally captivated by it. Totally bowled over, side-swiped, destroyed – everything. So I raced off to Kelvingrove art galleries and saw the Degas and Van Goghs and that was it. This whole world appeared. So it's all due to my grandmother. Everything I do in my painting has a sense of romanticism about it. A sense of loss. Cheap romanticism taken to the grand level. But to me it's not cheap because I haven't allowed myself to get cynical yet (p. 22 Hill, 1986).

The Glasgow Herald's art critic Clare Henry also later noted that La Mure's popular novel had led Campbell through the Modernist canon to Degas, Van Gogh, Henry Miller, Giacometti, Sartre, Camus, and Joyce. She quoted Campbell:

I wrote a lot and got accepted at university to do English even though I didn't have any qualifications... The professor was a Joyce expert and I knew more than he did... But gradually the art took over. People in the steelworks were genuinely pleased. I hope you get what you want they said (S Campbell quoted in p. 7 Henry, 1987).

²⁷ First published in 1951 Pierre La Mure's novel is a fictionalised account of nineteenth-century French artist Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's life from childhood, through his disability and struggles living with chronic pain. It narrates Toulouse-Lautrec's artistic success, doomed love affairs, alcoholism, and his premature death. John Houston's 1952 movie of the same name starring Zsa Zsa Gabor and José Ferrer was based on the book. La Mure (or Lamure as American sources later reference him) was born in France but lived for many years in the US. He won the Strassburger Prize for Franco-American journalism writing a regular column for *Le Jour-Echo de Paris* (*The New York Times*, 1938). He settled in the US in the 1930s and began writing *Moulin Rouge* in the 1940s. (Gnerre, 2010) Born in 1899 it is feasible La Mure may have met and interviewed people who would have known Toulouse-Lautrec or at the very least older artists who would have been able to describe the artworld depicted in *Moulin Rouge*. The veracity, authenticity and historical accuracy of the novel is up for debate. However, it painted a picture for readers, like Campbell, an impression of the Parisian artworld in the 1880s.

La Mure's highly romanticised account of the nineteenth century Parisian *demimonde* offered Campbell an access point into art and culture. Reading it changed his inner life and offered him a formative insight into the life of an *avant-garde* artist. Artistic lives would later develop into a key concern for Campbell in works such as his 2006-07 *Untitled* series based in the interiors of Cézanne's studio-museum. Artistic self-representation was also a very important part of his own artworld persona.

Campbell's formative artistic interests La Mure's *Moulin Rouge* is discussed in this thesis for several reasons. It signalled Campbell's early interest in the birth of cultural Modernism, the specific time, place, and practices represented in the novel. It also fitted Campbell's developing interest in fusing popular, mass consumption source materials with esoteric high cultural sources. Being his initial exposure to the world of art, it is worthy of consideration – although often relegated to nostalgia or guilty pleasure, we rarely lose our passion for the things that first excite us – Campbell was able to explore and develop its themes in his work over decades. Campbell became a lifelong Francophile, with references to the art, literature, and film from the canon of French culture (high and low) evident in his work throughout his career. After leaving Clydebridge in 1977 the Campbell's travelled for several months around France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Switzerland. Later, as a family, they would go every year to France and Italy visiting monographic museums and childhood homes of famous artists and writers. The activity became part of Campbell's method of artistic research, to see and experience how they lived, 'to get a feel for the man' (Rice and C Campbell, 2018).

Campbell's night schooling gave him the qualifications he needed to progress into higher education. He sat his English and Art Highers in 1977, put together a portfolio application for art school in 1978 and was accepted. Campbell's route to art school was not necessarily direct and it seems he had also considered taking a literary path,

He had not always wanted to be a painter. A great reader, he wanted to be a writer and had taken some literature courses at night school... According to Campbell, he became a painter because it was too much trouble to acquire the level of skill necessary to become a writer. This was his motivation for entering art school in 1978 (p. 6 Sakurai, 1990).

This alternative path is significant when considering the strong literary element in Campbell's practice. Being a late-learner or autodidact gave Campbell a non-standard take on things, he tended towards trying to find his own understandings rather than seeking received or academic understandings. Arguably his synchronic thought processes would prove to give him an advantage in art school and in the development of his interdisciplinary practice.



Fig. 30, c.1977, self-portrait (Author's own image)

Whilst at night school Campbell made a sculpted self-portrait and entered it into an open submission art competition. The piece won an award and was displayed in a shop window on Sauchiehall Street. The heavy brow, deep set eyes and high cheekbones display characteristics of what would become typical Campbell facial types. Around the same time Campbell was also making what Carol Campbell has termed 'Giacometti-like' small sculptures for his art school portfolio (Rice and C Campbell, 2018).

Glasgow School of Art: Campbell's art school years, 1978-1982

Steven Campbell started at GSA in 1978 at the same time Carol Campbell was training to be a primary school teacher. In Hill's 1983 interview (a year after graduating), he described his feelings about his first year,

When I eventually went to art school, after studying at night school to get the qualifications, I loved every minute of it. Loved the place, loved the people. But all those who had done art at school were bored to tears and really pissed off when the tutors told them to shade like this... It was all new to me and I loved it (p. 22 Hill, 1986).

A year or two later, in the BBC Arena *Two Painters Amazed* documentary, Campbell was more ambivalent about his student experiences. In one scene Campbell and Adrian Wiszniewski are interviewed in the Mackintosh Building outside the Professor's Studios. From behind the camera the programme's director, Alistair Scott asks: 'Can you tell us when you first arrived at art school and how you first met?' Suited and suave in appearance, they both answer in broad Glaswegian dialect,

Campbell: Well I arrived off a bus, on Sauchiehall Street and went up the hill and enrolled in the art school... I thought first year was wonderful because that was my first experience in art. And then in second year it started to get a bit more, the rules started coming in a little bit. And you had to play the games a bit more, the games of the art school which I didn't like too much.

Wiszniewski added: It had to be like 30 life drawings in that term, or whatever it was. Or, or 20 really, really good wans [...] You had to spend your time doing life drawing, and when your spending your time doing life drawing it cut oot getting ideas in. Coz yer just faced with this nude wummin and you gotta draw aw the time...'

C: sometimes guys...

W repeats: sometimes guys...' (Scott, 1986).

The exchange goes some way to confirm what their art school tutors Ray McKenzie and Roger Hoare recalled in interview: as a mature-student Campbell was coming to the institution self-taught and fully formed.²⁸ In his *British Library: Artists Lives* oral history interview, artist and

²⁸ He was what might be characterised as a difficult or even unteachable student, earning the reputation for being a 'wild bastard' (Rice and Moffat, 2012).

fellow GSA Painting student Ken Currie recollected that Campbell had been an intimidating figure in first year,

I do remember Steven Campbell coming in and instead of like huddling in one little corner like the rest of all of us, he swaggered in and threw his folio down on this one desk which was the best desk in the whole room and sat there. And that was my first introduction to Steven Campbell [...] he looked like a sort of cross between Cro-Magnon man and a scarecrow and Clint Eastwood... quite a scary guy. He was considerably older than the rest of us... he wasn't a cautious school boy or school girl which is what most of us were like (Currie and Dyke, 2005).

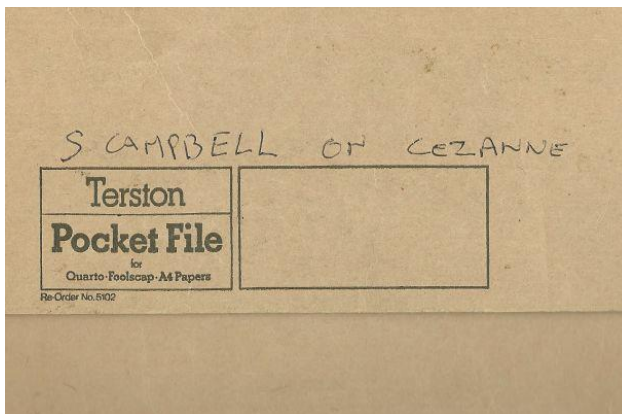


Fig. 31, c.1978 Campbell's first year essay hand-in (Courtesy of Ray McKenzie)

Despite the bravado Campbell was sensitive about being a late learner.

Carol Campbell later recalled that his first-year tutor Danny Ferguson

encouraged him to take up a more private space away from the ambitious and artistically more confident seventeen year olds (Rice and C Campbell, 2017). This was interpreted by students at the time as favouritism (Currie and Dyke, 2005). In Campbell's own words he enjoyed the first-year general course run by tutors Ted Odling and Ken Mitchell. In second year, he went into the Drawing and Painting Department then under David Donaldson's headship. Campbell's reputation as a bright but difficult to teach student proceeded him as then-Painting tutor Sandy Moffat was to later recall,

I'd heard of him before [he got to second year] because the guys that were teaching him in first year said 'we've got this amazing... you're gonna like him you know, you're gonna be amazed by him (Moffat speaking in Sinclair, 2010).

Campbell soon became despondent by what he experienced as 'an over-conservative and dogmatic approach in the school' (Scott, 1986) and sought out an alternative creative space

within the Mixed Media studios. Students from any department in the school could join Mixed Media where they were encouraged to take an interdisciplinarity approach and experiment on the understanding that they would bring what they had learnt back to the more traditional departmental studios, however many did not return. Campbell moved into Mixed Media halfway through his second year in 1979. In an interview undertaken by artist researcher Debi Banerjee in 2015 with Roger Hoare former Head of Mixed Media, Hoare also commented on Campbell's reputation by the time he arrived in his studios,

I'd seen what had happened to him. I'd seen his work... in a show in the museum [the central glass-roof space, aka Mackintosh Gallery]. He had done drawings from Beckett and I'd heard he was going to Drawing and Painting, and I thought 'Mm, that's interesting, he won't be able to do anything like that there'...I heard various mutterings and rumblings on behalf of the staff about this character who's interesting but he's so, he's so difficult because he was obviously trying to make large work in a crowded room with seventeen, eighteen other students and it would be impossible for him (Hoare and Banerjee, 2015).

Campbell was in a somewhat invidious position; his ability and ambition had been clearly noted by the school but, like many of his contemporaries, he found himself at odds with an institution that was at an academic crossroads. The Painting and Drawing Department studios were, in the 1970s and early 1980s, behind the times in terms of contemporary or expanded practices and the didactic infrastructure of the institution was struggling to keep up.

A Potted History of the Mixed Media studios at Glasgow School of Art, 1977-1981

The Mixed Media studios at GSA has a brief, ambiguous and poorly documented history. As an area of teaching it did not survive long enough to be formally constituted as a department. The studios represented a physical and conceptual area of Fine Art teaching that were temporarily set up in response to Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) recommendations in 1976 (Academic Council minutes, GSA archives). Mixed Media teaching existed at GSA in a somewhat tentative state between 1977 and 1981, it appeared at the same time the school was transitioning from awarding diplomas to setting up a degree programme.²⁹ The intention for Mixed Media was to provide opportunities for students to engage with, until then, non-existent critically-engaged conceptual, new media and so-called expanded practices such as installation, non-traditional materials, film, performance and research-based artistic practices. The creation of Mixed Media also offered a convenient way for the school to deploy Roger Hoare who had arrived from Cheltenham in 1973 to teach painting but had never found a receptive space for his more ideas-based interests within the Drawing and Painting Department.

Academic Council minutes from the mid- to late-1970s make it obvious that there was much suspicion from GSA staff and graduates about interference from the English CNAA. There was a lot of resistance to the switch over from awarding diplomas to degrees, that eventually happened in 1978, and added frustration that the CNAA recommendations brought with them

²⁹ The CNAA was established by Royal Charter in 1964 and was effectively the system of accreditation that allowed British Higher Education institutions (colleges, polytechnics, art schools etc.) to award their own degrees. It existed from 1964-1993 (The National Archives, no date). The CNAA report, and follow up McCalman report, were undertaken at GSA in during Sir Harry Barnes' tenure as Director (1964-1980).

financial implications for the school. As Director, Jefferson Barnes (1964-1979) remarked, the 'futility of the situation in which one public body advises a large-scale provision of resources, in complete opposition to what is being ordered by the Treasury or DES [Department of Education Scotland]' (p. 54 Academic Council, 1976).³⁰



Fig. 32. 1980-81 David Donaldson, *Annette and the Elders* (artnet.com)

Strategic attempts were made to break the rigidity of studio teaching at GSA at the time. The underlying agenda for the changes was to break the stranglehold of the old-fashioned departments and to allow students greater opportunity

within GSA to try out different disciplines. A new position, Head of Fine Art, was created to line-manage the three schools of Drawing and Painting, Sculpture and Printmaking and Bill Buchanan was appointed. Former GSA Senior Lecturer Ray McKenzie characterized the agenda of reform as an attempt to 'open out practice' and deal with the 'sexism in the painting studios' (Rice and McKenzie, 2011). A point neatly illustrated by an anecdote from then Head of Drawing and Painting Department, David Donaldson whose advice to young (assumed male) portrait painters was, 'You have to paint from beneath your navel. Perhaps it's the best

³⁰ Another recommendation was to establish formal assessments for Liberal Studies (referred to as 'complementary studies' in the 1976 report, later it became History and Critical Studies, and has been most recently split in to Design History and Theory and Fine Art Context), to be integrated in to the four years of teaching, with its own external assessors. There was a hostility towards what was termed 'art history' as a distraction from studio - a familiar riff/ refrain that continues to this day (Glasgow School of Art, 1982)

compliment you can pay to any woman' (Smith, 1996). Donaldson's libidinous *Annette and the Elders*, painted in his final year of teaching at GSA 1980-81, provides visual testament to this philosophy.



Fig. 33-34, 1977 Mixed Media Degree Show (Courtesy of Lyn McLaughlin)

Mixed Media teaching was approved by Academic Council in 1977 under tutors Roger Hoare and Ronnie Forbes. Donaldson's disapproval ensured that expanded practice would not be accommodated in the Mackintosh Building. Mixed Media were initially accommodated in the



studio spaces above the Vic Café in the Assembly Building on the opposite side of Renfrew Street.³¹

Fig. 35, Thomas (Tommy) Lydon, Mixed Media Degree Show (Courtesy of Lyn McLaughlin)

³¹ The Mixed Media studios have been frequently mixed up with the old Murals and Stained-Glass (MSG) Department. MSG, originally part of the Design School, was moved over to the School of Fine Art sometime after 1968. The department eventually closed to make way for the newly formed Environmental Art (EA) Department in 1985, with those students already enrolled in MSG re-enrolled into EA. EA effectively took on the mantle of expanded Fine Art practice at GSA.

Mixed Media students were able to explore a variety of modes of artistic production and practice – evident in the 1977 Mixed Media Degree Show installation shots. Campbell found his place in Mixed Media, getting on particularly well with tutor Roger Hoare who Carol Campbell described as ‘a clever, intuitive teacher. Generous without being didactic. He gave Steven a copy of [Roger] Shattuck’s essays on Modernist Paris, *The Banquet Years* or would lend an album, effectively giving [Campbell] the tools to develop with’ (C Campbell and Young, 2018). GSA students were able to dip in and out of the Mixed Media studios, to effectively self-direct their learning, as such documentation of this part of art school history is fragmentary. In a 2015 podcast series *New Wave: Materials, Methods and Media, GSA 1970-1986*, Banerjee collected oral histories from Mixed Media students and staff providing a new and rich source of material for this research.

Performance: Poised Murder, 1981

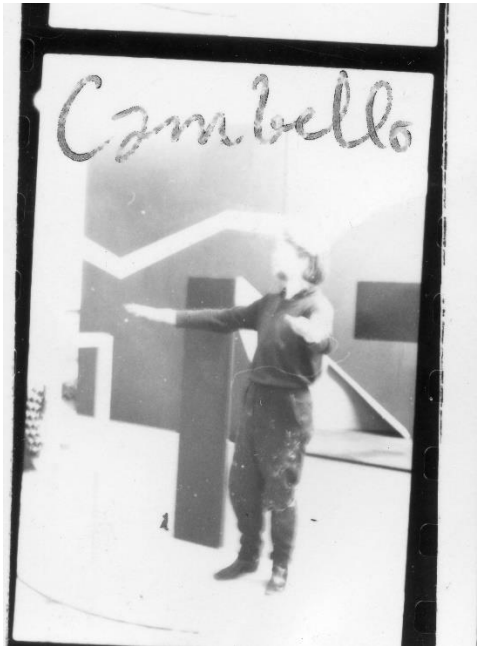


Fig. 36, 1980 Still from *Zoo Opera* (gsaarchives.net/
Courtesy of Jayne Taylor O'Neill)

Campbell became interested in performance art, and after moving into the Mixed Media studios, made several experimental works that straddled categories of performance, scenic art, sculpture, and narrative photography. Some these pieces such as *Zoo Opera*, *The Trip* and *It's Just Murder at the Bar* were documented through photography although never presented to an audience.

Campbell was effectively creating stage sets and narratives for posed photographic *tableaux*. *Poised Murder* was the only known work from this period developed into a fully realised performance piece in 1981. It was made collaboratively by Campbell and fellow Mixed Media students including Adrian Wiszniewski, Jan Reilly, David Soukup and Jayne Taylor. Tutor Roger Hoare was roped in, Carol Campbell also took part and it was documented by friend Richard Lenaghan. They performed the work over several nights in several venues in Glasgow city centre including the Vic Café in the Assembly Building at GSA and nearby nightspot Maestro's on Scott Street (now the Terrace Bar in the CCA).

The *Poised Murder* narrative was a riff on the type of pulp detective stories that were to become a major source for Campbell. It was loosely based on the true story of the Surrealist *cause célèbre*, Violette Nozière who murdered her father in 1933. Formally the piece was

comprised of a series of posed *tableaux* set to the music of Robert Ashley. Stylistically it was indebted to art house cinema and Hollywood film noir. The scenic art for the performance included a running track and four full-length portraits of Nozière painted by Campbell.

Hoare observed that the *Poised Murder* title 'was a pun on Bruce McLean and Pose Band 1970s performances,' a verbal *homage* to the living sculpture works made by the Nice Style Pose Band, a play on the words: 'Pose' and 'Poise' (Rice and Hoare, 2011). The *Poised Murder* performance was loosely choreographed with many of the artistic decisions taken by Campbell. No video, score or performance notes are known to exist; only a section of the scenic art and Lenaghan's documentation are known to survive. Yet through artistic references such as Lucy McKenzie's 2000 *Poised Campbell* painting and dissemination of the imagery via BBC documentaries on Campbell, the performance took on an iconic status in art school lore.

Tutor Hoare was close in age to Campbell, he later recalled the challenge posed by this collaboration with students on the performance, 'I was beaten to death by a dame with a chair leg, whilst on the telephone. It was more disturbing having to wear Brylcreem, a black polo neck and medallion. It's difficult to be a cool tutor when starring in a student performance' (Hoare and Banerjee, 2015).



Fig. 37-38, stills from *Poised Murder* performance, Assembly Building, GSA 1981 featuring: Tommy Lydon; David Soukup; Steven Campbell; Jayne Taylor; Carol Campbell; Roger Hoare (Richard Lenaghan/ The Steven Campbell Trust)

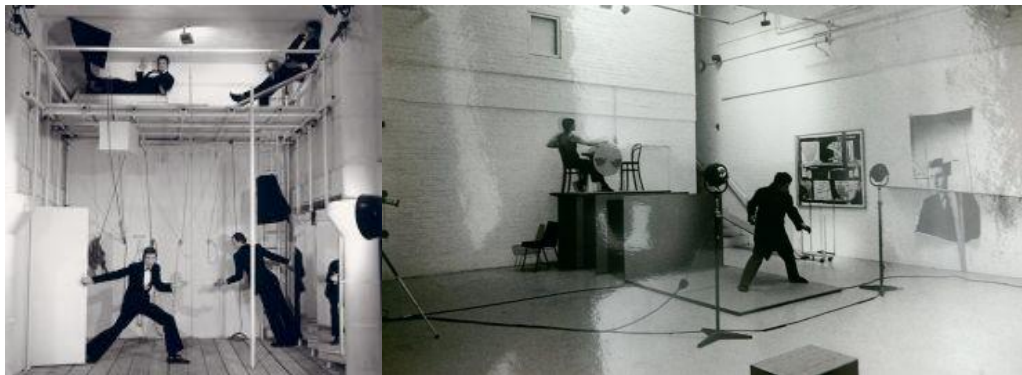
The *mise-en-scène* of the *Poised Murder* performance reveals elements of Campbell's signature style: its shallow, claustrophobic pictorial space, densely populated with gesturing figures, the layered grounds and vortex composition with multiple parallel narratives at play. The set-design was heavily influenced by early twentieth century Modernism and 1920 German Expressionist film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (dir. Robert Wiene). The performance consisted of a series of choreographed mannequin poses, spotlights flashed on and off as the participants hit their marks.



Fig. 39, c.1981, Carol Campbell in still from unrealised performance, *Just Murder at the Bar* (Ken Mellon. Courtesy of Carol Campbell)

The style and form of the *Poised Murder* performance was arguably informed by Campbell's slightly earlier experimental studio *tableaux*. In his 1993 monograph Duncan Macmillan described Campbell's *Zoo Opera* as viewed through voyeuristic holes in a wall and subtitled it 'The Hole of my Art' - seemingly a direct *homage* to Marcel Duchamp's *Étant Donnés* installation (1946-66). However, Carol

Campbell disputes this and Campbell's own description omitted the Duchampian peephole detail: '[it] began with the image of Ajax falling on his sword and evolved around the construction of a kind of tripping device made of lead and fixed to the floor' (p. 16 Macmillan 1993). Carol Campbell was usually involved with the production of all Campbell's performances. Having taken Royal Academy of Dance ballet exams as a child she continued regular *barre* practice and provided movement direction and choreography for these performances. In GSA, Campbell was by no means unique at the time in exploring performance in his practice. In 1981 Jill Bryson (of pop band Strawberry Switchblade) presented her *Venus in Furs* performance as part of her Mixed Media degree show work.³² By the mid-1980s GSA Drawing and Painting graduate Karen Strang had almost moved entirely into making performance.



Figs. 40-41, Left: 1974 Nice Style Pose Band, *High up on a Baroque Palazzo*, 1974, performance documentation; right: 1980 Bruce McLean Third Eye Centre (glasgowmiracle.blogspot.com)

Campbell frequently cited Bruce McLean and the Nice Style Pose Band as an aesthetic influence on his work, the reference can be found in numerous reviews establishing one of the

³² It comprised three performers, costumed in Bryson's trademark monochrome polka dot and stripes, slowly moving in time to a soundtrack of the Velvet Underground song of the same title. The performance was restaged in the GSA Student Union (former home of the Mixed Media studios) in 2016 by art/ fashion house Atelier E.B (Lucy McKenzie and Beca Lipscomb) and curatorial duo Panel (Catriona Duffy and Lucy McEachan).

rhetorical *clichés* in the writing about Campbell (Morgan, 1984; Yourgrau, 1984; Macmillan, 1993). McLean spoke at GSA as part of Activities Week in February 1980 which may or may not have been significant in Campbell's trajectory. Hoare, later narrated the context of McLean's visit,

So I was involved in Activities Week... it was always organised by the school [...] It was a very, very busy programme, a very exciting time with dances and things like that [...] *avant-garde* film makers, art film makers... performance artists [...] through my contacts with the Arts Council [England] I got art films brought up... I got Bruce McLean and Ian Breakwell who came and performed down in the Haldane Building... Chaos, it was chaotic [...] I've got a very nice letter somewhere thanking me on behalf of the students, you know, imagine the students writing a letter thanking me, [Laughter] that was very polite (p28-29 Hoare and Banerjee, 2015).

Material in the GSA Archives provided an exhaustive list of the Activities Week schedule that included: an exhibition of Eckart Muthesius architectural designs in the Mackintosh Gallery, an Anthony Caro exhibition at the Compass Gallery, a display of Scottish Ballet sets and costumes at Third Eye, an Ivor Cutler gig, a beer drinking competition, a screening of *That Sinking Feeling* followed by Q&A with Bill Forsyth, a Literary Evening with Ian Breakwell and Bruce McLean, a screening of Norman McLaren animations, *The Scottish Problem* symposium with Bill Paterson, Bill Forsyth and Joe McGrath, something titled *The Wee Magic Stane* featuring folk singer and GSA alumni Jimmy McGregor with Head of Ceramics, Alec Leckie and Head of Interior, Design Henry Hellier in the Vic Café, a Drag Show, and a lecture by tutor Ray McKenzie titled *Earthly Paradise* (Glasgow School of Art, 1980). The list of events paints a lively picture of the learning context for Campbell and his contemporaries, underlining the dynamic impact Hoare and the younger tutors had on the conservative atmosphere in the GSA studios. This type of extra-curricular cultural programming would be unimaginable in the context today's art schools. For example, Activity Week at GSA had been shorted to Study Day by the early 2000s. The equivalent programme at Edinburgh College of Art became fully instrumentalised after the

merger with University of Edinburgh transforming into Innovative Learning Week, a programme focussed on study skills and professional development.

McLean was a local boy and had attended GSA for a year in the early 1960s before leaving for London. In 1980 McLean had UK solo exhibitions at Third Eye, Fruitmarket and Arnolfini, *New Works and Performance/ Action Positions*. In the same year he was selected by festival director Luigi Carluccio for the main pavilion in 39th Venice Biennale to exhibit alongside Joseph Beuys, Andy Warhol, and other leading international artists of the day. McLean's work also appeared the two key painting exhibitions of the period: *A New Spirit in Painting*, Royal Academy, London (1981) and *Zeitgeist*, Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin (1982). McLean was an internationally recognised Scottish artist operating at the highest level within the artworld at the time he spoke at GSA and would, therefore, have been a significant exemplar for Campbell and fellow students. Given his significant international profile at the time, having recently shown at both *documenta* and the Venice Biennale, it would have been a great *coup* for the school, and Hoare in particular, to bring him in for Activities Week.

Although Campbell and fellow students in Mixed Media were specifically interested in performance practice, McLean has long been at pains to distance himself from the term as he humorously outlined in his artistic autobiography, *Lawnmower in the Loft*:

As a modern action sculpture/ sculptor I have hated 1. being called a performance artist and 2. the term performance art
In order to rid myself of this ghastly tag I decided to make a piece of performance art... which was to be performed at the Riverside Studios in Hammersmith [20 September 1980]. First a title, 'Possibly a nude by a coal bunker' a totally meaningless title... The little thinking behind this work was that most of the performances I had seen were hellish, as everything used to go wrong, or nothing worked as it should. So I attempted to construct a work that jammed, fell apart, repeated itself, and appeared completely unstructured...

The piece, because everything worked, is a total disaster. The audience congratulate me on a highly successful work (p. 55 McLean, 2017).

Campbell shared McLean's cynical approach to performance, the slapstick failure of McLean's *Bunker* performance may have inspired Campbell's unrealised performance work: *The Trip/ Zoo Opera* (c. 1980). The narrative of Campbell's piece was centred around the character Ajax, the mythological hero immortalised in classical literature by both Homer and Sophocles. Campbell's Ajax was meant to stumble around on set tripping on a series of implements, notably a garden rake set up to hit Ajax/ Campbell in the face.

McLean's use of humour was identified by critic William Packer in his 1990 review for the *Financial Times* as a potential weakness within his practice, 'McLean's mordant Glaswegian scepticism, intelligence and common sense, are always getting in the way' (Packer, 1990). The review continues 'such scepticism does him infinite credit. Yet the inescapable irony is that the Longs and Flanagans are the ones who have gone on producing the goods, each integral and definitive in its own terms, while McLean has remained ever the critical provocateur' (Packer, 1990). Packer's critique of McLean's use of humour echoed commentaries about Campbell, their shared subversive critiques served to undermine their standing. McLean characterised his notion of 'pose' as a Glaswegianism, flippantly remarking that people from the city were 'a right bunch of posers' (McLean and Wood, 2012). Glasgow's style-conscious reputation was arguably something Campbell explored in his practice and projected through personal styling.³³ Several years later in interview, Campbell reflected on what drew him to performance, 'Setting up my own world so that I can go for a walk inside it, start playing, using it' (Henry, 1987).

³³ Explored in the 2019 Steven Campbell Trust lecture, 'Dressing Above Your Station' 12 June 2019, CCA Glasgow (Lipscombe and MacKenzie, 2019).

Despite his enthusiasm and willingness to experiment, Campbell's relationship to performance was ambivalent. He later told Peter Hill in interview: 'Every 'art performance' I've ever seen has always been boring. I get bored at all these things' (p. 21 Hill, 1986). Therefore, Campbell's engagement with performance might be understood as a stage within the development of his own artistic language.

Campbell Returns to the Drawing and Painting Department, 1981-1982

Roger Hoare left GSA in 1981 'to study Chinese art in the Far East' and the Mixed Media studios shut down (Hoare, 2015).³⁴ Campbell briefly considered transferring to London for his final year of art school, instead he returned to the Drawing and Painting studios after his eighteen-month hiatus in Mixed Media. By the time of Campbell's return, the staffing of the department had changed; Edinburgh-trained artist Sandy Moffat had been teaching there since 1979 and Jack Knox had taken over as Head of Department after Donaldson retired in 1981. In December 1981, a couple of months into term, Moffat curated a group exhibition of work by Drawing and Painting students - including Campbell - at The New 57 Gallery in Edinburgh.³⁵ Later in the 2002 BBC *Artworks Scotland* documentary on Campbell, Moffat reflected,

I think I was responsible for organising a small show of... students which looked very, very impressive. I mean these guys didn't look like students at all. We all went to the Café Royal afterwards and I think Ken and Steven went outside for a fight, the usual Friday night... these guys were fiercely competitive... if Steven would come in at 8.30 to start painting, Ken Currie would come in at 8 o'clock... these guys they were all outsized personalities the idea of failing wasn't a consideration (TV: *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002).

The student show had been approved by the New 57 exhibitions committee in February 1981 on the condition that the art school meet the costs and the gallery got to select the work. Correspondence between the gallery and GSA Head of Fine Art, Buchanan confirmed the selection was made by Moffat, who was also a committee member at the time (New 57 Gallery, 1981). The exhibition got a brief mention in Edward Gage's gallery round-up in *The*

³⁴ The swift closure of Mixed Media is testament to its ephemeral status within the institution.

³⁵ The New 57 first opened in 1966 with Moffat as Director. The gallery was a continuation of the project begun by Moffat and John Bellany as students in the mid-1960s when they staged open-air exhibitions on the railings outside the Royal Scottish Academy as a direct challenge to the Scottish art establishment.

Scotsman, ‘a selection of work by final and post-graduate year students of drawing and painting at Glasgow School of Art’ (Gage, 1981). He concluded the work on display represented something new, a move away from the painterly, gestural painting so long associated with the school. The review referenced work by Ken Currie, Lynn Calder, Clare Devine, Anne McAteer, Paul McAvoy, and Moira Scott – but did not mention Steven Campbell. The impact of the exhibition was noted at GSA as minutes in the school’s archive reveal, ‘Chairman [Bill Buchanan] congratulated the Drawing and Painting students who had showed at 57 Gallery in December. They had received good notices from the art critics of both the Glasgow Herald and the Scotsman’ (Glasgow School of Art, 1982).



Fig. 42, 1981 Jack Knox *Café* (Kirkcaldy Art Gallery/ ArtUK.org)

A formative influence for Campbell’s painting practice was the new Head of Drawing and Painting, Jack Knox. Knox’s mixture of high and low art references, use of Pop imagery and art historical references in his own work can be read

as an exemplar (although stylistically and thematically quite different) for Campbell’s own appropriative strategies. In a 2005 interview Campbell suggested that Knox’s formal change in style from abstract to figurative in the late 1970s mirrored that of his artistic hero, American painter Philip Guston’s return to figuration c. 1970. Campbell recalled the tension, experienced by many practitioner/ teachers, between collegiate duties and studio time,

he was genuinely private about his work...[he] admitted to me on the first day he arrived in the painting department he said ‘Steven, I’m head of the department’ he said, ‘this is

where my studio is, look at this' and he pointed to me the easel and there was no painting on it... there was nothing there (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

There is no doubt that Knox, Moffat and other painting tutors (who at the time also included Ronnie Forbes and Barbara Rae) fostered an environment that was stimulating and encouraging to students. However, the culture of the art school that was so beneficial to Campbell and his contemporaries was less benevolent to others. As Adele Patrick's 'Boy Trouble' essay noted, the creative environment that shaped and nurtured Campbell was at this time heavily gendered male. The art school reflected visual and cultural representations of the city in which it stood, and those representations were reflective of the city's self-created mythologies – that is the male artists who represented the 'seminal 'movement' in the 1980s' (p. 50 Patrick, 2014).

Although Campbell was no longer making performances his paintings took on qualities of theatre backdrops in both their formal qualities (the large scale and artificiality) and their dramatic content. There are interesting theatrical precedents in earlier generations of GSA graduates such as the Two Roberts: Colquhoun and MacBryde's designs for ballet in the 1950s, Cordelia Oliver's work for Edinburgh Festival productions in the 1940s and even Jessie M. King's artistic designs for the Kirkcudbright town pageants in the 1920s.

Having spent most of his second and third year in the Mixed Media section experimenting with performance and photography, Campbell would have been a year behind his fourth year painting colleagues in terms of hours spent in the studio and life drawing classes honing his technical skills. He later reflected on his approach which was to throw himself in to his

practice, 'The governing thing in everything I do seems to be naivety. Part of me is dying to jump in to the deep end, but another part is saying, oh no, not again, don't do it, remember what happened the last time' (p. 22 Hill, 1986). He navigated the gap between his practice and traditional painting skills by looking again to contemporary trends in the US including, crucially, the "*Bad*" *Painting* exhibition at the New Museum, New York in 1978 curated by Marcia Tucker. Having never visited the US at this point, Campbell only knew about the show through reviews and the catalogue (if he was able to get hold of it). Tucker's curatorial essay outlined the project stating the,

ironic nature of the title, 'bad' painting... It is figurative work that defies, either deliberately or by virtue of disinterest, the classic canons of good taste, craftsmanship, acceptable source materials, rendering, or illusionistic representation. In other words, this is work that avoids the conventions of high art (Tucker, 1978).

Tucker's underlying thesis was that ideas of good and bad are subjective and contingent on the context in which the work is presented. We might consider the canonising effect of the "*Bad Painting*" show, or at least Campbell's second-hand knowledge of it, would have had on his approach and technique. It effectively gave Campbell, and fellow painters, permission to further relax the restrictions of traditional GSA painting practice.

Campbell wrote his fourth-year dissertation on one of his artistic heroes, Pablo Picasso. In the synopsis to *Picasso's Second Rose Period* Campbell asserted, 'The ideas contained in early paintings were to lie dormant in Picasso's mind until 1917 with *Parade*. As the first Rose Period ended with Cézanne's influence, the second began with its rejection' (S Campbell, 1982a). Campbell returned several times in his work to Picasso's designs for Sergei Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* 1917 production *Parade* by Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau. He also appropriated imagery from David Hockney's later designs for the 1981 version at The Met. We might understand that

by looking to these artistic precedents Campbell was positioning his practice within a trajectory of critical figuration and representation. Later, as a graduate of the same department in the late-1980s/ early-1990s Jenny Saville was to recall that the GSA at the time was, 'proud to be a figurative school' (Saville speaking in National Galleries of Scotland, 2018).

Exhibition: Campbell's Degree Show, Mackintosh Gallery, Glasgow School of Art, 1982

List of exhibited works:

1981 / 82, *Hunt*, mixed media (oil on flattened book covers, flag)

1981/82, *Third Fire Today*, mixed media (oil and printing ink on paper), dims: 124.5 x 114.3cm

1981/82, *Hunt's Dilemma*, mixed media (oil and printing ink on canvas),

1981/82, *Hunt as Hermaphrodite*, oil on paper, dims: 152.4 x 106.7cm

1981/82, *Hunt Falling*, oil on paper, dims: 198.1 x 76.2cm

1982, *The Mountain* (later sold in auction), dims: 65 x 44cm

1982, *The Acrobats* painted on brocade curtains, dims: 236 x 201cm

1982, *The Admiral* (later sold in auction), dims: 218.4 x 152.4cm

1982, *Diana and Actaeon* [later destroyed]

1982, *Lady with Palette Hat and Hound* [portrait of Carol Campbell]

1982, *Untitled (Naked hiker)* [cut down from a larger work]



Figs 43-44, Top left: *Head of Athlete* (red); top-right: *Big Head*; bottom-left *Head of Athlete* (books); bottom-right: *Head of Athlete* (medal) (greatwesternauctions.com)

Although an examination and not strictly speaking an exhibition, the paintings in Campbell's degree show were united by the recurring character of Hunt - a *pastiche* of the archetypes found in the retro source materials he collected. Campbell later recalled finding a 'forties-style murder magazine' at a second-hand bookstall in Paris with the cover headline declaring 'Is it Hunt, or is it...?' (p. 13 Macmillan, 1993). Campbell described his creation, 'athletic, wears a raincoat, walks around a lot and falls from great heights' (Collins, 1987). Campbell's friend, Richard Lenaghan recalled the Hunt character as a 1930s 'clean cut Nazi' (Rice and Lenaghan, 2012). Macmillan also dubbed the character 'a bit of a Fascist... in Nazi guise and style' (p. 14 Macmillan, 1993). Several untitled paintings in Campbell's Degree Show Hunt group of works were painted on the flattened book covers of second-hand hardbacks (perhaps a stylistic gesture to Julian Schnabel's use of smashed crockery as ground) and were exhibited with a handmade flag. The choice of pulp fiction source material from the inter-war period is significant and entirely typical of 1980s art student retro tastes. Campbell's appropriation of these archetypes exemplified what Matthew Levay has termed 'modernism's deep connections to popular and middlebrow culture' (p. 3 Levay, 2013). As explored in the Introduction, Campbell's visual referencing of Nazi signifiers later led to critical accusations of a misjudged fetishism or ideological alignment. Campbell's degree show works bore some stylistic relationship to Hitler Youth-type propaganda but more accurately to the broader

shared visual culture of the 1930s to be found in *Boys' Own Adventures* publications and story-book illustrations.

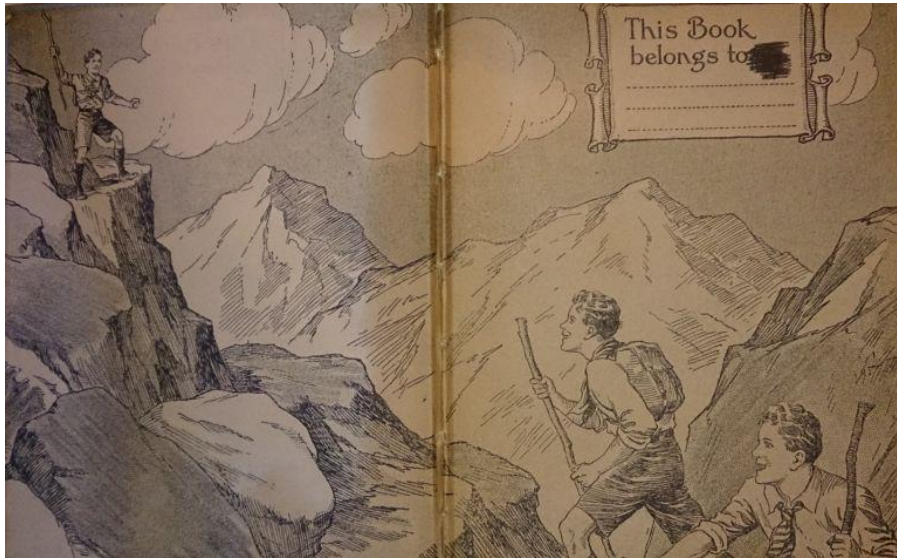


Fig. 45, 1934
inside cover,
*The Rover Book
for Boys* (Private
collection.
Author's own
image)

Campbell's sturdy boys having adventures in landscapes were iconographically derived from comic book art, weekly detective story illustrations, old spy movies. As a non-specific example, *The Rover Book for Boys* was typical of the kind of material Campbell incorporated into his own visual language. This type of mass-circulation visual material from the inter-war period was produced only 40 years earlier; in the late 1970s and early 1980s it was cheap and ubiquitous. In her 2006 book *Retro: The Culture of Revival*, design historian and critic Elizabeth Guffey argues that both collecting and the kind of appropriative act that Campbell was engaging in, is in fact a kind of 'freelance' authoring of historical narrative of 'the recent past' performed by practitioners 'outside the mainstream of artistic and historical thought' (p. 26 Guffey, 2006). For Guffey retro is a practice, an act of conferring value and/ or context to an object, or in Campbell's case when making his degree show work, visual material, that is familiar but not historic enough to be valued.

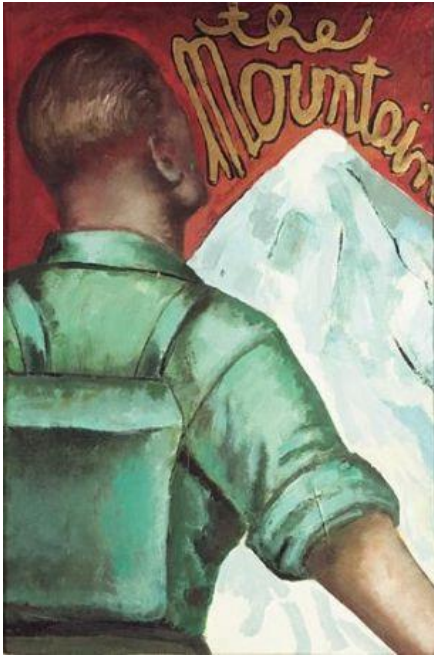


Fig. 46 1982 *The Mountain* (sothebys.com)

Stylistically, Campbell's degree show works were very spare featuring figures suspended in undefined space such as in *The Acrobats* or a figure set against a single landscape feature as with *The Mountain*. In this respect these works bear strong relation to the inter-war illustrative sources Campbell was looking at.

Campbell also explored the type of highly patterned surface detail as a compositional feature that was to

characterise much of his later work. This group of works are technically a bit rough and experimental. For example, he painted *The Acrobats* using both oil and printers' ink, directly on to brocaded patterned curtains, instead of canvas as the support. He also painted abstract patterns such as in *Hunt's Dilemma*, a feature Hoare characterised as 'borrowed from Chia' (Hoare 2015).



Fig. 47, *Hunt's Dilemma* (Ron O'Donnell/ The Steven Campbell Trust)

Many of Campbell's early works, such as his 1982 *Steel Moustache and the Axe*, included decorative, cursive text laid on or next to the image. It was a feature shared with GSA

contemporaries Jack Knox in his 1981 *Café* and Adrian Wiszniewski's *Po-et* from 1985.

Campbell returned to text as a motif in later works such as his *The Fake Through Signature* from 2004. Although a regular feature of late nineteenth-century advertising and commercial illustration, visual interrelationships of word and image became a feature of *avant-garde* fine art practice with Cubism's use of text, in works such as Picasso's 1911 Synthetic Cubist work *Le Pigeon aux petit pois* and Robert Delaunay's 1922-23 *L'Équipe de Cardiff*. Slightly later Surrealist Rene Magritte's *Magic Mirror* 1929 also uses text as a semiotic strategy to draw attention to illusionistic nature of image-making. On a visit back to Glasgow, Hoare caught up with Campbell in his studio a couple of months before the degree show,

He was working on 'Hunt's Dilemma'... a confident development of narratives that he had begun in his last term in Mixed Media after the performances. I was impressed by the power of the image... its crude directness, the strange flag-like composition and the general oddity. The either/ or aspect of the bright, hellish red and the other-worldly blue pattern, with the twisted figure suspended betwixt and between, reinforced the mental concept of 'dilemma'. I remember talking about the hand gestures and referring to the 'haloed hand' in Duchamp's Fauvist portrait of *Doctor Dumouchel*, 1910 [...] 'Hunt's Dilemma' is a crisis for a fictional character, between the devil and the deep blue sea, between the hell of Fascism (oh! those handsome uniforms and sharp haircuts) and the innocence of peace (the sunlit and seascape patterns of Matisse – no! Sandro Chia more like) (Hoare, 2015).

A year earlier Campbell and Wiszniewski had concocted a joke dry run for their Degree Show:

By the end of our third year it was degree show time for fourth-year students. Steven and myself decided to put on our own two-man show to humiliate and destroy the competition - it was pure cheek. We covered the art school with our own posters and opened on the same night as the degree students. We stole sandwiches and wine from the textile degree show held on the floor above and sold them after charging an admission fee to our own exhibition of painting, sculpture, installation, film and music. It was a great success and with our pockets full of money we went to Nico's Bar to celebrate (Wiszniewski, 2007).

Wiszniewski's anecdote underlines the disruptive reputation the two had developed within the school and a flavour of cheeky opportunism. Moffat's recollection of Campbell's degree show contradicts the mythology of the sell-out degree show that Campbell and his colleagues were



later to embody, 'There was a very bad reaction to his degree show by the painting audience.

He didn't sell anything' (Rice and Moffat, 2012).

Although this is contradicted by Hoare and Carol Campbell's accounts and by provenance information that has come from several degree show works that have turned up in sales in recent years.

Fig. 48, c. 1982 *Hunt* (Private Collection)

Campbell is Awarded the Bram Stoker Medal, 1982

Each year GSA gives various awards and prizes to graduating students. The top prize in 1982, the Newbery Medal, named after Francis ‘Fra’ Newbery the school’s dynamic Director (1885-1917), was given to fellow painter (and studio rival) Ken Currie. Campbell was awarded the Bram Stoker Medal for the ‘Best Imaginative Work of the Year’.³⁶ The medal is engraved with name of the first winner in 1902, D Broadfoot Carter, a Symbolist painter and children’s book illustrator. Campbell later remarked on the romance of winning the prize,

After I won it, and moved to New York, I wrote to Bill Buchanan, the Head of Fine Art, asking if I could get a copy of the medal. He wrote back and said they only had one copy of the medal and... sent a rubbing of it to the winner. Imagine sending rubbings of Bram Stoker across the Atlantic! It’s the most wonderful thing (p. 22 Hill, 1986).

Receiving the Bram Stoker medal was a catalyst for Campbell’s imagination, he immediately read Stoker’s most famous novel *Dracula* (1897) and began working. In the coming years he made numerous paintings featuring characters named after *Dracula* including from 1983-84:

The Poisoning and Subsequent Paralysis of Abraham van Helsing; In the Mist, Van Helsing Gesturing as [the head of] Hume; The Escape of Jonathon Harker from Wee Nook (and a woodcut of the same title); and the frequently mis-catalogued *J. Harper [Harker] with Snake*

³⁶ Although the Bram Stoker Prize is now awarded annually, its regular use had lapsed since 1904 until Campbell received it in 1982. The obscure origins of the prize were explored in George Rawson’s 2012 article for the *Journal of the Charles Rennie Mackintosh Society*. Although the central thesis relies on a leap of faith based on the fragile recollections of the elderly witness recalling her very early childhood, Rawson unravelled the riddle of why the Irish-born, London-based novelist set up the prize at GSA. As ever the culture-loving Newbery proved to be the missing link. Newbery met Stoker while on tour in Glasgow as Stage Manager for legendary thespian Henry Irving. Newbery later encouraged Stoker to use his Cruden Bay cottage in Aberdeenshire as a writer’s retreat. The cottage is overlooked by the ruinous Slains Castle, reputedly the visual inspiration for *Dracula*’s Transylvanian lair. According to Newbery’s daughter, Mary Sturrock’s much later account, Stoker was also said to have met the Mackintoshes and visited the Director’s Office at GSA. At the same time as awarding the prize, Stoker was invited to address the Glasgow Art Club in 1902. Stoker’s great-grandnephew Dacre Stoker later claimed the name of one of the central characters in *Dracula* ‘Renfield’ came from the Glasgow street of that name that runs from the Central Hotel – where Stoker is known to have stayed whilst on tour – up to the art school in Garnethill (Rawson, 2012).

and *Rabbit*. Campbell revisited the infamous vampire again in 2004 the *Léaud* series of works albeit through Bela Lugosi's cinematic portrayal of the *Dracula* character. Also from 1983, the title of the painting *Shaking Like an Aspen* leaps out as a paraphrasing of a passage from *Dracula* 'trembling like an Aspen', the narrator's description of character Sir Arthur 'Art' Holmwood when on way to visit the corpse of his *fiancé*, and suspected vampire, Lucy Westenra (p. 287 Stoker, 2008). The painting is illustrated in Duncan Macmillan's 1993 monograph with the accompanying description,

Van Helsing first appeared soon after the *Hunt's Fall* sequence. Hope for instance, painted in 1983, showed Van Helsing lying in a crypt... with a beautiful stained-glass window above him. *Flapping Like an Aspen* [sic] also shows him in a gothic crypt with stained-glass behind him. As an investigator, he was a more positive figure than Hunt though he sometimes doubles up as Hunt's successor (p. 16 Macmillan, 1993).

The same iconography of stained-glass gothic interior appears in the 1984 woodcut *The Escape of Jonathan Harker* and reappears in 2004's *Master and Apprentice* part of Campbell's later Rosslyn Chapel-related works. Campbell's *Dracula*-inspired paintings all share a claustrophobic pictorial space in which figures appear frontally as if pressed between sheets of glass.



Figs. 49-50, Left: 1983 *The Poisoning and Subsequent Paralysis of Abraham van Helsing*; Right: 1984 *Escape of Jonathan Harker* (artnet.com)

The epistolary format of Stoker's *Dracula* novel may have provided a stylistic model for Campbell's 1986 *A Life in Letter* series. In this group of works Campbell imagined a surreal exchange of personal letters between Michel Foucault and P G Wodehouse. Campbell's early immersion in Stoker's *Dracula* may have eventually led to the chance discovery of the literary works of Lytton Strachey, Lytton Strachey works as Strachey and Stoker sit next to each other on library and bookshop spaces. The author of *Eminent Victorians* (1918) later became an ambiguous recurring character in Campbell's work.

Fig. 51, Stoker and Strachey on the shelf
(Author's own image)



Exhibition: Expressive Images, New 57 Gallery, Edinburgh, 1982

In August 1982, just a few weeks after graduating, a selection of Campbell's recent work was included in a group exhibition of recent art school graduates at the New 57 Gallery, as part of the Edinburgh festival. The exhibition was titled: *Expressive Images - A Selection of pictures by young Scottish artists: Murdena Campbell, Steven Campbell, Simon Fraser, Alastair Hearsum, Scott Kilgour, Mario Rossi, Andrew Walker* and was again curated by Campbell's GSA tutor Sandy Moffat. Peter Hill's review of the exhibition for *Artscribe* included an image of *The*



Admiral (originally shown in his degree show) and referenced new work, *Steel Moustache and the Axe* in the text.

Fig. 52, 1982 *Steel Moustache and the Axe* (McManus Gallery, Dundee/ artuk.org)

By the time of the *Expressive Images* in 1982 the New 57 had an established reputation for group shows of young Scottish artists. Jim Birrell had taken over as Director from Moffat. Moffat stayed on to serve on the committee at the same time as teaching and maintaining his own successful studio practice. In 1975 the New 57 Gallery moved to its new premises in what is now the Fruitmarket Gallery in Edinburgh's Market Street. By the time of staging the *Expressive Images* exhibition in 1982 the ground floor was showing Scottish Arts Council (SAC) initiated exhibitions with the New 57 occupying the first floor along with the Printmakers. Due to the way the organisations received funding this meant that the SAC had an effective monopoly on contemporary art in Edinburgh, 'running

both the Fruitmarket Gallery and the New 57 Gallery' (p. 92 Jackson, 2013).³⁷ The New 57 exhibition committee at the time comprised: Dougie Gray (chair) Jim Birrell, Glen Onwin, Paul Stirton, Gary Fisher, Eileen Lawrence and Moffat. Roger Hoare had been on the committee until his departure for Japan in 1981.

At the same time the recent graduates in *Expressive Images* were exhibiting upstairs in the Market Street space, an exhibition of established Scottish artists initiated by the Scottish Arts Council, *Scottish Art Now* was on display downstairs. The show featured work by six male artists: Graham Durward, Michael Docherty, John Kirkwood, Jack Knox, Derek Roberts, Ian McKenzie Smith and had been selected by invited artists Albert Irvine (London), Sandy Fraser (Aberdeen) and Glen Onwin (Edinburgh). It had been conceived as the first in an annual series exploring contemporary art in Scotland - the selectors themselves had been proposed by grandee of Scottish painting John Houston, Third Eye's Chris Carroll and Alexander Moffat (p. 69 Hill, 1982).

The minutes of the New 57 Gallery committee meeting on 21 October 1982 noted, 'The show had been a great success and had received widespread praise in the press' (New 57 Gallery, 1982). Campbell's work was notably more highly valued, the pricelist reveals his paintings were £500 each as opposed to £165 or less for works by the other artists. The reasons for the differentiation is less clear; possibly Campbell knew from his experience of selling at his degree

³⁷ Both organisations had moved into the building after the Scottish Arts Council had withdrawn its funding from the previous occupant, the Ceramics Workshop. The building was functioning as an actual fruit market until 1972. Weeks after finally closing for business Revel Oddy, Curator of Textiles at the Royal Museum staged the first in an annual series of international weaving exhibitions during the festival period in the recently vacated commercial spaces.

show six weeks earlier that his work would sell, possibly the higher price was a reflection of the cheeky attitude that his tutors and fellow students found both endearing and infuriating in



equal measure.³⁸ The strategy was not unsuccessful and two works were sold: *Steel Moustache and the Axe* to the Scottish Arts Council and *Ding-Dong* to a private collector.

Fig. 53, 1982 *The Admiral* (sothebys.com)

³⁸ The New 57 charged the typical 30% commission and therefore would have been delighted when two of his works were sold in addition to the eight sales by the other artists.

Campbell's Fulbright Scholarship and move to New York, 1982

Early on Campbell had set his sights on going to New York, an ambition that both GSA tutors Moffat and Hoare attested to. Campbell later said, 'I went to America because I saw art only in magazines. Living in Glasgow I didn't see a damn thing! And the only way if you're ambitious is to have a go. It wasn't because I loved American art. It's because New York was – and is – the centre' (p. 25 Macmillan, 1993). Hoare and Bill Buchanan wrote glowing testimonials for his application for a Fulbright scholarship and Campbell had to submit a written statement.

Reproduced in full here, Campbell's application statement encapsulates his huge ambition to 'strengthen' the British *avant-garde* and, with references to artistic movements such as New Image and the American Realist School, is evidence of the extent to which he had engaged with international trends:

The programme I intend to follow will be a MFA degree course. My reason for electing to study in america [sic] lies in the fact that I believe artists in america to have made the greatest breakthroughs in art since the 1940's and they are continuing to do so. I have felt myself drawn to the latest work to come from america: - The New Image Painters as yet not fully recognised in our country and it is their work in conjunction with my own and a wider more traditional background that I would hope to combine in any course of study. ... In this school of painting one can see the historical tradition of american Realist Painting reaching its logical conclusion. In america *avant-garde* artists still consider painting the figure in a modern sense to be a worthy practice. Whereas in Britain, *avant-garde* Modern artists have tended to dismiss this in favour of a modernist approach. No matter what field of study a student involved in the greatest ambition is to study in the place where innovations are taking place and at the present time this is america - a place where new ideas are being created and as I see my own work being able to contribute to these new ideas, I feel that study for an M.F.A degree in america to be a logical follow on to my B.A. degree. My own specific programme will be the maturation of my work both technically and intellectually in this climate of vigorous artistic activity. I feel my own work to be truly in the same mould without being merely eclectic and I therefore most naturally wish to be where these innovations are taking place in the hope that my own work may be considered of note. As I mentioned earlier I feel there are divergences in the British and american *avant-garde* and my own preference and working thoughts tend to run along american lines and I truly feel that British art could be immensely strengthened by combining of talents and would hope to see this as my main goal - to merge and strengthen my own art and return to encourage and enlighten any of my peers and the viewing public who are interested enough to enquire (Campbell, 1981).

CHAPTER TWO: CAMPBELL'S NEW YORK YEARS 1982-1986

Introduction to Chapter Two

This chapter covers the four years that Steven Campbell spent studying, working, and living in America. The years between Campbell graduating from GSA in 1982 and his return to Scotland in 1986 were remarkably prolific for him in both the volume and the scale of works he produced. Although many of his existing aesthetic concerns continued and developed over this period, the format of his artistic output moved from experimental, performance and *bricolaged* work of his student years to larger-scale, canvasses, and woodcut prints. The promise of Campbell's art school years and the Fulbright Scholarship were swiftly demonstrated. Less than a year after arriving in New York Campbell was picked up by the Barbara Toll Gallery – within months his work selling to a range of private and institutional collectors in the US and beyond.

In the context of New York, Campbell played with the semiotics of his Scottish identity in both his work and with his professional persona. He set out to 'invent a modern Scottish art' to stand alongside the national schools that made up international Neo-Expressionism (Scott, 1986). Campbell's Scottish-brand of Postmodern painting was well-received by collectors and critics but he lacked the weight of state-level support that fellow European artist contemporaries, such as Italian Sandra Chia and German Georg Baselitz enjoyed through more organised cultural and economic infrastructures.

With just under 10% of Americans claiming some kind of Scottish/ Ulster-Scots ancestry,

Scottish influences run deep in American culture (United States Census Bureau, no date). Recent scholarship on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish emigration has begun to acknowledge the dark and complex exchange between Scotland and the new world e.g. Stephen Mullen's 2009 *It Wasn't Us: The Truth about Glasgow and Slavery*. As the title of Mullen's book suggests, in the US, and in the South in particular, certain signifiers of Scottishness might be read as strongly identified with the overt racism of the Scottish-identified Ku Klux Klan. New York in the early 1980s was receptive to Campbell's ironic use of Scottish iconography. Successful Scottish pop culture exports, such as comedian Billy Connolly in the 1970s and the 1981 Broadway revival of *Brigadoon* were a foretaste of an appetite for Scottishness (or the signifiers of Scottishness) Campbell tapped into.³⁹

To research this chapter, I undertook original research interviews with key figures in Campbell's life at the time including the artist's wife Carol Campbell and Barbara Toll Gallery Director, Tom Cvikota. Museum archives, such as Minneapolis' Walker Art Center's exhibition files for their 1985 *Viewpoints* exhibition with Campbell, have been an invaluable source for both the narrative of this chapter and researching the *catalogue raisonné* covering these years. Much of the critical reception to Campbell from this period is found in the family collection of newspaper press cuttings and exhibition reviews and is dealt with in the Introduction to this thesis. Additional secondary critical material has come from art journals including *Artscribe* and *Alba*. As with all periods of Campbell's career there is minimal critical writing about him despite the significant cultural impact he made at the

³⁹ Greenoakian Craig Ferguson has been a US prime time TV fixture since the mid-1990s. He was a friend and former bandmate of Campbell's art school contemporary, Peter Capaldi. Ferguson briefly lived with the Campbells in their loft apartment when he moved to the US in 1983.

time. It is this that I wish to address in through an exploration of the exhibitions he participated in and collectors of his work.

Coming to America: Campbell's Fulbright Scholarship and the Pratt Institute

In August 1982, only a few days after the opening of the *Expressive Images* exhibition at the New 57 Gallery, Campbell left Scotland with Carol for New York. He took up his prestigious Fulbright Scholarship on the graduate painting course at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn. The abrupt change of context effectively deprived Campbell of the chance to bask in the limelight of the positive reviews or develop a UK network of contacts, nonetheless it represented a range of new opportunities for him. Campbell's move can be read as continuation of a transatlantic tradition of ambitious British artists as exemplified by Malcolm Morley, David Hockney and Tom Lawson in the preceding decades.

Ever conscious of artistic and cultural history, the Campbells spent their first night in the iconic Chelsea Hotel which Carol Campbell later described as 'not very nice, but authentic of the time' (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). Despite the somewhat seedy surroundings, the Chelsea Hotel came at a high price, so they moved out and stayed for a few days at the Midtown YMCA, which, to their surprise, was staffed by a man from Greenock. They soon found a shared loft apartment on Lafayette Street in Lower East Side Manhattan, a street of mixed residential, retail and warehouses which, even before the gentrification of Manhattan, was populated by galleries and chichi boutiques.

Campbell enrolled on to the two-year Painting programme under photorealist painter Frank Lind, taking additional credits in Printmaking and Renaissance Art. He approached his graduate studies at Pratt in much the same way he approached his undergraduate studies at GSA, single-mindedly and impervious to the assigned curriculum. In his first few months Campbell worked independently in his studio in the Bedford–Stuyvesant (Bed-Stuy) area of

Brooklyn paying little or no attention to timetable or fellow students (Rice and C Campbell, 2018). As in Glasgow, Campbell made an impact with fellow students, building new friendships as the 2009 YouTube comment posted by fellow Pratt alum photojournalist Kevin C. Downs goes some way to suggest.



Fig. 54, Screenshot YouTube, comments section under film about Campbell

In those early months Campbell naturally corresponded with Scotland. Following on from the New 57 exhibition, Campbell sent a postcard (featuring a classic skyscraper view of New York) to gallery Director Jim Birrell. It exclaimed in block capitals:

Dear Jim, Just had postcard from Rodger [sic] about my paintings, glad to hear of SAC [Scottish Arts Council] purchase, and possible other sale. As life and paint, and loft are expensive, can I have my money. Life is just Jim Dandy. 248 Lafayette Street, New York N.Y. 10012 Thanks for everything. Mary Boone sends her regards. Steven (Campbell, 1982b).

Evidently, there was no reply, Campbell followed up with another postcard message which was more to the point 'I hate money entering into relationships with other people, but I'm getting hungry (Campbell, 1983b). A cheque was swiftly dispatched. The gallery's forgetfulness was most likely a consequence of Campbell's leaving so soon after the exhibition's opening. The archived exchange of correspondence, however cheerful, underlines the adage 'out of sight, out of mind'.

Within his first few months in New York Campbell was required to complete a student report for the Fulbright Institute. He responded,

I found the leaflet 'Your Visit to America' to have been fairly comprehensive... although I don't think any written document can fully prepare a new scholar for his first taste of america ...I found accommodation to be the biggest pitfall and would point out to future scholars to beware of renting through realty firms as the contractual problems involved could lead to financial difficulties ...the study programme I have undertaken allows maximum studio time while covering the necessary academic credits and is one that would be more familiar to a British student. I discussed my B.A. course at Glasgow my desires and reasons for coming to the Pratt and New York with Mr Lind on my enrolment. He agreed that my greatest need was to advance my work through studio time and contact with teaching faculty. My expectations have been fully met and indeed exceeded in terms of studio space (S Campbell, 1982c).

The Brooklyn-based Pratt Institute had started in the nineteenth century as a technical school. By the 1980s it was one of the top art schools in the US with a good international reputation. To complete his Pratt enrolment, Campbell brought his tuition fees awarded by the Fulbright Institution, in cash. Carried by Carol Campbell in her handbag, they walked from Manhattan through Brooklyn. They were subsequently advised by their new friends and Pratt staff that what they had done was dangerous and 'not the done thing' (C Campbell and Young, 2018). The anecdote belies a certain naivety as well as the city's



tough reputation as a place of crime and violence. Their friend's advice also highlighted racial and class differentiation within the city – emphasising the act of walking through that part of Brooklyn was 'not something two white people would ever do' at that time (Rice and C Campbell, 2018).

Fig. 55, Carol and Steven in New York early 1980s (CC Collection)

Relayed in letters at the time to Moffat, Campbell was invited to exhibit within his first

months in New York, 'Tom Lawson asked if Campbell would put work in to group shows, he refused, waited until the end of year when he had about 40-50 canvasses. He kept his head down, had a great work ethic, then he would invite people for studio visits' (Rice and Moffat, 2012). Lawson was a fellow ex-pat Glaswegian artist working in New York. No doubt he reached out to Campbell through art school contacts. Campbell's reticence was probably quite a risky strategy for a relatively unknown artist. Perhaps he wished to retain control over how his work was represented. His refusal may have been an acknowledgment of the rawness of his talent, or maybe he relished his time as a student and just wanted to experience everything that was offer.

Whilst keeping his head down and getting on with work was a priority, the Campbells were a cool, young couple living and working in the heart of one of the world's most exciting cities in the early 1980s. Carol Campbell found work, through Buckminster Fuller's design practice, as PA to designer Isamu Noguchi. Together, the Campbells embraced many aspects of the lifestyle that was available on their doorstep. They would go uptown to the ritzy openings at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (The Met). The diversity of the city meant they could sample ethnic cuisines unheard of in Glasgow at the time. They even had a brief dalliance with the club scene, Campbell later commenting, 'I went nightclubbing for a while in New York but got kind of sick of it. The rap scene has just started, with Grandmaster Flash and I used to go to the *Roxy* with black friends. White people were scared to go there' (Flowers, 1990).⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The *Roxy* (515 West 18th Street, Chelsea) was a legendary dance club in the early 1980s. It was founded as the first all-races club by English pioneer of hip hop, Kool Lady Blue (aka Ruza Blue) (Blue, 2012).

Despite all of what was available to them in the city, Campbell continued to work intensively in his studio. His follow-up letter to the Fulbright Institute in April 1984 reveals the rest of his Pratt story,

So many wonderful things have been happening for me here that I thought it only fair to keep you in touch as the Fulbright award I received in 1982/83 was the starting point. I have just heard that a recent painting of mine has been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum here in New York, for their Modern Collection. The Walker Art Center of Minneapolis have also purchased a painting and there is a possible show in the pipeline at the Center early in 1985. I will be showing in Chicago - opening Friday 6th, followed by a show in Munich, Germany opening late September, ending the year with a show at the Riverside Gallery in London which will travel to the Fruitmarket Gallery in Edinburgh, either in Nov or Dec. I will let you know the exact date when it is confirmed and hope that you may be able to attend the London opening. ...I will probably be passing through London before then and will certainly call in at the office to chat with you all. Many thanks again for all your help. Sincerely, Steven M. Campbell (Campbell, 1984a).

Campbell's letter is essentially an admission that he had failed a year and that he had no intention of completing the studies Fulbright had funded him to undertake. It illustrates, with details of the museums and galleries showing and buying his work, the rapidity with which his career had taken off in New York. The tone of pride and sincerity in Campbell's letter emphasise that this was a transformative time. Similarities of significance and intent can be found in Jenny Saville's account of going from GSA in the early 1990s to New York,

I was obsessed with showing in New York, I was obsessed with being in New York... I'd go to MoMA, I'd look at De Kooning... Pollock. The whole world of art just exploded for me [...] Paint as a vocabulary became part of my work... It wasn't just the figure... that very European base in my figuration...in America it was all about abstraction... (National Galleries of Scotland, 2018).

Saville's enthusiasm underlines how much a Glasgow School of Art-trained painter had to gain from relocating to New York and underlines Moffat's assertion (discussed later in Chapter Three), that Campbell was something of a trailblazer within the Scottish context.

Getting 'Picked Up': The Barbara Toll Gallery

Campbell spent his first months in New York diligently working in his Bed-Stuy studio.

Evidently this was a very productive period for him, the *catalogue raisonné* currently lists 49 works dated 1983 with the expectation that more may emerge. Campbell's paintings increased in size at this time, his studio space evidently large enough to allow him to work at scale producing canvasses typically 2.5m tall and larger.

The body of work he made within his first twelve months in New York include most of his Oxford to Salisbury paintings and many featuring a hybrid Lost Hiker/ Camper character. In the 1986 BBC *Two Painters Amazed* documentary Campbell described how some of these paintings developed,

The first painting I did in New York used this signpost. I decided to try out a new, completely different kind of character... I ended up buying a book on... amateur psychology. It was the story of... how a person if they were at a crossroad and wanted to get from Salisbury to Oxford and the signpost was down, and they came from Oxford... how would they actually get to Salisbury? And the secret is to pick it up and turn it to Oxford again... whole story seemed to describe a particular type of personality. So, I developed this wandering, 'lost hiker' thing. Going from Oxford to Salisbury and never really getting there. And then putting up in Wee Nook Cottage for the night. It was a nice thing to hang the story on (Campbell in Scott, 1986).

Campbell's account of the evolution of his philosophical hiker illustrates the extent to which narrative content was critical to his thought processes. Narrative and storytelling have been key to piecing together the biographic arc of this thesis, a way of signposting for the researcher significant turns and areas for further investigation. In Campbell's case another story illustrates his ambitions. Carol Campbell recalled how, in their first summer in New York, he carried a roll of canvasses around from gallery to gallery to show his work to curators in the hope of getting picked up (Rice and C Campbell, 2012b). The anecdote illustrates the relative informality of the artworld at the time, emphasising Campbell's gallus

entrepreneurial spirit. Two useful characteristics for any ambitious artist of the 1980s in both Glasgow and New York. In the documentary, gallery owner Barbara Toll outlined how she encountered Campbell's work and came to represent him,

Well Steven left slides here... Although the slides were all covered in paint and they were terrible slides, there was something about the complexity and the scale of the work that intrigued me. I told Steven I would go to his studio and when I did, I was surrounded by twenty enormous paintings, all very dynamic and I felt that this was something very important I should certainly put in a group show and see what the paintings looked like in the gallery. So, we took two of the paintings for that exhibition. I was a bit hesitant because... whenever I see work by an artist from another country... I don't know, I'm not completely familiar with what with the rest of the work going on, where he's from is like. I didn't know... perhaps all paintings in Scotland look like this. I really didn't know, but Steven was such a convincing character, on his own and the paintings were so convincing that when we actually had them in the gallery, the response was tremendous (Toll in Scott, 1986).

Campbell was represented by Toll from late-1983 to mid-1986. It was an extremely productive time for him, in 1984 he made about 50 large-scale canvases and prints, roughly 30 in 1985 and c.38 in 1986.⁴¹ There is no available source material that narrates the gallery-client relationship between Toll and Campbell. The Barbara Toll Gallery ceased to trade after 1994 and it is unclear whether any business archives survive from the defunct gallery.⁴² The sources that do exist are disparate and ephemeral, made-up of press-cuttings, exhibition reviews, personal anecdote and correspondence from the archives of other institutions (such as the fantastic correspondence files of Walker Art Center who liaised with Toll's gallery to organize the *Viewpoints* exhibition in Minneapolis in 1985). In 2014 I interviewed Toll's Gallery Director, Tom Cvikota who had managed the relationship with Campbell, the conversation provided useful material for this chapter.

⁴¹ Accurately dating Campbell's work is a bit tricky because he never kept a diary or studio daybook and is dependent on how galleries and auctions have dated them.

⁴² In 1986 Campbell moved gallery representation to Marlborough Fine Art. Later in 1991 Toll sued Campbell for breaking contract, it came as a shock as he had hoped to keep things on friendly terms.

The Barbara Toll Gallery was typical of the kind of cool, downtown Manhattan contemporary art space that proliferated at the time. The origins of Toll's gallery were outlined in a 1979 piece about gallerists turning their apartments into exhibition spaces in *The New York Times: Homes Section*. Useful details can be gleaned about Toll's aesthetic and her motivation for setting it up in 1977. The placement of the article in the paper's Homes section rather than Arts section clearly indicates a strong aspirational lifestyle element to the piece. Toll's Prince Street home/ gallery was described: '13-foot ceilings... terra cotta quarry tiles... a pressed tin ceiling' Toll quipped, 'Here you don't have to roll up the rug — it's already gone' (p. C1 Geniesse, 1979). At the time Toll was also teaching at New York University as well as working as curator and art advisor for private collectors. She represented up to 15 artists and her taste was for larger works that had 'a sense of humor' (p. C1 Geniesse, 1979). Toll contended the domestic aesthetic lent to the gallery by her living space helped 'people to see how things look that might seem inaccessible and impossible in a house... how it would be possible to live with them' (p. C1 Geniesse, 1979). Although the article dates from a few years prior to the time Toll began to represent Campbell it offers an insight into the evolution of the gallery and Toll's curatorial interests. By the time Campbell joined the gallery Toll had left the Prince Street premises and moved around the corner to a street-level space in Green Street, still in the SoHo district.

Barbara Toll Gallery exhibitions, 1983-85

Toll's Gallery Director, Tom Cvikota gave a lively account of the gallery in the early to mid-1980s. Campbell's nearest rivals in Toll's roster of artists were painters Ed Paschke and Milo Reice. Having dropped out of Pratt, Campbell was working out of a basement in nearby Prince Street/ Bleeker Street in SoHo. It was a dark and damp space with his canvasses nailed on top of one another as was to be his practice throughout his life. In an echo of one of the storylines in La Mure's Toulouse-Lautrec novel, Campbell struck a deal with a local framer, giving him a drawing, which was displayed in the shop, in exchange for another work to be framed. According to Cvikota, the shop was opposite Jean-Michel Basquiat's studio although the two did not know each other. Campbell's only known meeting with him was in Edinburgh when Basquiat had a solo exhibition at Fruitmarket Gallery. Part of the same East Village *milieu*, Carol Campbell recalled they would often meet Keith Haring who lived below their friend photographer Sydnie Salmieri. She was documenting Campbell and baby daughter Lauren in a project titled 'A year in the life of a child' (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). Critic Robert Hughes' wife, Victoria Whistler was friends with Toll in the early 1980s and was often in and around the gallery with her husband although Hughes is not known to have written about Campbell's work. Cvikota asserted that in the time he was with the Barbara Toll Gallery, Campbell made a huge impact in New York but that he quickly disappeared off the radar after returning to Scotland in 1986.

Campbell was selected for a group show at Toll's gallery in June 1983. In a round-up review titled 'Summertime Discoveries at the Galleries' art critic for *The New York Times* English-born critic John Russell singled out Campbell as an artist to watch,

The summer hang – so often spoken of in the artworld at this season – is not, as might be supposed, an archaic form of capital punishment. It is a devise by which dealers' galleries give a limited exposure to this artist or that and wait to see what comes of it [...] At the Barbara Toll Gallery, 146 Green Street, there is a 29 year old painter named Steven Campbell, whose work is really very curious. The paintings are large – 9 to 10 feet in both directions – and they look like illustrations to Victorian novels that have been mated with the news of today in a small local newspaper. Well painted and well composed, they come across with a melodramatic urgency. The fact that at art school in his native Glasgow Mr. Campbell won a gold medal named for Bram Stoker, the author of "Dracula," may or may not be relevant (Russell, 1983a).

The article was illustrated by a large reproduction of Campbell's 1983 painting *Man Amazed at the Height He Is Up*. Knowing Russell's review was due the next day, Campbell stayed up to pick up the first edition at a newspaper stand, 'I remember we waited 'til the papers



came out at like five past twelve at night and we bought the [New York] Times and not only was there a big article but here was a big picture of Steven's painting' (C Campbell in ArtWork Scotland, 2002).

Fig. 56, 1983 *Man Amazed at the Height he is up at*, drawing based on oil (artnet.com)

Russell's June review changed everything. Toll swiftly arranged a solo show opening in December 1983 occupying two Greene Street galleries, Barbara Toll, and the neighbouring John Weber Gallery. In retrospect this was astonishing - an unknown Scottish artist getting his first New York solo show less than a year after graduating from art school and less than five years after first taking up a paint brush. Tom Cvikota recalled that Weber was keen to poach Campbell for his roster of artists but Toll wanted to keep him for herself.⁴³ According

⁴³ Other artists represented by Toll at the time included: Milo Reice, Steve Gianakos, George Woodman, (fellow Scot) David Mach, Neil Winokur, and Liliana Porter amongst others.

to Cvikota, Toll was 'old school' she didn't believe in hustling clients (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). She would lend clients an artwork before they bought to see if they could live with it and she was good at getting people to see Campbell's work. A second Russell review featured Campbell in December 1983 but did not mention any individual paintings. I include a section here for its lively prose, and Russell's re-working of the witty generalisations about Campbell's work,

Steven Campbell is really a very peculiar painter. Using the brush in a way that in a way that might suggest he may have five thumbs on each finger... has a continuous underlying theme. It is about big awkward men who get into terrible scrapes in open country...If they put up the night in a charming old cottage, it immediately collapses and has to be held up by their sole efforts. (Try to prop up a very old house with one foot and you will see the problem.) ...These are very strange pictures indeed. But the interlock of the cumbrous, ill-matched and highly inconvenient forms has an undeniable presence (Russell, 1983b).

Around the same time the Campbells, through Barbara Toll Gallery, cut a deal with fashion designer Rei Kawakubo in her flagship *Comme des Garçons*. In exchange for one of Campbell's paintings, the Barbara Toll Gallery negotiated a \$10,000 credit line in store. The exchange was indicative of the high esteem in which Campbell was held by gallery and retailer. According to Cvikota, Campbell adopted the smart yuppie uniform typical of New York artists at the time, before deciding to go back to his vintage plaid suits.⁴⁴ Campbell had always been style-conscious, his tweedy retro look distinguished him from other artists on the scene and was a sort of meta reference to the characters in his paintings. To position himself, Campbell consciously cultivated the appearance and persona of a Scottish artist abroad. He described at the time,

When I went to America there was supposed to be 150,000 artists in New York. At the time... everything was very nationalistic. The Italians would paint Italian, the Germans, the French and the Belgians... and they seemed to have a lot of culture, a lot of painting

⁴⁴ According to *The Yuppie Handbook* the uniform for male yuppies was 'a Ralph Lauren pinstripe suit and a Gucci pigskin briefcase' (p. 16 Piesman and Hartley, 1984).

to draw on. Whereas Scottish art didn't seem to have much in the way of the modern stuff. So I tried to invent a modern Scottish art fusing the landscape, and waterfalls and moors and fir trees... I tried doing it in a modern Scottish sort of way. So that we could rival these people and stand close to and still have the national identity (Campbell in Scott, 1986).

Campbell was creating a brand with his image, an approach consistent with other artists at the time, such as Jeff Koons' all-American Preppie look and Julian Schnabel's taste for pyjama-loungewear.

Campbell and P G Wodehouse

Campbell's tweedy country-gent look also had its roots in a literary source. A significant recurring trope in the American reviews of Campbell's work is his interest in, and reference to, the work of English novelist P G Wodehouse. The Wodehousian trope, presumably suggested by Campbell himself, was first introduced as an original observation in Barry Yourgrau's article for *ARTS Magazine* in January 1984 and eloquently expanded in Peter Hill's 1984 review of Campbell's work for *Artscribe*. In the article Hill rhetorically posed the question, 'How did ferns and other flora, both wild and domesticated, enter his vocabulary and why did they take root there so firmly? There was Wodehouse's phrase "flapping like an aspen" from one of the Jeeves books' (p. 56 Hill, 1984). The phrase identified by Hill makes an appearance in two Wodehouse books, *Right Ho, Jeeves* (1922) and *The Code of the Woosters* (1938) as well as featuring in Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) which although written a generation before, suggests it was a frequently used idiom in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. Campbell's devotion to Wodehouse at the time was captured in the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary, that featured shots of Campbell reading a Wodehouse paperback on the New York subway. The sequence was foreshadowed by Hill's account that Campbell, 'commutes daily to his studio in Brooklyn in subway cars covered in early Keith Harings and those of his ilk, and of which he is oblivious as he pores through the pages of P. G. Wodehouse and Conan Doyle' (p. 57 Hill, 1984). Reviews and critical responses to Campbell from this point onwards frequently include Wodehousian references.

Research interview: Tom Cvikota, former Barbara Toll Gallery Director's recollections



Fig. 57, 1985 *Men Who Climb Trees Through Attics* (artnet.com)

A key source to understanding Campbell's time in New York, and how he operated within the market, was my interview with Barbara Toll Gallery Director Tom Cvikota. He managed the relationship between artist and gallery and recalled, Campbell had begun to

paint on such a large scale, as what he described as 'a macho response to the market' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). As Toll herself indicated in her 1979 *The New York Times* interview, the market wanted large artworks to fit in with the vast scale of trendy city loft-style interiors. According to Cvikota, the Barbara Toll Gallery clients and collectors immediately 'got Steven'; he was authentic, very intelligent and made good work, desirable pieces 'large enough to walk into' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). To their very wealthy clients Campbell's work was relatively affordable and they would often buy two.⁴⁵ Some of it was strategically purchased for investment, with works sometimes going straight into storage. However, Toll tried to discourage the practice and avoid commodification of her artists. The gallery's attitude was perhaps out of step with prevailing practices in buying and selling contemporary art in the 1980s and 1990s.

⁴⁵ Individual works were selling for c.\$12,000 in the early to mid-1980s (Rice and Cvikota, 2014).

Despite Campbell's sympathies with Georg Baselitz, the connection to the German market, where there was abundant money and an established taste for figurative painting, was never fully explored according to Cvikota. Connections were established with Galerie Six Friedrich in Munich and Campbell there exhibited a few times. Like many gallerists, Toll had arrangements with other commercial galleries to share exhibitions and artists. In Campbell's case, Toll worked with Dart and Rhona Hoffman in Chicago, Middendorf in Washington DC, and Pierre Huber (later Art + Public) in Geneva. In the period that Barbara Toll represented Campbell, she took his work to both Basel and Chicago art fairs. Despite the expansion in the contemporary art market in the 1980s, international commercial art fairs were relatively rare at the time Toll and Campbell were participating with the exponential increase in fairs coming in the late-1990s and early 2000s (p. 329-330 Morgner, 2014).

Campbell's collectors lived mostly in North America and the UK. Cvikota was unable to recall selling Campbell's work in South American or in nascent Asian markets.⁴⁶ The unexplored potential markets for Campbell's work - specifically in Germany, South America and Asia - could in some part be explained by the scale of the operation of Barbara Toll Gallery as well as the relatively short time that Campbell was with the gallery.

⁴⁶ Although the Museo Tamayo in Mexico once owned his 1985 painting *Men Who Climb Trees Through Attics* (now seemingly de-accessioned).



Steven Campbell's American Printmaking Experiments, 1983-85

Fig. 58, 1983 *The Hiker said, Death You Shall Not Take the Child* (ravenrow.org)

Campbell began making prints in New York in 1983. He was signed for printmaking classes at Pratt but is unlikely to have participated, rarely leaving his painting studio in the early months

(Rice and C Campbell, 2019). Campbell approached printmaking in his usual spontaneous way having never studied it at Glasgow either. He began making woodcuts in the evening at home after returning from his studio. His first attempts were inscribed on two boards of marine ply pushed together, purchased from the Broadway Lumber Yard. He gouged the image using a screwdriver which, in Cvikota's words, 'really messed up his hands' so the gallery bought him carving tools (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). The unpolished enthusiasm that Campbell displayed in his printmaking endeavours was completely in line with his raw, technically spontaneous approach to painting.⁴⁷ Campbell made several one-off or small edition prints in this period. The rough, German Expressionist-inspired aesthetic of early prints such as his 1983 editions *The Hiker said, Death You Shall Not Take The Child* and *Gesturing Hiker* was something he would return to in the prints he made for *The Scottish Bestiary* in 1987 discussed in Chapter Three.

⁴⁷ For example, he used non-fine art pigments such as printers' ink and supports e.g. jacquard curtains in early works. According to Cvikota some of the other Barbara Toll Gallery artists would rib him about technique and tell him that 'all the paint will fall off' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). Unfortunately, this was proven to be a fairly accurate assessment of some of his early paintings.

Exhibition: Steven Campbell, Barbara Toll Gallery, 1985

Campbell exhibited one more solo exhibition at Toll's gallery before leaving New York. It was a precursor to Campbell's first museum show in the US *Viewpoints* at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis later the same year detailed later in this chapter. Once again, *The New York Times* art critic John Russell reviewed the show again in his gallery round up. His review included again the (by now) familiar biographical details. Russell focussed on Campbell's characters as the embodiment of Postmodern (or more accurately post-industrial) uncertainty. According to Russell, Campbell's characters were metaphorically and literally destabilised by their surroundings,

his new paintings - all of them large - confirm his stature as an anatomist of catastrophe. What gives them their cogency is not simply that the course of nature is reversed and the works of man founder in decay and malevolence. It is that these things happen to such huge, hapless, bumbling human beings [...] There is, moreover, throughout Campbell's work an echo of his prowess as a performance artist. For these wild notions of his are acted out in manic style by outsized men in an environment that began by being too small for them and gets steadily smaller. A freakish but genuine poetry results (p. C19 Russell, 1985).

The American Collectors of Steven Campbell

Campbell's work became sought after by American collectors in a relatively short period of time. In 1985 Walker Art Center Chief Curator Robert Murdock wrote to potential local lender Martin Weinstein, trial attorney and art collector in advance of the *Viewpoints* exhibition. Weinstein's reply mentioned two Campbell prints with the grumble that he supposed to see them at Chicago Art Exhibit, 'but upon my arrival, they had already been sold' (Weinstein, 1985).⁴⁸

Cvikota, Campbell's former dealer, suggested the appeal of his work for many US collectors was in part because they connected his 1980s style to the earlier tendencies in American painting to portray the figure in a heavy or lumpen way, adding 'Steven was largely unaware of [the school of] Thomas Hart Benton etc.' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). However, Campbell must have had a some awareness of this tradition having referenced 'american Realist Painting' in his letter of application to the Fulbright scholarship (Campbell, 1981).

⁴⁸ *Art Chicago* was established in 1980 by print dealer John Wilson. According to Mónica Espinel, it was soon 'considered the nation's leading art fair of twentieth-century art, second in the world only to Basel' (p. 234 Nieves, 2011).



Figs. 59-60, Left: 1984 *Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere* (YCBA); Right: 1928 Thomas Hart Benton *Cotton Pickers, Georgia* (The Met)

Cvikota's observation suggests that for some collectors, Campbell's paintings appealed to pre-existing tastes, specifically for 1930s American painting, that they already collected. In truth, visual resonances with the New Deal-era Regionalist School stemmed from Campbell's consciously retro aesthetic. As well as the art historical precedents, Campbell appropriated styling and imagery from mass-market illustrated detective stories. This is evident in key Campbell works from this period such as *Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere* (1984). The vintage apparel and exaggerated gestures of Campbell's characters are suggestive of a common visual language in the inter-war.

What follows are a series of short case studies of individuals and organisations collecting Campbell's work in this period. Data has been gathered from entirely sources in the public domain, from original and secondary sources.

CORPORATE COLLECTOR CASE STUDY: Chase Manhattan Bank



Fig. 61, 1983 *David Hume Soup* (aka *Davie Hume's Soup*, destroyed). (Courtesy of JPMorgan)

Campbell's *Davie Hume's Soup* was acquired by the Chase Manhattan collection in the early 1980s. At the time, Chase curator Jack Boulton, was interviewed about his purchase for the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary. Giving some context for how he made acquisitions, he explained: 'I acquired almost

thirteen hundred works for the bank's collection last year. I don't sort of ponder and think because very often there are other people waiting for the pictures' (Boulton in Scott, 1986). He went on to explain his motivation, emphasising the associations with art of the past, 'This one... had that action, the formal qualities, that echoes of what we used to call Surrealism. That - I remind you, the critics always invent those labels - it's about myth, it's about man and nature...' (Boulton in Scott, 1986). In the interview Boulton also picked up on Campbell's desire to create modern Scottish art, the painting prompted for him,

fantasies about what Scotland's going to be like when I eventually get to visit there. And we're now seeing a kind of return to nationalism in lots of different ways and the reinvestigation of national myths, and frankly knowing very little about Scottish literature, I'm now interested in pursuing it because of his painting (Boulton in Scott, 1986).

Chase Manhattan (later known as JP Morgan Chase) was listed by Duncan Macmillan and Marlborough as one of the corporate owners of Campbell's work. However, the bank's Registrar challenged this in 2013 stating: 'The piece was purchased for the Chase Bank Art

Collection in 1983 from Barbara Toll Fine Arts' but notes that the work no longer exists as it was 'damaged beyond repair' (Rice and Petriello, 2013). Given the dramatic tone of the condition report and bank's downtown location it would be plausible to assume the painting was among the artworks lost in the 9/11 terror attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) in 2001. However, the 'Business News' section of *The Economist* reported otherwise shortly after the attack: 'J.P. Morgan Chase, a pioneer of corporate art collections in America has more than 17,000 works of art at its offices two blocks from the WTC, but only five lithographs were [destroyed] in its small office in the centre' (p. 96 *The Economist*, 2001). On the face of it, it seems the Campbell painting was destroyed in another context.

In the 1991 edition of *Relative Values* Philip Dodd and Louisa Buck discussed the benefits of corporate collections,

art collecting... if done expertly is beneficial not just for the company's public face – it actually boosts business. When Chase Manhattan opened a branch in New York's Soho art district [1985], they converted its ground-floor lobby into a white-walled, top-lit art gallery with a changing programme of four shows a year taken from the company collection. This hybrid gallery-bank (the tellers' booths and offices are hidden away at the back) was a deliberate tactic to attract new accounts from amongst the local clientele of artists and gallery owners. And they responded: many of the largest galleries in the area now hold accounts at Chase Manhattan (p. 94 Dodd and Buck, 1991).

The hybridity of Chase's gallery-bank was a relevant context for a Postmodern artist like Campbell. The bank's Soho branch was within a couple of blocks of both Campbell's apartment and the Barbara Toll Gallery illustrating the how appropriately-sited the gallery-bank was to Manhattan's artistic community at the time. A feature from *The New York Times* in 1985 underlined the strategy,

One of the world's major corporate collectors of contemporary art, the Chase Manhattan Bank has renovated its SoHo branch – at 599 Broadway, at the corner of Houston Street – as an art gallery. It will use the space to exhibit the most recent acquisitions in its corporate art collection, one of the largest in the world... 'I would almost tend to view it as another gallery' said Linda Shearer, the director of Artist's

Space, a SoHo gallery that specializes in showing young and emerging artists (McGill, 1985).

The Soho branch's re-vamp had a typical gallery white cube aesthetic. The investment paid off and profits moved it from being Chase Manhattan's 185th most profitable branch to the fourth most lucrative (p. 207 Wu, 2002). As a relative unknown, Campbell's inclusion in the prestigious Chase Manhattan collection represented a significant achievement for both artist and gallerist. From the moment it was established in 1959 the Chase Manhattan collection aimed for artistic credibility, its art committee comprised private collectors, curators, and directors from all the most important museums in New York.

Buck and Dodd argued that by the late 1980s/ early 1990s artworld structures had adapted to accommodate corporate collections,

Art takes up its place as a business asset alongside real estate, stocks and bonds, art collectors are advised as much by businessmen as academics. The established infrastructure of curators, critics and museums which supports and is supported by collectors has had to accommodate a financial bias in art advising (p. 94 Dodd and Buck, 1991).

It is significant that Campbell, an artist whose name has been used rhetorically to connote 1980s values of commercialism, was collected by Chase Manhattan. Seen in a wider context the acquisition was representative of changes in the art market in the 1980s. The art-advice industry in America, where Toll positioned her business, professionalised in the early 1980s with many trade associations being established at this time. In her 2002 publication *Privatising Culture* Chin-Tao Wu emphasises the power that corporate curators came to possess as the 'arbiters of taste' with more agency than museum curators for 'making art history' (p. 256 Wu, 2002) she cited Chase Manhattan's Jack Boulton as typical of the upwardly mobile profession:

a master's degree in Media Studies... five years' museum experience as director of Cincinnati's Contemporary Art Center... founding trustee of New York's pioneering New

Museum, and an adviser to NEA (National Endowment for the Arts, cited in p. 256 Wu, 2002).

Scant research exists into the proportion of the contemporary art market purchased by corporate collections – estimated in 2002 to be 50% outside New York and somewhere between 20-30% in New York (p. 259 Wu, 2002). Chase Manhattan's own marketing blurb from 1986 put an interesting, almost philanthropic spin on their impulse to collect contemporary art, 'With the Government giving less to art and education, somebody's got to give more. And that somebody is America's corporations' (Chase Manhattan supplement, *Forbes* 27 Oct 1986 cited p.122 Wu, 2002). The acquisition of Campbell, an early career and relatively unknown artist aligned perfectly with their stated ethos.

Many years later Campbell's work was used by Glasgow Integrated Pension Scheme Investments to illustrate their 2002 quarterly reports, demonstrating his enduring appeal within the corporate world (quoted in Marlborough Fine Art correspondence, no date). Pausing to speculate, it may be the case that figurative 1980s work is particularly appealing in the masculinised, professional world of high finance. Campbell's retro-inspired aesthetic, his suited male characters and the inherent accessibility of figurative imagery may, on a superficial level at least, resonate with traditional tastes of, what Peter York termed, 'Sloane Ranger Man' (York, 1980). Campbell's Postmodern art, with its dissonant, surreal narratives, coupled with his own Yuppie styling, could be understood to have represented something new and alternative in the brave new world of corporate finance in the 1980s. Nevertheless, rather than Campbell's aesthetic being inherently corporate, the appeal of his work in the context of finance stemmed from his early incorporation into corporate collections such as Chase Manhattan.

PRIVATE COLLECTOR CASE STUDY: James Kraft

In 1993 retired arts administrator James Kraft gifted an edition of Campbell's large, dramatic woodcut, *The Hiker Said, 'Death, You Shall Not Take the Child'* (1983) to the Princeton University art collection as part of a larger donation of prints. Kraft's collection included works by successful artists of the 1970s and 1980s such as Tony Cragg, John Cage, Sandro Chia, Francesco Clement, Brice Marden, David Salle, and Kiki Smith. It incorporated a range of printmaking techniques including etchings, woodcuts, lithography and aquatints ('Acquisitions of the Art Museum 1993', 1994). The gift was exhibited in 1997 and reported in the alumni magazine:

The collection's strength is in contemporary prints, culled between 1975 and 1992 when Kraft gave his collection to Princeton... the collection provides an overview of contemporary printmaking during the last 20 years, principally in this country, although artists from other countries are included. Kraft collected artists known predominantly for their painting and sculpture... Kraft has worked principally in the not-for-profit sector as an administrator (p. 6 *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 1997).



Fig. 62, *The Hiker Said, 'Death, You Shall Not Take the Child'* (ravenrow.org)

Although he collected only one work by Campbell, Kraft's position in the artworld is worth exploring here. He was Assistant Director of Development at The Whitney Museum of American Art in New York in the mid-1980s. In 1988 Kraft was quoted by *The New York Times* in a report about then-Director, Leonard Lauder (son of Estée) and the attempts to position Whitney for accepting high value gifts and donations:

"For us to operate successfully," says James Kraft, the Whitney's development officer, "board members have to give at least \$100,000 a year." He notes that new trustees are contributing "at a much higher level" (Glueck, 1988)

Prior to this Kraft had been at the National Endowment for the Humanities, had sat on boards for The Smithsonian and had worked on their print-related touring exhibitions (p. 6 *The Smithsonian Torch*, 1977).

Campbell's *Hiker* print aligned with his tastes for contemporary American printmaking.

Princeton catalogued Kraft's donation in 2006-07, it was published in the *Record of the Art Museum*. The entry for Campbell's woodcut reads:

Woodcut in six sheets of thin Sekishu paper, joined to form two vertical panels... Edition of 15. Printed by Chip Elwell and Steven Rodriguez, New York; published by Barbara Toll Fine Arts, New York. Numbered, signed and dated in graphite, bottom left: 7/15, bottom right: Steven M. Campbell 1983 (p. 82 'James Kraft, Class of 1957', 2007).

Calvin Brown, Assistant Curator of Prints and Drawings at Princeton emphasised the importance of the Kraft donation as 'one of the largest gifts ever made' then forming 'the backbone of the Museum's contemporary print holdings' (Brown, no date).

The Princeton gift could read for evidence of Kraft's taste, connections and wealth offering 'valuable insights into the personality of the collector... [and] his poetic aesthetic' (Brown, no date). In this respect Campbell's woodcut reflected Kraft's tastes and his interest in 'nurturing artistic talent' (Brown, no date). The non-American artists in Kraft's collection such as Campbell, Chia and Clemente were all closely associated with the New York Neo-Expressionist scene. The timeframe in which Kraft built his collection (from 1975 to 1992) wholly coincided with the proliferation of commercial galleries to cater for a growing market. Kraft's embeddedness in the corporate fundraising end of the museum sector in this period arguably gave him insights for amassing a museum-worthy collection as well as a good network for accomplishing this.

PRIVATE COLLECTOR CASE STUDIES: The Great and the Good of New York

The following section is intended to validate Irving Sandler's assertion that artworld consensus creates 'significance and value at any time' (p. Xxii Sandler, 1998). Alongside James Kraft, the following private patrons can be understood as part of the (incomplete) matrix of tastemakers that helped to establish Campbell's reputation in New York. According to Sandler this matrix should include: 'respected artists; art editors, and critics, museum curators and directors, and dealers and collectors' (p. Xxi Sandler, 1998). In the short period covered by this chapter (1982-86) through Toll's social and professional connections and his own toil and talent, Campbell's work was rapidly absorbed into some very significant art collections. From this we determine the importance of formal and informal social networks, the relative speed at which Campbell's reputation was established and that his work was of international quality and significance. What follows are three short, anonymised vignettes on some of those collectors:

Collector One



Fig. 63, 1983 *Napoleonic Gardener* (Walker Art Centre)

Collector One was a commodities trader and author of several books critiquing US dependency on foreign oil imports and OPEC's domination of the oil market. Like James Kraft, he served as a Reagan appointee to the National Endowment for the Arts in the 1980s

and is currently connected to the Whitney, serving as a Trustee.

Collector One was listed in early exhibition catalogues as the owner of three Campbell paintings: *Young Man Amazed at the Height He is Up* and *Napoleonic Garden* both from 1983, and *Nasal and Facial Hair Reactions to Various Disasters* from 1985. In 1992 Sotheby's New York held a small high-profile auction of major works from his collection (Sotheby's, 1992). The Campbell paintings were not in the sale, but it did include works by first-rate international artists such as Gerhard Richter, A. R. Penck and Philip Guston underlining the context in which Campbell's work had been collected. Perhaps Collector One's collecting tastes had changed by the early 1990s. Alternatively the sale in 1992 also coincided with a general downturn in the art market prompting speculation that he may have cashed-in the best pieces to release capital.

Collector Two

Fig. 64 1984 *Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere* (YCBA)

Collector Two is founder and Managing Partner of a venture capital firm that focuses on healthcare and life sciences. He is as a Trustee of the New Museum of Contemporary Art and The



Sculpture Center in New York. In the US the Trustee roles are often conferred to major donors, '[t]o be a trustee of a major arts organisation in the US requires serious six figure plus patronage' (Wright, 2018).

Collector two was a graduate of Yale Law School and in 2005 he gifted Campbell's 1984 painting *Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere* to the Yale Center for British Art (YCBA) collection along with a small pastel by Albert Loudon. The acquisition file did not have provenance information about when or where Campbell's work was originally acquired. Nor did it give much context to why the donations were made at that moment beyond references to family connections to the university. YCBA Director, Amy Meyers expressed her gratitude in a letter stating, 'your gift goes a long way towards filling a significant gap in our modern and contemporary holdings' (Yale Center for British Art, 2010).

Collector Three/ William Lieberman



Fig. 65, 1983 *Eagles Are Attracted by Disaster* (YCBA)

Collector Three is not anonymised because information was in the public domain. William S. Lieberman was Curator of Modern Art at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) from 1945 to 1979 and Chairman of the Twentieth Century Art Department at The Met between

1979 and 2004 when he retired aged 80. He is recognised as an important American curator of twentieth-century art who, amongst other significant achievements, secured Gertrude Stein's collection of Modernist art for MOMA and the Matisse Family collection for The Met. By background and art historical training, Lieberman was the epitome of the cultured Manhattan establishment. Therefore, it is significant that he personally acquired Campbell's 1983 painting *Eagles are Attracted by Disaster* immediately consigning it on long loan to The Met collection. Lieberman's stamp of approval was a major boost for Campbell at such a crucial stage of his career. Campbell's painting was included in the *Selections II* exhibition of contemporary American art that he curated at The Met in 1985. After his death in 2005 the painting was initially offered, along with a sizable personal archive and other artworks, to his *alma mater* Harvard. In 2010 it was de-acquisitioned and transferred to the YCBA collection where, having already acquired a work by Campbell in 2005, therefore given its specifically British remit,

offered a better context.⁴⁹ Again the Yale acquisition files offer no original provenance.

However, the interview with Lieberman in the 1985 *Two Painters Amazed* documentary confirmed the work was bought at the time Campbell was with Barbara Toll Gallery.

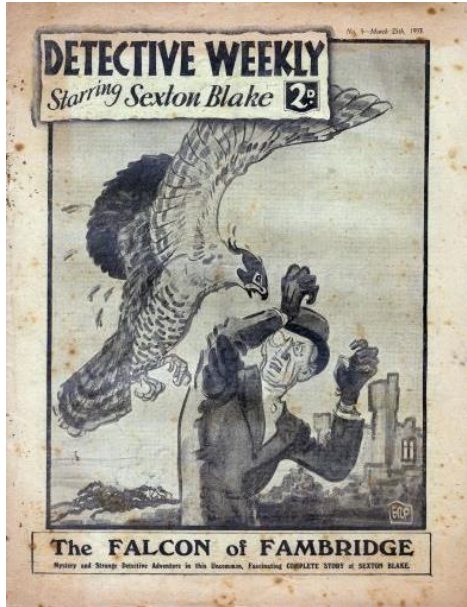


Fig. 66, 'The Falcon of Fambridge' cover, *Detective Weekly* No. 5, 25 March 1933 (Author's own copy)

Eagles are Attracted by Disaster is a typical Campbell disaster subject seemingly depicting an airplane crash on a mountain top. It looks like a sub-plot in a 1940s detective story or war movie, the scenario posing many more questions than it answers. The tweedy male figure might be the pilot, a survivor, or

he could be a wandering hiker who has accidentally stumbled on the site. The eagle, a recurring motif generally used to symbolise nature and the Scottish wilderness, was a favourite of Campbell's reproduced in several other paintings such as *Young Man Surrendering to the Landscape* (1983). The original source material is long gone, Campbell most likely appropriated the imagery from a natural history book or detective weekly magazine. The eagle motif may also have been borrowed from New York contemporary, Georg Baselitz' *Aigle* paintings. The eagle, for Baselitz, invoked an abstract notion of Germanic national spirit. The antiquarian sculptural motifs in Campbell's painting made it highly relevant to the context of The Met collection. The strange figurine waterspout may be a visual reference to an ancient Egyptian *shabti* figure the Campbells owned at the time. Their *shabti* made several appearances in

⁴⁹ The Campbell painting was transferred from Harvard to Yale along with a suite of Walter Sickert works gifted by novelist Patricia Cornwall.

different Campbell paintings including a rare, early portrait of Carol wearing an artist's palette hat standing next to an Egyptian sarcophagus at The Met.

The purpose of including the three collector case studies here is illustrate the *milieu* in which Campbell's work was operating and circulating. Carol Campbell has confirmed that he rarely engaged directly with the elite world of collectors. It was something that happened around him leaving Campbell feeling he was peripheral to the activity. The *Two Painters Amazed* documentary captured Campbell's ambivalence,

It's an industry in New York. Everything is structured perfectly. You have the collectors, and you have the galleries, and you have the dealers and the critics. And everyone is in touch with each other, constantly ...everything is on the move all the time. And that's how it's quite easy to come in as a stranger because they always need new people to generate the art world here... In Britain you always feel as if you have to be on... this treadmill. You have to start very much at the bottom and in a year, two years, three years you slowly build up. Whereas here, if the work is good enough you can be on and things can happen (Campbell in Scott, 1986).

Campbell's slightly world-weary assessment of the New York art market underlines the accelerated pace of consumption of contemporary art in the 1980s. It is within this context we might understand Campbell's intense productivity as a necessity to serve a hungry client base.⁵⁰ Returning to Sandler's proposition on how consensus works to validate artists, the collector case studies go some way to illustrate the complex network of market influences and social capital that revolved around Campbell setting the scene for his commercial success in the US and the context for his return to Scotland in 1986.

⁵⁰ Artist and film director Julian Schnabel created a semi-fictional account of the New York art scene in the 1980s in his 1996 *Basquiat* movie. Having been picked up and lionised by Mary Boone and other Manhattan gallerists the narrative includes artist characters falling into patterns of hyper-productivity followed by burn out.

Campbell Acquisitions by US Museums

Despite the patronage of significant private collections, Campbell's work was acquired by none of the major contemporary art institutions in the US i.e. The New Museum, The Whitney, MOMA in New York at the time. However, Campbell sold works to several significant US regional collections including: Phoenix, Cincinnati, Atlanta, and Minneapolis. Although The Met was listed in Macmillan's 1993 monograph as a public collection holding work by Campbell, it was Lieberman who legally owned the work. In 2013 The Met Research team confirmed this in correspondence,

The Museum has no works by that artist in the collection. We had one painting by Campbell that came in as a loan in 1984 from William S. Lieberman, former Chairman of the department: *Eagles are Attracted by Disaster*, 1983, oil on canvas, H.111 x W.108 inches. Upon Mr. Lieberman's death in 2005, the painting was turned over to the Harvard Art Museums (Rice and Bearman, 2013).

In addition to the painting on long loan, The Met's 1985 *Trustees Report* included details of a gift of a 1983 Campbell woodcut, *Death You Shall Not Take the Child*.⁵¹ It was accessioned in 1984 and, according to the 2013 correspondence, seemingly no longer in the collection. The price of the print was listed in The Met *Trustees Report* as \$2,500 (p. 176-77 'Prints and Photographs Published', 1985), the donation was made by Mr and Mrs Wilson Nolen 'in honor of Mrs Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber' (p. 49 Lieberman *et al*, 1985).⁵² The Wilson Nolen's were heavily involved in The Met, setting up a fund and sitting on the Chairman's Council for several years. The family later donated \$20 million in 2007 to fund education and outreach programmes at Yale University Art collection (Boyd, 2009). That the woodcut was gifted by major philanthropic donors in memory of a former Trustee and philanthropist (there still exists a Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber Education Fund at The Met) places Campbell's work again firmly

⁵¹ More usually known as: *The Hiker said 'Death You Shall Not Take the Child'*

⁵² Mrs Clara Lloyd-Smith Weber, was a former Trustee of The Met (The New York Times, 1986).

within the milieu of upscale New York society. It is unclear without access to Lieberman's curatorial notes and papers whether the print was a gift from the Wilson Nolen's own collection or bought under direction by Lieberman, with a clear interest in Campbell's work.⁵³ Campbell understood the donation as an accolade and was pleased The Met accepted (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). There is no indication of when and why the work was de-acquisitioned, however this is standard practice in US collections.⁵⁴

Eagles Are Attracted by Disaster was included in a group show at The Met in 1988 titled: *The 1980's: A New Generation Metropolitan Museum*. It was reviewed by Roberta Smith for the art section of *The New York Times*. The exhibition included recent work by fifty American artists. Campbell's work was grouped into a subsection of the show labelled 'London, Glasgow, New York' featuring work by twenty British artists. In her review, Smith characterised the British selection as 'lopsided' but continued encouragingly,

this selection contains several large-scale, rough-surface paintings - notably by John Bellany, Steven Campbell and Jonathan Waller - whose images loom out at us convincingly. (Smith, 1988).

Like any survey show it would have been impossible to cover represent all contemporary practices and trends. The selection, drawn from the museum's recent acquisitions, only represented a tenth of The Met's 1980s artworks. In Smith's evaluation she admits 'the conclusions drawn here could conceivably be overturned by a different selection' (Smith, 1988). Despite what Smith saw as the exhibition's shortcomings, crucially for this study,

⁵³ These papers are possibly now in the Harvard or MoMA archives although without visiting I cannot ascertain whether they survive from this period

⁵⁴ There are numerous examples of this, famously The Met de-acquisitioned Pieter Paul Rubens' sketch of his daughter *Clara Serena* (c.1618) in 2013 believing it to be the work of a follower. It was later authenticated and added to the Rubens *catalogue raisonné* (Markovic, 2018).

she valued the inclusion of,

a number of painters who are completely unknown, the show seems to argue that talented artists exist all over the art world - at the center, just off center and at the margins... These acquisitions raise important questions about quality control in contemporary art, asking, in effect, are the most famous artists and the most radical or most talked-about issues the only ones to pay attention to?' (Smith, 1988).

The review included interesting observations about the validity of the contemporary survey shows and institutional collecting - particularly relevant now that we know that neither Campbell's works once owned by The Met have remained in the collection. Smith's review is significant for this study because she is a significant figure in art criticism and therefore could not be excluded no matter how brief the mention of Campbell. As a woman writer of the next generation of critics, Smith represented at the time a new voice in art criticism and therefore, for the purposes of this research, a signifier of the change in collecting tastes and market dynamics that was to come.

Exhibition: Viewpoints, Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 1985

In October 1985 Campbell had his first major museum show at the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, it represented the pinnacle of Campbell's New York career. The exhibition included some of the paintings recently exhibited in his last Barbara Toll Gallery show alongside some new works with shared similar themes and characters. It later travelled to Des Moines Art Center in Ohio. The Walker exhibition, titled *Viewpoints*, was part of a series of solo presentations of work by early career artists. Its inception and production are excellently documented in exhibition files in the Walker Archive that includes an evocative audio cassette recording of Campbell interviewed by curator Marge Goldwater. Footage of the exhibition also featured in the 1986 *Two Painters Amazed* BBC documentary.

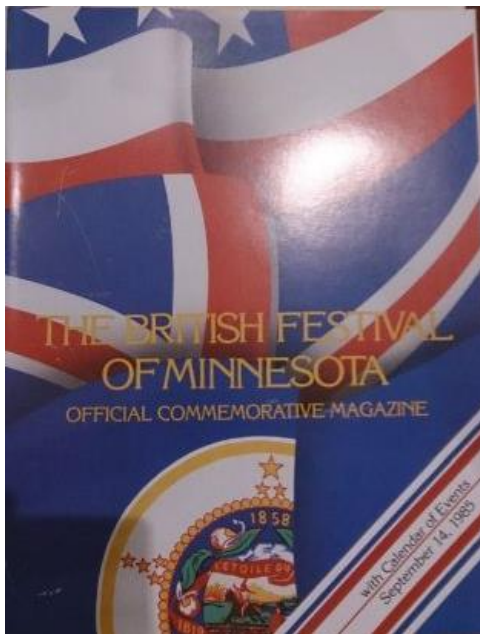


Fig. 67, 1985 British Festival of Minnesota promotional material (Walker Art Center Archives. Author's own image)

The show was promoted as part of the British Festival of Minnesota. The festival brochure included articles on Michael Clark's dance company tour of the region and Monty Python alongside adverts for British travel destinations and produce. Campbell's inclusion in the festival was indicative of how his work was framed as

British art for American audiences.

The exhibition was a success with Campbell selling most exhibited works to private and public collectors. Although he stayed living and working in New York for several more months, in narrative terms the exhibition in Minneapolis came to represent the end of Campbell's American story. In career terms, the solo exhibition in a major contemporary art museum was a high point, but something he was unable to repeat in his lifetime. Had Campbell remained in New York, he may have been able to build on his Minneapolis success and follow up with more exhibitions on this scale maintaining his American client base. Equally, he may have experienced the same aesthetic marginalisation he was to experience in Scotland after his return, as many New York painting contemporaries also found, such as Sandro Chia's ten-year hiatus in exhibitions in New York between 2007-2017. Perhaps the dislocation caused by leaving New York in 1986 hastened, for Campbell, the inevitability of finding himself on the wrong side of a shift in market dynamics.

Turn away from experimental practice, commodification

Within months of moving from Scotland to New York the monetary value of Campbell's paintings shot up. His degree show paintings sold for c.£100 'if he was lucky', having been taken on by Barbara Toll Gallery they were selling for \$12,000 each (C Campbell, M Campbell and Wallace, 2009). It is within this narrative territory that the rags-to-riches trope emerged in Campbell's story, later distorted by tabloid journalism. It is certainly true that Campbell's work became almost exclusively commodified in this period, he was making saleable artworks: paintings on canvas, printmaking, and drawings. His moved away from art school

experimentation, no longer making performances (although he collaborated on Yourgrau's performed readings) nor was he making the kind of materially experimental, sometimes unstable, *bricolaged* works typified by his *The Acrobats*, painted on found Jaccard curtains.



42 Steven Campbell
 "THE ACROBAT"
 Inscribed, mixed media on brocade material, diptych,
 236cm x 201cm.
 ** See Illustration

£4,000-6,000

Fig. 68, 1982 *The Acrobats* (illustrated in Phillips sale catalogue 1990)

Campbell later reengaged with expanded practices after his return to Scotland, so we might surmise that he commodified his practice in response to market expectations and out of necessity to generate income. This may have been a reaction to the increased financial pressure of living in an expensive city. Had he wished, Campbell certainly could have sought out like-minded practitioners and artist-run spaces such as The Kitchen or institutions like The New Museum, that supported more experimental, de-

materialised artistic practices. Possibly as Campbell's artistic practice matured his tastes and interests evolved or perhaps the answer lay in a flippant remark: 'Every art 'performance' I've ever seen has always been boring' (p. 21 Hill, 1986). As ever with Campbell there was both an element of posture and truth in this statement. His early experimentation with performance was synthesised into the compositions of his paintings and, the composition of his paintings became the space of his performances.

Collaboration: Barry Yourgrau, 1985



Fig. 69, 1985 scenic art for Barry Yourgrau reading at The Performing Garage, Wooster Street
(Barry Yourgrau/ The Steven Campbell Trust)

Performance poet and writer Barry Yourgrau first became aware of Campbell's work when he reviewed his first solo show for *Arts Magazine* (Yourgrau, 1984). Part of the New York arty scene, in the mid-1980s Yourgrau's surreal short stories were featured on MTV's *Unplugged: Spoken Word*. He later described how invigorated he was by his first encounter with Campbell's work stating that 'I just wanted to make this man and his imagination my friend' (p. 12 Yourgrau, 2008). They collaborated twice in the period that Campbell lived in New York. In 1985 Campbell painted the scenic art for Yourgrau's *Wearing Dad's Head*

readings at The Performing Garage on Wooster Street⁵⁵ captured in a series of Polaroids showing the two-sided stage set featuring a gigantic blue and red tartan background.⁵⁶ In this piece the Scottish artist's signature plaid was shifted from the garments of his characters to a compositional function prefiguring his use of textile-inspired patterning in later paintings.⁵⁷ Onto the tartan Campbell painted a *tromp l'oeil* shelf, vase and tablecloth, the composition also included a portrait of a man in profile wearing a tricorn hat. The same figure appeared in a larger full-length portrait on the other side of the backdrop in a strange moonlit landscape pointing through a picture frame, the lower part of the set featured a further five portrait male heads wearing hats in frames (a reference to the show's title: *Wearing Dad's Head*). The overall effect was like a medieval altarpiece composition, comprising several narrative panels, a compositional format Campbell revisited in his 1985 work *The Re-Illustrated Highland Diaries of Queen Victoria* and the 1986 *Life in Letters* series.

Campbell and Yourgrau collaborated a second time in 1985 on a limited-edition aquatint print titled *Age of Reason*. The print featured an original image by Campbell accompanied by a surreal short story written by Yourgrau. Campbell's gallerist Tom Cvikota later reflected that they made a perfect pairing 'they sparked and sparred well together' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014).

⁵⁵ The street's name would have been a funny coincidence for the Wodehouse obsessed Campbell.

⁵⁶ Tartan was a key part of Campbell's aesthetic and on his return to Scotland utilised tartan wallpapers and carpets in the interior scheme of his country home claiming it to be inspired by highland pub interiors.

⁵⁷ For example, Campbell copied the patterning from a loud holiday shirt in his 2002 painting *Jane Avril by Toulouse Lautrec with Hippo Guts*. Also, the composition of his 2004 work *Waiting - Paisleycus Byrnicus Virus Invading Mr Gray* is almost entirely engulfed by paisley pattern.



Fig. 70, c.1985 signing copies *The Age of Reason* aquatint in Campbell's Lafayette Street loft
(Barry Yourgrau/ The Steven Campbell Trust)

Unlike his earlier handmade monochrome woodcuts, Campbell worked with a professional studio to produce the multi-coloured print. Details of the format and production were listed in *The Print Collector's Newsletter*,

[an] 11-color sugar-lift aquatint with photogravure signed and numbered by the artist in an arabic edition of 42 and a roman edition of 12. Each print is 36x24 in. (plate size) and 41x29 in (paper size) [...] Price \$600. Copublished by Jane Kent and Jeffrey Rian, New York. Available in New York at Barbara Toll Fine Arts ('News of the Print World: People & Places', 1985).

The print was part of series of contemporary art prints produced by the Rian studio consciously referencing eighteenth-century print culture 'aping the hues and style of hand-colored broadsides of the past' with Campbell chosen for the project because his images 'spoof earnest respectability gently, drawing not only humor but pathos from the humanly awkward' ('News of the Print World: People & Places', 1985). An extract from Yourgrau's surreal text provided a fitting accompaniment to Campbell's surreal imagery 'Every evening the doctor comes in and prise a hole in my plaster cast and extracts a tiny, wriggling, lizard-like creature... My case, he assures me, is a medical astonishment, and he has taken me to heart' (Yourgrau in *The Print Collector's Newsletter*, 1985).

Commission: Interview Magazine, c. 1985



Fig. 71, c. 1985 *Shy Scots in National Dress* Interview Magazine in situ (Author's own image, CC collection)

Campbell was approached, probably through Toll, to provide artwork for Andy Warhol's legendary *Interview Magazine*. The resulting small, framed painting, *Shy Scots in National Dress* is still owned by the family. The date of the work is uncertain, most likely to have been before his daughter Lauren was born in 1984 (Rice and C Campbell, 2018). A search through *Interview Magazine* back

issues held at the BFI Library in London proved inconclusive: there was no reproduction of Campbell's work in the issues within the period he was represented by Toll. There were reproductions of contemporary artworks by other artists represented by Barbara Toll Gallery including Milo Reice and Ed Paschke, along with numerous on-trend New York artists which would suggest Campbell's piece was not used or placed elsewhere. The Campbells would regularly see Andy Warhol around Manhattan but did not know him beyond the level of acquaintance (Rice and C Campbell, 2018).

Campbell's shy highland figures wearing plaid might be understood as a form of self-portrait; a wry comment on his own shyness/ social anxiety. The concealed figures might also represent the artist's growing sense of disquiet, his concern about falling prey to self-parody by being marketed as a Scottish painter - literally fleeing the scene. Fellow ex-pat Scot Peter Hill astutely observed how American perceptions of Campbell's Scottishness

functioned to position him within the marketplace of international art production in New York,

In New York a painter from Scotland is granted a certain identity that would probably be denied in London; his heritage is respected and validated as it would be were he Italian or German, and in Campbell's case the sense of belonging is heightened through his Glasgow origins, for there is a roughness and edge to both cities that is remarkably similar (Hill, 1984).

Campbell later reflected on the relationship between his style of dress and the Scottishness of his professional persona and how this distinguished him from other European artists working in New York at the time,

a national look, well you know... I kinda dressed up as ... a guy in the Tweed suits... plus fours in New York and brogues and everything you know. It didn't mean anything at all, but it was a kind of symbol of success, to dress up in tweed suits.... I was fully comfortable with it... it must have looked a wee bit unusual (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

Perhaps because of an inherent shyness Campbell was perceived as approachable, Cvikota commented that Campbell 'was the genuine article - he could sniff out a phoney – collectors, artists, curators appreciated his honesty – with Steven you saw what you got' (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). Campbell cultivated what was at times an over-the-top persona to



mask a shyness. Over time this persona led to a certain notoriety in the New York artworld.

According to Cvikota, by the time they were leaving New York in 1986 Campbell had tired of it.

Fig. 72, 1995 (detail) *The Golden City* (Paisley Art Gallery and Museum/ artuk.org)

Campbell later incorporated the tartan-socked dangling leg of the kilted *Shy Scotsman* hiding in the tree into the composition of his 1995 large-scale public mural *The Golden City*,

commissioned for Glasgow Airport and now in the collection of Paisley Museum and Art Galleries discussed in Chapter Five.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

Campbell left New York for good in 1986 making the move from the Barbara Toll Gallery to Marlborough Fine Art at the same time. Perhaps unsurprisingly given his loyalties, Cvikota characterised Campbell's move as a difficult transition; however, they stayed friends. From his perspective as Campbell's former gallerist, he questioned whether Marlborough delivered on what was promised, Campbell was low down on their list of priorities below older, more established roster of artists and their estates. However, the Campbells wished to return to Scotland and Marlborough offered the opportunity to do this without losing representation in New York or London.

For the Barbara Toll Gallery, the late-1980s also signalled change as the art scene upped and left Manhattan's SoHo district. According to curator and writer Mónica Espinel the opening of *Dia: Chelsea* in 1987 signalled the 'art scene's move from SoHo to Chelsea' (p. 239 Espinel in Nieves, 2011). A point borne out by Cvikota's recollection that the landlord hiked up the rent on Toll's gallery space around this time. The 1994 closure of Barbara Toll Gallery was documented in an article in *The New York Times*,

Spring is usually the time when galleries that are in trouble finally decide to close, and this season is no exception. With the contemporary-art world still suffering from a sluggish economy, many galleries, most of which deal with younger or lesser-known artists, simply can't make a go of it [...] For Barbara Toll, a 13-year veteran of the SoHo gallery scene, the "level of frustration" has just risen too high. Her Greene Street space is to close on June 25. Ms. Toll said her decision was based on a combination of factors, partly economic and partly the realization that there was a shrinking audience for the *avant-garde* art she was showing (p. C22 Vogel, 1994).

Toll continued to advise and deal privately after closing her gallery and has been involved in philanthropic work serving on the board of the New York Drawing Center and as a Trustee of the Independent Curators International (ICI). In hindsight Campbell's shift in context from New York to Scotland in 1986 can be understood as coinciding with larger structural shifts in the art market.

CHAPTER THREE: CAMPBELL'S RETURN TO SCOTLAND 1986 – 1989



Fig. 73, c.1986 Steven and Carol Campbell in the back green of Great Western Terrace, Glasgow. Carol wears a dress (now lost) hand-painted by Campbell (CC collection)

Introduction to Chapter Three

This chapter begins with a review of the UK exhibitions Campbell undertook whilst living in New York. It will then look in detail at the crucial three-year period in Campbell's story after he returned home to Scotland. In this period Campbell enjoyed significant institutional support including purchases by Tate, British Council and NGS. The late 1980s were one of Campbell's most productive phases of artistic output. Using the *catalogue raisonné* dataset as reference, he made more than 127 unique works in this time as compared to the equivalent period in the late 1990s when he made about 35 unique artworks. Campbell's work from this period showed a distinct iconographic development

from the New York phase encompassing more diverse literary and philosophical references such as Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918) and Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation* (1964). Campbell's paintings also became more compositionally refined and more visually complex. In the words of curator Lucy Askew, it was like he was 'super-charged' by his return to Scotland (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017).

Steven Campbell's Exhibitions in the UK, mid-1980s

During the period Campbell lived in New York he continued to show work in the UK. His first British solo exhibition *New Paintings* was held at the London Riverside Gallery in 1984, it was a notable success and toured to The Fruitmarket Gallery, Edinburgh in 1985. He was also selected for two high profile group exhibitions in the UK during this time: in 1984 the *British Art Show*, a UK-wide survey of contemporary art; and a year later the career-defining *New Image Glasgow* exhibition at Third Eye in Glasgow. Campbell enjoyed early career success in the two different contexts of New York and UK simultaneously. Not only does this give an indication of how prolific he was in this time, it also demonstrates the network of support around him.

The comparison to Hockney in the opening paragraph of this chapter draws attention to the transatlantic nature of Campbell's existence in this period. The term, once a by-word for a certain type of mid-twentieth-century aspirational lifestyle, feels almost meaningless in a globalised world. At art school Campbell kept up to date with the New York art scene with images and articles disseminated through the print culture of art journals, magazines, and music releases. After moving to New York he returned to Scotland several times as later explained: 'he made several trips back to Scotland, apparently to recuperate, travelling in the Scottish countryside with his family and being rejuvenated by the vast and beautiful landscape.' (p. 7 Sakurai, 1990). There were also pragmatic reasons to return, in correspondence with Glasgow School of Art's Head of Fine Art Bill Buchanan, Campbell refers to re-applying for visas. I include a longer transcript of one letter to give voice this under-researched aspect of his life,

Dear Bill, Thank you very much for the letter fortunately the show was changed from Sept to Dec 3 - 31st due to an offer from the John Weber Gallery to make it a double show, which both dealers think will be a sell out. Returning in Jan to arrange a new visa, hope to see you at that time... I daresay if you see December's artforum [sic] there should be an ad for the shows... It's strange how many people want to meet me as most people in New York have never heard of Scottish Art apart from the Edinburgh Tattoo. Regards to Margret. Steven. PS Tell Tony Jones I have 2 paintings on show in Texas at the Weber Gallery (Campbell, 1983a).

Whilst personal motivations for returning were always a factor, Campbell also had professional commitments that drew him back in this period.

Exhibition: New Paintings, Riverside 1984 and Fruitmarket 1985

New Paintings exhibition was co-curated by Milena Kalinovska of Riverside Studios and Mark Francis, Director of The Fruitmarket Gallery. It was critical point in Campbell's career and established his reputation with London-based critics and curators. Many new works in the exhibition were bought by UK galleries. The exhibition included works shipped over from New York, demonstrating Toll's commitment to supporting Campbell. At least one painting, *The Escape of Jonathon Harker from Wee Nook* made its way back to the US acquired for the Phoenix Art Museum collection.

Founded in 1975, at the time Riverside - a former BBC film studio sited by the Thames - had an established reputation of high-quality programming in visual art, theatre, dance and performance: 'The Visual Arts programme began when the studios opened with a purpose-



built gallery opening in 1980. This only closed in 1994' (Webpage: *Riverside Studios*, no date).

Fellow Scot Bruce McLean had a studio at Riverside in the 1980s and regularly exhibited there, including his ironic *Nude and Coal Bunker* performance in 1980.

Fig. 74, 1984 *Through the Ceiling, Through the Floor* (artpublic.ch)

Some of the works in Campbell's *New Paintings* exhibition such as *Through the Ceiling, Through the Floor* were made in the loaned studio at GSA

in the 'short period of time that the artist spent in Glasgow this summer'(p. 5 Kalinovska and Francis, 1984). This was also noted by *The Glasgow Herald* art critic Clare Henry's review of the later Fruitmarket Gallery installation, adding with a quote from the artist, 'He works fast. "I aim to do a picture in six days"' (p. 4 Henry, 1985). Henry was at pains to point out in her review, 'The Edinburgh show is bigger and better than the London Riverside exhibition' (p. 4 Henry, 1985).

Barbara Toll Gallery had not produced any Campbell catalogues up to this point therefore the *New Paintings* catalogue was the first significant publication on Campbell featuring a witty commissioned essay by art critic Stuart Morgan. Unlike later self-curated themed exhibitions, such as *On Form and Fiction* in 1990 or *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* in 1992, *New Paintings* was a curated selection referenced in the catalogue as, 'not strictly speaking a series' (p. 5 Kalinovska and Francis, 1984). Both Riverside Studios and The Fruitmarket Gallery (leaning on the associations with The New 57 Gallery) had established reputations for showing critically engaged contemporary art. Campbell's show was part of this trajectory. Whilst Campbell seemed to be enjoying almost unprecedented success and positive critical responses to his *New Paintings* exhibition, Andrew Graham-Dixon's full-page review in *The Sunday Times* was a slightly acerbic taste of what was to come,

painterly aggression is matched by his brash and unashamedly self-selling personality [...] Scottish cockiness, humour, push and panache all help; I don't think English artists have the temperament for this new expressionist stuff. The Scots are ready to go wild at their thing (Graham-Dixon, 1985).



Fig. 75, 1984 *Gesturing with a Blue Fish* (Private Collection. Author's own image)

Graham-Dixon's evocation of 'aggression' and 'Scottish cockiness' when juxtaposed with the alleged 'mild temperament' of English artists reads like a perpetuation of crude national and class stereotyping of the wild Scot (Graham-Dixon, 1985). At the same time, Roderick Forsyth's spoof 'Arts

Diary' published in *The Glasgow Herald* sarcastically relayed an episode (repeated in other cuttings) relating to one of Campbell's paintings,

A special prize should be awarded for Stephen [sic] Campbell whose painting *Gesturing with a Blue Fish* was ruined by the subsequent application of a coat of white paint on its rear, and which was regretfully refused by the Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh, because the white showed through the front. It seems that the painting will easily find an owner in the United States, where such trifles as white paint flowing over the canvas are considered irrelevant (Forsyth, 1985).

Around this time the painting was gifted by the artist to a friend. Whatever the truth, several versions of the story continued to appear suggesting that well-known conversationalist Forsyth had been keen to share it. Like Graham-Dixon's piece for *The Sunday Times*, Forsyth's story is an indicator of the more anecdotal and personality-driven criticisms of Campbell that were to come.

Early in 1984 an internal memo from Head of Fine Art, Bill Buchanan to senior Fine Art staff raised the possibility of offering Campbell temporary studio space:

You will no doubt recall... student Steven Campbell now with the tremendous success of a complete sell out of his two New York shows. He is back in Scotland for two or three

weeks... While here is looking for a place to paint. Jack [Knox] and I think it would be a very good arrangement if we could give him a space and get from him in return a days teaching. He could become 'artist in residence' if we needed a fancy title... I'd be grateful to have your comments on this idea... [Annotated in pen] Why not keep it informal - offer him a space "at own risk" and express hope that he would give us a day *quid pro quo* - get him to acknowledge Frank 17/1/84 (Glasgow School of Art and Buchanan, 1984).

The informal residency arrangement was evidently beneficial as outlined in a handwritten postcard sent by Campbell later in September. Posted from Munich, featuring his own 1984 painting *Two Hikers in a Landscape symbolizing Time, Death & Distance* on the front, Campbell updated:

Dear Bill, Thanks for the studio. I did this painting here as all in the show. As they have all sold I thank you. As does Six Friedrich, Barbara Toll for as they say "your generous and kind offer of the studio" See you in Nov. Steven. (Campbell, 1984b)

Campbell's postcard divulges several useful points; on a factual level it confirms many of the Riverside works were made in the temporary art school studio and highlights the ongoing support Campbell enjoyed from GSA. The postcard, printed by his German gallery, also indicates a reasonable level of financial investment for a relatively fresh artist. Campbell sold well at both the Riverside and Fruitmarket exhibitions suggesting 1984-85 was a high point of commercial success for him.

Exhibition: The British Art Show, 1984

Campbell's former GSA tutor Alexander Moffat selected him to be part of two significant group shows in the mid-1980s. In 1984, before the Riverside exhibition, Moffat proposed Campbell for the large-scale survey exhibition *The British Art Show: Old Allegiances and New Directions 1979-1984*. The exhibition was supported by Arts Council of Great Britain (as it was then) and co-curated by Moffat, Marjorie Allthorpe-Guyton and Jon Thompson. It was a survey of contemporary art practice in Britain, the second in a regular series organised every five years. Of the 82 exhibiting artists only 12 were women. More recent iterations of *British Art Show* (BAS) have showcased early and mid-career artists, the selection in 1984 included quite a few well-established names such as Bruce McLean, Frank Auerbach, Anthony Caro and R.B. Kitaj. Radical Scottish art magazine *Variant* critiqued *BAS* asserting there were not enough feminist or radical artists included. In interview Allthorpe-Guyton's response was to focus on logistics, 'the show is a travelling exhibition, it deals in a very conventional sense with objects, finished works of art' (p. 20 Brown, Brotherton and Dickson, 1985). In 2005 Moffat was interviewed for the British Library's *Artists' Lives* audio project. The interview covered many subjects including the *British Art Show*, the ambition of the project and the process of selection,

in '83 and... '84 I was involved in an absolutely huge show for the Arts Council in London... there'd been [a *BAS*] in 1979 which had been chosen by one man, Bill Packer, the artist, but I think they wanted something more substantial. Jon Thompson and I immediately had the idea of doing... a proper survey of contemporary art... like a big German *Documenta*. We spent 18 months... we went from Aberdeen to Cornwall. We looked at the work of hundreds of artists... we had a fantastic time [...] The show opened in '84 in Birmingham. The Scottish artists... got in... being in that show did help Campbell I think... everyone in London was becoming aware of something was going on in Glasgow... a prelude to the *New Image* show' (Moffat and Simmons, 2005).

The inclusion of the GSA peer group of artists in *British Art Show* drew the attention of London-centric galleries and critics to Glasgow and Scottish art more generally, it is fair to assume this had been Moffat's intention,

British Art Show and *New Image* show came within a year of each other and that was, that cemented the Glasgow thing. You know, one of the problems with the Glasgow thing, Ken Currie has written about this... you get to that level, the show went down to London, they're all signed up by London galleries. Suddenly the thing becomes extremely fashionable... every half-baked painter in Scotland started to try to paint like them. There is always an aftermath following from that kind of success' (Moffat and Simmons, 2005).

The curatorial thesis underlying the selection outlined in Rosalind Billingham's review of the *British Art Show* was a 'challenge to Modernism' that had, in the curator's eyes at least 'dominated art practice for most of this century' (p. 68 Billingham, 1985). In practice it represented a very broad range of artistic practices in the UK at the time.

Whilst I have found very little evidence about the process of selecting *British Art Show* or what the experience was like for Allthorpe-Guyton, it might be the case that her essay for *Edinburgh Review*, which I have analysed in detail in the Literature Review, functioned on one level as a settling of scores. In the 1985 interview for *Variant* she was mild in her critique of Campbell, 'there is a great human content in Campbell's work, but... it is not... keeping the flame alight' (p. 22 Brown, Brotherton and Dickson, 1985). At the very least her 1988 article could be supposed to be a retrospective re-evaluation of the Scottish artists she encountered through the *British Art Show* as well as possibly how she experienced the selection process. It is interesting to consider the potentially sparky dynamic between Moffat, attempting to represent in his selection the interpersonal relationships and aesthetics of his Glasgow School and more broadly the discipline of painting, and Thompson arguing for his Goldsmiths artists and more broadly conceptualism. Moffat's choice of language, that the Scottish artists 'got in' implies a process of negotiation took place between selectors. His reminiscence of their shared ambition for the project and amiable experiences visiting studios up and down the country would suggest that it was generally a positive process.

Allthorpe-Guyton's later criticism of New Image Glasgow, and Campbell in particular, was consistent with the grassroots critiques coming from artists/ writers such as Ken Currie and Malcolm Dickson in Glasgow-based publications such as *Variant*. To an extent, Allthorpe-Guyton's criticisms follow Benjamin Buchloh's precedent in his 1981 essay 'Ciphers of Regression' by drawing an equivalence between the authoritarian political context of the 1930s and what he perceived was going to happen in the 1980s. Buchloh questioned 'to what extent the rediscovery and recapitulation of these modes of figurative representation in present-day European painting reflect and dismantle the ideological impact of growing authoritarianism; or... simply indulge and reap the benefits' (p. 40 Buchloh, 1981).

Allthorpe-Guyton's later critique of Campbell might also be understood as a rational, critical reaction to the somewhat hyperbolic tone of writing lauding Campbell, Wiszniewski and their followers by newspaper critics such as Clare Henry and Waldemar Januszczak. There was by 1986-88, a sense of over-saturation in the media and galleries and that some balance was needed. However, arguably her attempt to bring some much-needed critical perspective to the writing around Campbell and New Painting, Allthorpe-Guyton over-played her hand and focussed on the wrong painter. Campbell's larger-than-life persona made him an easy target for the ire. His ambiguity made him hard to pin down and his gallus Glaswegian wit, easily misunderstood. He was an intellectual working-class man who was unapologetically ambitious. He did not behave like working-class artists were meant to. Similar accusations were levelled against Scottish artist Ian Hamilton Finlay (also in 1988) by French critic, Catherine Millet labelling him 'an apologist of the Third Reich' (p. 13 Brogan, 1989) for the appropriation and analysis of Nazi symbols in his work. Finlay eventually won damages but the damage to his reputation resulted in the loss of a significant commission from the French government.

Exhibition: New Image Glasgow, Third Eye Centre August 1985

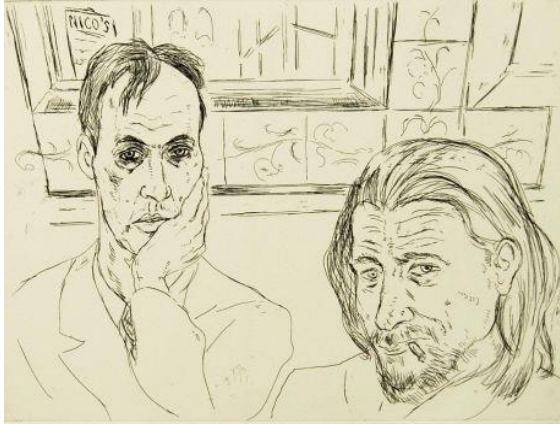


Fig. 76, Alexander Moffat, *Afternoon at Nico's* 1987 (edinburghprintmakers.co.uk)

A year later Campbell was again selected by Moffat for the first high profile survey show for the Glasgow figurative painters in the city at the Third Eye Centre. It was an all-male line-up of recent and successful art

school graduates: Adrian Wiszniewski, Mario Rossi, Ken Currie, Peter Howson, and Stephen Barclay – closely echoing the line-up of Moffat's 1982 *Expressive Images* show at The New 57 Gallery.

The exhibition's title *New Image Glasgow* invoked the various labels in currency: New Image, New Painting, Neo-Expressionism. It was devised to identify and consolidate the return to figuration and narrative painting. The title and thesis of the show were - to an extent - a direct response to the call of the Royal Academy's *A New Spirit in Painting* in 1981 and the German follow-up *Zeitgeist* exhibition in Berlin in 1982.



Fig. 77, Campbell and Wiszniewski in front of Campbell's *Gesturing Gardener with Watering Can* (screenshot from *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary)

Moffat later remarked: 'the impetus [for *New Image Glasgow*] had been

simmering away since *Expressive Images*... Campbell's success was vital to [*New Image*

Glasgow] The show toured to London, all the artists were picked up by galleries' (Rice and Moffat, 2012). The objective was to capitalise on the attention, drawn by Campbell's New York success and focus attention on his GSA peer group artists and Scottish culture in general.

Moffat set out his curatorial thesis in the accompanying 'Telling Stories' catalogue essay, in which he argued that painting was a radical art form for the selected artists and highlighted some of the conditions that allowed these sensibilities to emerge in Scotland, specifically GSA, at the time. Placing the Campbell's international success into context, he made aesthetic and conceptual connections between the selected Glasgow painters and German trends.

Moffat later recalled the origins of the *New Image Glasgow* exhibition in his *Artists' Lives* interview: 'the title it just sort of made itself, because there was all this 'New Image' painting going on all over the world' (Moffat and Simmons, 2005). Competition was the underlying dynamic of the all-male group of *New Image* artists, all old rivals from the Drawing and Painting Department at Glasgow School of Art. In the same series of *Artists' Lives* interviews, Ken Currie summarised the importance of this energy, 'One of the things that is absolutely critical at art school is the competitive thing... you really have to respond to what other people are doing... the trick is to out-do them' (Currie and Dyke, 2005). Existing art school tensions were a feature of the project Moffat recalled, 'It was something to persuade them all to take part, you could say they all hated each other, loathed each other' (Moffat and Simmons, 2005). Several of the painting cohort had moved in different directions, Campbell was in New York and Currie had become a film maker. Moffat later

recalled what a job it was to persuade, 'Currie to show some paintings, some drawings [he said] "urgh I've given it up, I'm a film maker, a Marxist film-maker, I'm certainly not going to show my work alongside [them]"' (Moffat and Simmons, 2005). According to Moffat the project eventually came together,

I managed to persuade them all and... select the work so we got exactly what we wanted... [Third Eye Director, Chris] Carroll was completely amazed, lots of people wanted to take the show. It went down to the Air Gallery in London... it was a tremendous success, a critical success, all the London critics came up [...] it was a breath of fresh air... much less knowingly strategic... it seemed to strike a chord with people, more authentic. Basically Campbell... was the only one who had a reputation really before the show and the rest of them were... really kind of unknown and then it became almost a *cause célèbre* really, Glasgow painting, for the next... maybe five to ten years (Moffat and Simmons, 2005).

Moffat's narration of the exhibition stressed the importance of Campbell's participation for the exhibition's success. Moffat's exhibition was chiefly responsible for how these artists' output and reputations became enmeshed in the critical and popular imaginations.

The BBC followed the preparations for and opening of *New Image Glasgow* exhibition for the *Arena* documentary on Campbell and Wiszniewski: *Two Painters Amazed* broadcast in Spring 1986. Both *New Image Glasgow* exhibition and BBC documentary served to further bind the reputations of this somewhat disparate group of artists together whose only common trait is that they all studied in the Drawing and Painting Department at GSA in the early 1980s.

Coming Home, 1986

Fig. 78, c. 1980s, *Steven and Carol* (CC collection/ @GreerCamp1)



Personal reasons were paramount when the Campbells returned to Scotland with baby daughter Lauren in 1986, their second daughter Greer was born in 1987, and their son Rory, in 1988. The family

wanted to be in Scotland to be closer to grandparents, family, and friends. Campbell's former art school tutor Malcolm Thwaite had once counselled that after four years of living in New York 'you either had to leave or put down roots' (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). When Marlborough Fine Art approached Campbell suggesting they did not mind where he was based, he decided it was time to leave and switch galleries.

The fact of Campbell's return in the mid-1980s at the height of his New York success (when viewed from Scotland at least) was later characterised by Sandy Moffat as exceptional for the time,

When he returned to Glasgow... he demolished the received opinion that ambitious Scottish artists had to leave in order to pursue successful international careers. Much of what has been achieved in the visual arts in Scotland over the past 25 years stems directly from Campbell's heroic example. The current vanguard of Scottish artists... remain indebted to him for showing the way (Moffat in Riach, Moffat and MacDonald-Lewis, 2008).

Moffat's rhetoric was a restatement of conventional wisdom; the expected trajectory for several generations of Scottish art school graduates would be to go into teaching, the ambitious ones had to leave to pursue opportunities in London or further afield. There have

been a few notable exceptions to Moffat's argument (such as Ian Hamilton Findlay and Moffat himself) and has been so often repeated it became a recurring trope in critical responses to Campbell.

Exhibition: Recent Paintings, Marlborough Fine Art, London April 1987



Fig. 79 1987 *By Order No Rhinos* (Peter Hill/ The Steven Campbell Trust)

Despite his success and the established market for Campbell's work in New York, the transition to a new gallery at such a crucial stage in his career was fraught with complexities and potential risk.

Arguably the move from the hip New

York art scene to Mayfair establishment gallery may have been too soon for emerging Campbell. He may have been just a bit too punk for Marlborough and the London market at the time.

The move was to have financial implications for Campbell, Toll was unhappy that he switched galleries and later filed a legal suit. In an interview for a local Glasgow tabloid Campbell outlined the various factors that preceded his first exhibition with Marlborough, 'people were talking about lawyers and making threats. When the Marlborough asked me to do this show. I thought time to pull the plug and go home' adding that Marlborough was 'the best gallery in the world. (Long, 1987). Marlborough provided Campbell with a level of stability and support that initiated a prolific period of artistic production that resulted in some of the most confident and intellectually complex work he made. Marlborough's UK networks offered Campbell access to UK institutional support hitherto unavailable to him.

Fig. 80, 1986 *Idealized Portrait of the Wig'ed Foucault* (billcliffegallery.com)



Campbell's first exhibition with Marlborough, the prosaically titled *Recent Paintings*, opened in London in 1987. Unlike his earlier solo exhibitions with Barbara Toll Gallery, the artworks in *Recent Paintings* were more overtly conceived as a group or series. A sub-grouping of five paintings titled *A Life in Letters* were presented in an epistolary call and response in a group of works that featured multiple visual and textual references to PG Wodehouse, Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and Michel Foucault's *Madness and Civilisation* (1964). Campbell was beginning to assert his own narratives on to the display that established a new way of working for him. This was his first conceptual exhibition, exhibited as a multidisciplinary whole rather than a series of paintings selected from his studio by a curator.⁵⁸ Alongside his paintings, he commissioned Caithness Glass to make a life-size glass portrait of Foucault's head (current location unknown). Exactly why Campbell approached a manufacturer of souvenirs and trophies to make an object for the exhibition is unclear; the resulting head did not turn out as Campbell had hoped, and it is possible he destroyed it. The glass head is the only time he is known to have outsourced production of an artwork. For the first time Campbell's own writing appeared in the exhibition's catalogue as a

⁵⁸ Campbell explored the possibilities of the total artwork more comprehensively in his 1990 exhibition *On Form and Fiction*, as discussed in Chapter Four.

surreal short story, titled 'Pre-ramble'.⁵⁹ Although in earlier works, such as *Third Fire Today* (1981-82), Campbell had laid text on top of the image, this was his first attempt to create a written narrative around a body of work as a stand-alone text. Campbell's story featured imagery borrowed from his paintings that included: a railway, bees, hunters, a 'disruptive' gene, a lobster, a dog, a rhino, and a Wodehousian 'Cheese mite'.⁶⁰

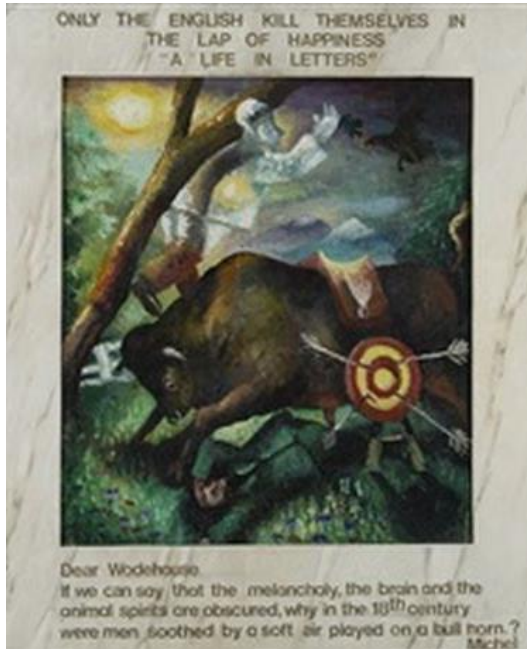
There was also a strong textual element to Campbell's *A Life in Letters* works. With them Campbell imagined a surreal correspondence between PG Wodehouse and Michel Foucault.⁶¹ The epistolary form was perhaps a throwback to Campbell's formative preoccupation with Stoker's *Dracula*, a novel told in letters and diary entries. Each of the works in the sequence comprised a central painted panel with lettering mounted on *tromp l'oeil* marbling in the style of testimonial. The close juxtaposition of text and image meant the paintings functioned as illustrations to the *exquisite corpse* story. Campbell depicted specific motifs from the borrowed texts, such as the rat 'the size of an Airedale terrier' (borrowed from Wodehouse) into *A Life in Letters: Disembarking from the Ship of Fools*. Campbell appropriated Wodehouse's words from the English author's 1953 collection *Performing Flea: A Self-Portrait in Letters*. Foucault's lines were taken from his 1964 treatise on the history of mental illness in Europe, *Madness and Civilisation*. Their imagined dialogue is nonsense of borrowed non-sequiturs from the respective sources. By looking in detail at this body of work we can clearly differentiate

⁵⁹ Campbell took the title 'Pre-Ramble' from Philippe Duboy's 1986 monograph on obscure eighteenth-century architectural draftsman Jean Jacques Lequeu. In a typical act of layered appropriation, the text of Duboy's 'Pre-Ramble' is in fact a quotation from Jacques Lacan's *Seminar I: Freud's Papers on Technique: 1953-1954* on visual perception.

⁶⁰ To be found on p. 101 of *Full Moon* (1947) / p. 445 of *The Golf Omnibus* (1973). It may also be an indirect reference the very early natural history film, *The Cheese Mites* (1903) a very early British short silent documentary film, produced by Charles Urban and directed by Francis Martin Duncan.

⁶¹ The largest work in the series: *A Life in Letters: Idealised Portrait of the Wig'ed Foucault* appeared on the cover of several editions of Penguin's *The Foucault Reader* edited by Paul Rabinow.

Campbell from his New Glasgow Boys peers. The intertextual nature of these works clearly demarcates Campbell's work as ironic, appropriative, Postmodern. These works suggest Campbell was more aligned to Surrealist practices and legacies rather than the Realist tradition



that Howson's looked to, nor to the overtly political Mexican Muralist sources Currie engaged with.

Fig. 81, 1986 *A Life in Letters: Only the English Kill Themselves in the Lap of Happiness* (artnet.com)

Tony Godfrey was commissioned to write the accompanying catalogue essay for Campbell's *Recent Paintings* exhibition. His analysis of Campbell's work included a

prescient warning for when, 'in a couple of centuries some earnest research student [will be] puzzling over old comic books and Wodehouse novels for Campbell's sources' (p. 6 Godfrey, 1987). Godfrey cautioned that they would be missing the point; it was Campbell's strategies to disrupt traditional meaning and signification as well as the subjective narrative associations encouraged by Campbell's paintings, that were more important. In general, the commissioned catalogue texts tended to be less reliant on critical tropes and *clichés*, usually referencing the specific visual and literary references Campbell was working with. Examples such as Godfrey's essay for the *Recent Paintings* went a long way to interpret the bewildering scenes Campbell created in this body of works. Stuart Morgan and Euan McArthur's outstanding essays for the 1990 *On Form and Fiction* catalogue encourage the viewer towards Postmodern, post-structuralist readings of Campbell's work, 'While Campbell's is not a discourse which makes direct reference to the world as such, it

does concern itself with the correlation of representations and meaning which delineate a contemporary situation' (p. 15 McArthur, 1990). Clearly this must be the primary critical strategy for reading Campbell's work in this period as the artist was so consciously immersed in Postmodern theory. However, by dismissing the particularities and symbolism of individual artworks and by glossing over of Campbell's appropriative aesthetic, i.e. ignoring the specific source material as per Godfrey's warning, has arguably led to some reductive critical responses to Campbell. This reading of his work is also potentially problematic because it could reinforce stereotypes about art-making that serve to conceal 'practice' and emphasise the mythologised (male) artist as a genius. It is not hard to comprehend that Campbell himself may have been pleased with this approach. However, this type of critical reading suggests that Campbell's complex paintings come from a philosophical world of ideas instead of being patchworks or *collages* of ideas and crucially, images. Campbell's paintings are material things and the borrowed imagery in them, to paraphrase Nicholas Mirzoeff in his 'What is Visual Culture?' essay, operate as, 'not just a part of your everyday life, [they are] your everyday life.' (p. 3 Mirzoeff, 1998). Godfrey's essay also relies on a certain type of educated, cultured viewer, bringing sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's term 'cultural capital' to any reading of Campbell's work (Bourdieu, 1977). In doing so it effectively reinforced an idea that engaging with art was an elitist activity. Although intellectual in his references, Campbell's Postmodern practice was invested in puncturing distinctions between 'high art' and 'low art' and to a certain extent bringing fine art down off the pedestal. Readings of his work that foreground embedded cultural knowledge have the unintended consequence of putting the work back up again. While Godfrey's essay is an erudite and exciting introduction to Campbell's exhibition it is in danger of overstating a theoretical approach at the expense of a visual one, a trap he may have

fallen into because Foucault was the subject.

The Snowden portrait, 1987

Campbell's first exhibition with Marlborough was included in the *Vogue* cultural round-up accompanied by a photographic portrait of Campbell standing by a waterfall captioned: Snowdon (Feaver, 1987b). The portrait of Campbell made at Fintry was later included in Lord Snowden's collection *Stills 1984-1987* published in 1988 by Orion. Through the high



society connotations of both *Vogue* and Snowden, it could be read that Campbell had, through his move to Marlborough, secured a place within a different social stratum.⁶²

Fig. 82, 1987 detail: Stephen Campbell (*sic*) Lord Snowden's *Stills 1984-1987* (reproduced in *Vogue*)

⁶² The iconography of Campbell standing in suave attire by a racing burn, was later appropriated by Thomas Joshua Cooper's portrait of Campbell for the publicity for Campbell's 1990 exhibition *On Form and Fiction*, discussed in Chapter Four.

'To Far' lithograph commission 1987



Fig. 83, 1987 *Untitled* lithograph published in *British and American Art: The Uneasy Dialectic* Academy Editions (Author's own copy)

Later in 1987 Campbell made an untitled litho-print insert for the magazine publication *British and American Art: The Uneasy Dialectic* (Academy Editions 1987) produced on the occasion of the

Tate's symposium 'Interchanges: British and American Painting 1945-87'. Iconographically the rhino and a bald Foucault (depicted up a ladder) visually and textually connect the print to Campbell's 1986 mural *Bonjour Monsieur Foucault* commissioned by Tate in 1986 and large oil painting *By Order no Rhinos* also 1987. Campbell embedded the punchline in the image in a series of misspelt polite notices: 'To Far', 'To Close', 'Toupe' (read: *Too Far, Too Close, Toupée*). The playful use of scale evoked the instructional notes in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (1865). Campbell had previously made prints for magazine covers (*Artscribe* No. 48, 1984 and *Alba* Summer 1986) as well as limited-edition prints, however this was his first mass circulation print (albeit for a limited audience of symposium book buyers). Although associated, *The Uneasy Dialectic* did not include proceedings of the symposium.⁶³ The published essays were instead largely concerning contemporaneous international exhibitions as well as responses broadly on the theme of transatlantic cultural exchange. How Campbell got the commission is unclear, presumably coming through

⁶³ The British American Arts Association were to publish proceedings although I have not been able to trace them.

Marlborough and existing relationships with Tate. Campbell was an apt choice, having recently returned from the US he would have been an archetype for a symposium focussed on critical reception and cultural transfer in the British/ US context. Only the British art historian Mary-Rose Beaumont's essay 'Internationalism and Tradition: British and American Art Since 1945' referenced Campbell directly describing him as, 'the young Scottish painter who rocketed to fame in New York... expressive rather than expressionist' (p. 31 Beaumont, 1987).

Scenic art: Housekeeping 1987 (dir. Bill Forsyth)

In mapping Campbell's prominence in the 1980s it useful to consider the various non-artworld contexts that also increased his visibility. In 1987 Campbell's artwork appeared in the feature film *Housekeeping*, directed by friend and near neighbour, Bill Forsyth. Another ex-pat Scot, Forsyth had made his name in the early 1980s cinema with Glasgow Youth Theatre projects including the widely acclaimed *Gregory's Girl* (1981) and went on to break the American market with *Local Hero* in 1983. *The New York Times* noted in 1988 that Forsyth had 'spent... two-thirds of the last four years in the United States... [he continued] ...to call Glasgow home' having never committed to a life in America in the way that Campbell had (Bryson, 1989). The commission for the *Housekeeping* scenic designs happened after Campbell had already returned to Scotland and meant the work had to be shipped for filming.

Fig. 84, 1987 screenshot with Campbell-esque scenic art, *Housekeeping* (dir. Bill Forsyth)



Housekeeping was based on a novel by Marilynne Robinson published in 1980.⁶⁴ Forsyth had wanted Campbell's work for his film because the affinity he saw between Robinson's writing and Campbell's dreamlike imagery. The film opened with a flashback narrated by the central

⁶⁴ Robinson's novel was a finalist for the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction and was awarded the PEN/Hemingway Award for *Best First Novel*.

character Ruth, which I quote in full to illustrate similarities to Campbell's aesthetic sensibilities, use of imagery and tone,

Grandpa was born in the plains, it was absolutely flat all around for hundreds of miles. He thought the whole world was like that. Even the house was dug out of the ground. Then, one momentous day he found out about mountains. He must have found a picture in a book. He was amazed. It became an obsession, he drew and painted mountains endlessly; Mount Fujiyama, the Alps, the Rockies... He painted mountains all his life. Before we were even born, he was lying at the bottom of Fingerbone Lake in the wreckage of a train. There were lots of mountains there (0.27-1.17 mins Forsyth, 1987).

Forsyth's camera lingered on the imagined scene – taking in the *Campbell-esque* imagery of a suitcase, cabbage and seat cushion that float to the surface of the hole in the frozen lake punctured by the derailed train.⁶⁵ A framed Campbell landscape/ portrait of the mountain and Fingerbone Lake appears several times during the film as part of the interior set. The windows in the hallway of the house also appear to have been Campbell's mountainous landscapes.



Fig. 85, 1987 screenshot, *Housekeeping* (dir. Bill Forsyth)

Echoing critical assertions that Campbell's work was too commercial, film historian Jonathan

⁶⁵ Cabbage motifs appeared in several Campbell paintings notably *The Dangerous Early Life of Lytton Strachey* (1985). His interest might be understood as belonging to a tradition of artists and writers interested in the symbolic potential of the humble vegetable including Lewis Carroll's *The Walrus and the Carpenter* poem (1871) and O. Henry's *Cabbages and Kings* (1904). Cabbages as a metaphor for humility was also found in late nineteenth-century Scottish Kailyard fiction. Cabbage iconography has also functioned as a surreal, *anti-flower*. For example, artist Leonora Carrington was noted for arranging posies of cabbages, instead of roses, later making her *Red Cabbage* painting (1987). The absurd potential of the vegetable was also exploited in 1987 by singer Morrissey's gesture of sending a bouquet of cabbages to Queen Mother for her 85th birthday.

Murray summarised similar criticisms that were levelled at Forsyth,

Any account of *Housekeeping* as literary adaptation must begin by acknowledging the unusual degree of closeness between filmmaker and source material which characterised this project. Forsyth's creative relocation to the United States should not be dismissed as another sorry example of a modern-day cultural archetype, the talented *émigré* director who strikes a Faustian pact with Los Angeles lucre (p. 134-135 Murray, 2011).

Further parallels can be found in their biographies; in 1980, when Campbell was a student, Forsyth took part in a screening of his first feature film *That Sinking Feeling* (1979) at GSA followed by a discussion. On his return to Scotland, Campbell and Forsyth ended up living quite close to one another in the Stirlingshire countryside. Friendship was initiated through Carol Campbell and Forsyth's then partner Adrienne Atkinson; their children were close in age and the families socialised together. Campbell and Forsyth became fishing companions and Campbell was later commissioned to paint Forsyth's portrait for the SNPG in 1995.

UK Institutional Support

Campbell's work was well-represented in various US regional art museums and private collections by the time he returned to Scotland. By contrast the support he gained in the UK was from public bodies. Many of the major Campbell works now in UK public collections were acquired within the period 1986-89. Paintings bought by Tate, the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art, Leeds Art Gallery, and the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle and he was commissioned to make an outdoor mural by Tate Liverpool. Several Campbell works were acquired by the British Council and toured extensively in the 1980s and early 1990s. The process of institutional support and acquisitions by public collections represented a key element of legitimisation for an artist. This section looks at some of the examples of institutional recognition in detail.

Tate acquisition: The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey, 1986

In 1986 Tate acquired a new work by Campbell: *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey*. The purchase was supported by their 'Patrons of New Art' scheme via the Friends of the Tate Gallery. The main character, English biographer Strachey, appeared twice in the composition, as schoolboy and as a mature adult. Campbell had been drawn to a strange posthumous biographical detail about the author of *Eminent Victorians* (1918). Despite his death in 1932, Strachey had been included on the list, issued by the Nazi SS in 1940, of British establishment figures to be executed in the event of a successful German invasion. Strachey became a central figure in Campbell's cast of recurring characters. Tony Godfrey wrote at the time that Tate's acquisition was one, 'of the most appealing of recent acquisitions at the Tate Gallery... by one of the most original artists to have emerged in Britain in recent years' (Godfrey, 1987b).

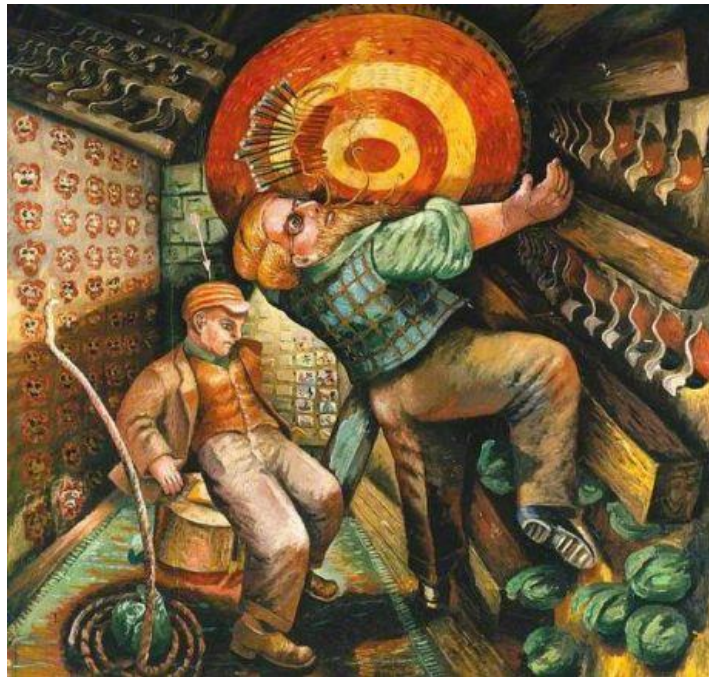


Fig. 86, 1986 *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey* (tate.org.uk)

Shape and pattern dominated the composition, the double target; the arrow-board and Strachey's hat were 'an obvious reference to Kenneth Noland and Jasper John's use of the target as an epitome of painterly 'flatness'.' (Godfrey, 1987b)



Figs. 87-88, Left: 1962 Kenneth Noland *Drought* (tate.org.uk); Right: Campbell's 'Lytton cap' bought from a gentleman's outfitters (Ron O'Donnell/ CC Collection)

The all-pervasive influence of American abstraction was later reinforced by the comments of GSA painter of a slightly later generation, Jenny Saville. Reflecting on her arrival in New York in the early 1990s she noted the contrast to Glasgow's figurative tradition 'in America it was all about abstraction' (National Galleries of Scotland, 2018). Campbell frequently appropriated motifs from abstract art, using them decoratively or narratively in his compositions. For example, the Mondrian pastiche in his 1988 *Murder Through Abstraction* as well as the much later 2004 *The Ocular Circus of Cezanne*, again borrowing Nolan-esque circles. Campbell's knowing use of the visual language of Modernist abstraction bore out Charles Jencks definitive assertion that 'because these Postmodernists had a Modern training, they are inevitably concerned with abstraction' (p. 42 Jencks, 1987). Whilst it was not strictly true that Campbell had a training in abstraction in any formal sense, he schooled himself in his discipline and had a deep knowledge Modernist art.

The compositional space was tight and claustrophobic, figures stood in a strange room not conforming to the usual architectural logic. The pictorial device of three representations of same figure within the same composition was a familiar trope used in medieval and renaissance representations such as Titian's *Three Ages of Man* (1512-14).⁶⁶

The green pillar connecting the younger Strachey to the older, that could be a trouser leg left from a figure over-painted, was a strange phallic object in the composition. Campbell's Strachey with his spade-like beard was based on Henry Lamb's exaggerated portrait of the writer. Lamb was married to socialite Lady Pansy Pakenham and perhaps Campbell's iconography was in part inspired by her name as well the colloquial reference to Strachey's homosexuality.⁶⁷

The biographer of *Eminent Victorians* Strachey seemed a surprising choice of subject for Campbell who had until recently been painting references to Foucault and Darwin. Godfrey concluded the eclecticism reflected 'Campbell's enthusiasm as a reader' (Godfrey, 1987b). Strachey's books are found on a library bookshelf next to Stoker's and his appearance as a subject in Campbell's work at this time could be attributed to *Campbell-esque* happenstance. A parallel might be drawn to Australian artist Tracy Moffatt's eclectic tendency to appropriate low-brow television and film sources in her video *collages* which

⁶⁶ Campbell's 1988 painting *4 Ways to View One Wrongdoer* also more overtly explores simultaneous representations of one character in a single composition.

⁶⁷ Earlier the same year Campbell painted *Exhibiting the Evidence of Three Fleas, the Death of Pansy Potter*, a reference to the Beano character, the strongman's daughter. Its current location unknown it is illustrated in Godfrey's Burlington article 1986. Visually the humanised facial expressions of Campbell's 'pansy' paintings strongly resonate with New York artist Joe Brainerd's anthropomorphic pansy paintings of the 1960s.

she attributed in part to being an auto-didact (Thompson, 2001). There is a sense with both artists that because they acquired cultural knowledge informally, they could more readily break the rules. Strachey's biographies were shocking by the standards of his day, unflattering and lacking deference to his typically venerated subjects. A cornerstone of the Bloomsbury circle, Strachey brought a modern sensibility to the genre, his psychological insight no doubt informed by his brother James and wife Alix Strachey's practice as psychoanalysts.⁶⁸ Campbell's focus on Strachey was tied to a wider interest in pulp biographies as source material, such as Pierre La Mure's fictionalised life of Toulouse-Lautrec and Vincent Minelli's cinematic Van Gogh biopic, *Lust for Life* (1956).

⁶⁸ They were responsible for the first translations of Freud's writing into English.

Commission: Bonjour Monsieur Foucault, Tate of the North/ Tate Liverpool temporary mural, July 1986



Fig. 89, 1986 *Bonjour Monsieur Foucault* (from *Recent Work* catalogue 1988)

Around the same time Tate acquired *The Dangerous Early Life of Lytton Strachey*, Campbell was commissioned to paint a temporary billboard mural for Tate Liverpool during the construction of the new James Stirling-designed galleries at the Albert Docks. Tate Liverpool was part of a larger multimillion-pound regional development scheme administered by the Merseyside Development Corporation. It was originally going to be called: Tate of the North, and a lot of the pre-publicity included this name. It was later decided this designation might sound 'a bit too condescending' (Riley quoted in p. 93 Gee, 2017) and was changed. Campbell's mural, sited in Cooperage Yard, was part of the year-long programme of public art staged during the build including a Tony Cragg sculptural installation and an outdoor performance *A Song of the North* by Bruce McLean and David Ward. When Tate Liverpool eventually opened its doors to the public in 1988, it was the first of the London-based national museums to open a regional outpost (followed by Tate

St Ives in 1993 and Imperial War Museum North in 2002) and can be seen as the cultural component of Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine's regeneration plans for the city in the 1980s.

The announcement for the commission emphasised Campbell's credentials as:

a painter from Glasgow who has made his reputation in New York where he received great critical acclaim. Campbell has recently moved back to Glasgow where he is making a large billboard painting (120 x 240 ins) which will be installed in the yard adjacent to the Tate building. He will begin work in mid July (Tate, 1986).

By accentuating Campbell's Glaswegian roots, and the two city's shared post-industrial heritage, Tate's press department might have hoped that the commission would positively resonate with Liverpool audiences. This might also be read as another example of how certain tropes, of class and identity, came to proliferate in the writing about Campbell. Beyond Tate's own publicity and a few short listing-type reviews (p. 13 *Liverpool Echo*, 1986) I have been unable to find any criticism or commentary on Campbell's mural billboard (Clare Henry and others covered the gallery's eventual opening in 1988). The gallery produced a slim illustrated publicity booklet including stills of Campbell making the work in his studio and installing it outside the construction site.



Figs. 90-91, 1986 Campbell installing the Liverpool mural (Courtesy of Tate Archives)

The mural was billboard sized, approximately 10ft x 20ft (3 x 6m) painted in oil on sections of marine plywood. In a return to Campbell's earlier practice of incorporating text within his paintings, Campbell painted in bold red text *BONJOUR MONSIEUR FOUCAULT* - a reference to Gustave Courbet's 1854 painting *Bonjour Monsieur Courbet* (aka *La Rencontre*, in the Musée Fabre, Montpellier). Inside the pictorial space, the figures were poised under an autumnal stormy sky in a valley between a mountainous Highland landscape and woods. A typical Campbell male figure (the artist in one of his guises) stared impassively at the barely visible figure of glass-Foucault to the right of the composition, an intertextual reference to his *To Far* lithograph and his *Recent Paintings* exhibition (discussed above). Throughout his practice Campbell exhibited the key Postmodern attribute of self-referentiality. He would frequently cross-reference himself and his own *oeuvre* in a strategy that paralleled literary strategies of Postmodern authors such as Paul Auster and James Ellroy.

The translucent glass Foucault in this, and related works, developed from a passage in *Madness and Civilisation* about particular form of delusion: ‘The man who imagines he is made of glass is not mad... but he is mad if, believing he is made of glass, he thereby concludes that he is fragile, that he is danger of breaking... that he must in fact remain motionless’ (p. 94 Foucault, 1993). Campbell’s Foucault, lay shattered, his arm snapped off and his bald head on the ground. His damaged body might be read as a reference to the philosopher’s recent death from an AIDS-related illness just two years earlier. In Campbell’s narrative Foucault appeared to have been struck by a ball sent flying by a blindfolded cricketer, Campbell’s riff on a popular aphorism. In the centre of the composition the cricketer lay spread-eagled on top of a curtain (attached by hooks to a rail itself attached to a lump of wall). Prone male figures were recurring motifs in Campbell’s work. In the mural the cricketer presumably tripped on a protruding loop of ostrich neck connected to the bird burying its head in the ground. Although this animal behaviour, supposedly to hide from predators, is a popular myth, it worked as a metaphor for denial and ignorance. Campbell was a voracious reader and had certainly read and devoured *Madness and Civilisation* but was not attempting to present an academic or scholarly response to Foucault. His practice was eclectic and magpie-like in its breadth, in this case he was picking up on the imagery of the glass man motif rather than making a deeper response to Foucault’s concept.

Campbell’s central figure of the boxing kangaroo was a reimaged popular stereotype that originated in the nineteenth century from *Punch* magazine’s cartoon kangaroo ‘Jack’ and based on the defensive behaviour of the species in the wild. Boxing kangaroo tropes were further developed in the strange sporting redemption movie *Matilda* (dir. Daniel Mann,

1978) featuring stunt actor Gary Morgan in costume as the titular kangaroo. The kangaroo's pose in Campbell's mural was echoed in the figure of a man boxing a red squirrel in the top right of the composition, boxing squirrels were a typical motif in nineteenth-century taxidermy, typical of Campbell's taste for kitsch grotesquery. In the middle ground of the composition Campbell painted a lazar house, including a sign to denote what it was. Lazar (or leper) houses featured at the beginning of Foucault's narrative of madness as the medieval precursors of asylums that came to be 'peopled with incurables and madmen' after leprosy had been largely contained in Western Europe (p. 6 Foucault, 1993).

Excessive decorative incident was another typical Campbell feature, here he included a proliferation of weeping pansies tears falling into wine glasses. Pansy flowers became a recurring motif in Campbell's work between 1985-86 see also: *The Fisherman* and *The Dangerous Early Life Lytton Strachey* (both 1985), *The Dream of Every Ostrich is to Own its Own Home* and *Exhibiting the Evidence of Three Fleas, the Death of Pansy Potter* (both 1986). Campbell's anthropomorphic flowers evoked Joe Brainard's still life flower paintings of the late 1960s and Max Ernst's personified pansy sculpture *Young Woman in the Form of a Flower* 1944 - both of which were probably reference points, the latter creating another link to Surrealist art for Campbell.



Figs. 92-93, Top: *The Dream of Every Ostrich is to Own its Own Home* 1986 (location unknown). Bottom L-R: Max Ernst's *Young Woman in the Form of a Flower* 1944 (cast 1957) (guggenheim-venice.it); detail *Every Ostrich*; Joe Brainard, *Still Life*, 1968 (tibordenagy.com)

The patch of pansies in *Bonjour Monsieur Foucault* were mirrored by a row of carved Halloween pumpkins expressing horror, like a Greek chorus, at the scene unfolding before them. Campbell joked that he covered every inch of his canvasses in imagery or pattern because it represented good value for money for collectors. His flippant explanation belied the narrative content of decoration and how he used pattern to draw attention back to the canvas surface – to make the viewer aware of its materiality and artificiality. By drawing attention to the objectness of painting Campbell was conceptually aping Modernist abstract art and aesthetically drawing from textile history. Campbell simultaneously wanted his audience to engage with the world depicted in the painting and to know ‘this is

a painting'. Campbell's use of surface patterning and his recurrent use of *tromp l'oeil* images of rugs and tapestries in his work revealed his interest in the decorative, textile roots of painted interiors.⁶⁹ Through an analysis of Campbell's iconography, we can draw thematic links between *Bonjour Monsieur Foucault* and the body of work in Campbell's Marlborough exhibition the following year. Taking the mural and Marlborough exhibition as a kind of disjointed whole emphasises a cinematic quality in the work, with a cast of characters popping in and out of the action, they read like stills from a film.

The Tate mural represented a significant endorsement for Campbell by the UK's most important contemporary art organisation. However despite the early interest, Campbell's work has been largely ignored by Tate since the mid-1980s.⁷⁰ After being taken down from its dockside location *Bonjour Monsieur Foucault* was shipped to New York in 1988 as part of his first Manhattan Marlborough show *Recent Works*. The current location of the mural is unknown, it was listed on a Marlborough Fine Art stock list November 2007, however Carol Campbell believes it may have been destroyed (Rice and C Campbell, 2019).

⁶⁹ An association no doubt heightened for him at this time having been invited to show in the *Festival du Lin* in Paris c. 1986/87.

⁷⁰ *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey* has never been shown since Tate acquired it and *Murder Through Abstraction* was shown just once at Tate Britain in 2006 in a display titled: '1980's Painting'.

Acquisition: Elegant Gestures of the Drowned After Max Ernst 1986, SNGMA

Another significant institutional endorsement came in 1987 when the SNGMA purchased Campbell's 1986 painting *Elegant Gestures of the Drowned After Max Ernst* from Marlborough Fine Art in London (Correspondance from Marlborough Fine Art, no date). I will consider its significance in terms of institutional support of Campbell's work, specifically within the context of Scotland, his home. Campbell's work had been in the national collection since 1982. Since the acquisition of his *On Form and Fiction* in 2016, it now has the largest institutional collection of his work in the world.

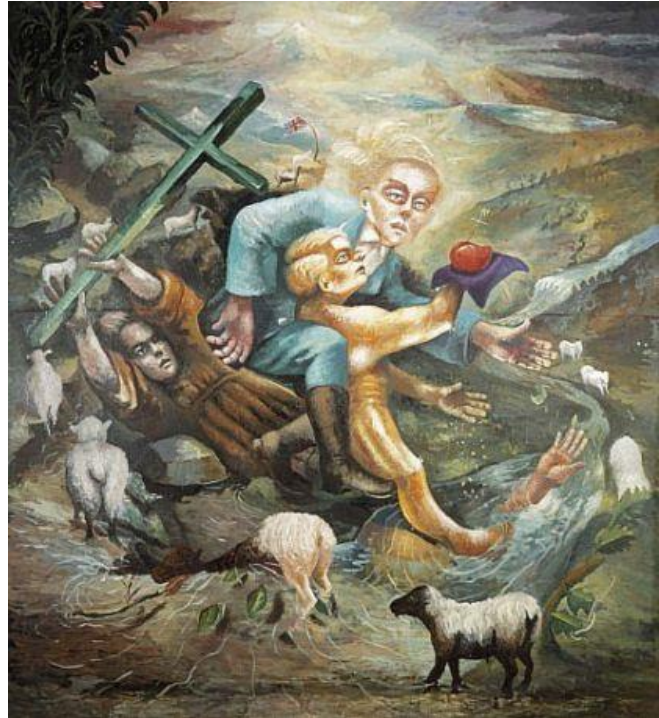


Fig. 94, 1986 *Elegant Gesture of the Drowned After Max Ernst* (NGS/ nationalgalleries.org)

In 1986 SNGMA curator Keith Hartley wrote to Campbell to arrange a studio visit saying he was, 'very keen to buy a painting... [and do] preliminary research for next year's 'Contemporary Scottish Art' exhibition' (Hartley, 1986). Hartley was an early supporter of Campbell and a pivotal figure for contemporary art at SNGMA. The referenced exhibition, *The Vigorous Imagination*, opened in August 1987 and included Campbell's large oil, *Elegant Gestures of the Drowned After Max Ernst*. According to Carol Campbell no works were shipped back to Scotland from the US so it is reasonable to conclude it was painted in

Scotland (Rice and C Campbell, 2019).

The painting's composition featured a typical Campbell swirling vortex at its centre. Campbell used the same compositional device in numerous paintings over the years including his 1984 *Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere* (Fig. 64) and much later compositions such as *The Bowman* (2006-07). The confusion of action in the foreground of *Elegant Gestures...* emanates from a knot of gesturing hands and limbs directing the viewer to the mid- and backgrounds. The winding river and procession of sheep lead the eye back to the foreground and the four darkened corners of the canvas contrast again shaft of heavenly light illuminating the foreground where the three central figures are entangled. The presence of a hand coming out of the water is suggestive of a figure submerged under the river's surface. The imagery was prompted by the true story of



a body found in canal in Kirkintilloch, told to him by his police officer friend. The background of the painting featured a typical Scottish landscape loosely based on the Campsie Hills outside Glasgow where the family had moved to after a brief spell of living in a 'Greek' Thompson flat in Glasgow's west end.⁷¹

Fig. 95, c. 1986 Campbell with baby Lauren, Great Western Terrace (CC collections/ @GreerCamp1)

The central, blue-suited figure in *Elegant Gestures...* is the same as the 'Wig'ed' Foucault

⁷¹ Great Western Terrace is an imposing neo-classical street of grand middle-class tenements designed c. 1869 by acclaimed Scottish architect Alexander 'Greek' Thomson.

character Campbell depicted in the Tate mural and in the *Life in Letters* series both painted around the same time. Here the character is shown mid-action, his wig knocked off his head. He is another Campbell alter-ego, sporting the black riding boots and an ostentatious vintage suit that were staples of Campbell's personal style.⁷² The iconography in this painting is dense and surreal; a green cross, the symbol of Saint Lazare of Jerusalem floats to the surface of the canvas held aloft by a monk-like figure, thematically linking it to the Lazar House in the Tate mural. The line of sheep in the composition were probably a portrait of sorts of the Campbell family's pet ewe, Leonora. Hence, the reference to Max Ernst in the painting's title was most likely a nod to the surrealist artist former lover, artist and writer Leonora Carrington.⁷³ Campbell would rarely specify the artistic and literary sources he was working from or explain which sources the viewer might use to decode his work. Campbell's soup of imagery and tangential references were perhaps indicative of a type of synchronic, non-sequential thinking, a characteristic shared by many artists, that influenced his memory and visual perception (Paivio, 1975).

The drowning character, apparent here because of their hand waving from the burn, is another recurring motif in Campbell's works. Submerged watery female figures reappeared in the later *Chesterfield Dreams* (1997) and *Caravan Club* group of works (2002) discussed

⁷² The male figures in Campbell's paintings can usually be read as self-portraits or alter-egos. Carol Campbell later observed, 'I could say quite honestly when he was alive, I never really saw him in the paintings and I don't think he ever thought that he was consciously putting himself into the painting... obviously now he's gone and with hindsight when I turn the page I say "yeah, that is you"' (C Campbell and Young, 2018).

⁷³ Carrington published surreal short story 'White Rabbits' in 1942 that featured the character of Lazarus and his wife who were lepers. The narrative provides another loose connection to Campbell's Foucault-inspired Lazar House featured in the Tate mural.

later in this thesis. The dramatic poses of Campbell's prone figures had painterly precedents in Michael Andrews *A Man Who Suddenly Fell Over* (1952) and New York contemporary, Robert Longo's falling figures in his *Men in the Cities* series (c.1979-1982). The motif of sprawling, fallen men appeared multiple times in Campbell's work, such as in the various versions of *Fern's Revenge* (1984) and the later *Baby-Faced Killer* series (2006-07). The pratfalls and accidents that beset Campbell's characters might be read as metaphors for Campbell's own feelings of insecurity, symbolic of the very precarious existence of being an artist. These destabilised figures could also be read as embodiments of the Postmodern condition – for Campbell this was the so-called end of the old certainties of industrial Glasgow: that there were no more jobs for life, the privatisation of nationalised industries, deregulation of the economy and end of traditional class party political affiliations. Campbell's tumbled figures signalled the free-fall into a brave new world and no one was sure what they were doing.

Campbell painted *Elegant Gestures...* on two large pieces of canvas patched together, a horizontal seam obviously visible across the middle of the painting. Campbell's intuitive approach to painting meant he would sometimes add or cut the canvas as the action expanded within the composition, also evident in a much later work: *Portrait of a False Travelogue Writer* (2006-07). He rarely worked from formal compositional drawings adlibbing composition and content, an approach suggestive of Surrealist automatist practices.⁷⁴ Sometimes sticking canvas off-cuts together was a pragmatic choice, rather

⁷⁴ Latterly Campbell made rough thumbnail sketches, smaller than postcard sized to workout compositional structures of larger works. Several examples are held by the family; some are uncatalogued in the SNPG archives.

than buying a more expensive single piece canvas he was happier to bodge together pieces to save material costs.⁷⁵ In much the same spirit he preferred to use student quality brushes and re-use canvasses: painting on the reverse; cutting them up; over-painting if the original picture was not to his liking or when he needed canvas for another composition.⁷⁶ At the beginning of his career Campbell was not precious about his craft although his technical painting skills advanced hugely over time. His enthusiasm to make work fast echoed the punk DIY aesthetic of the late 1970s and the ethos of Marcia Tucker's *Bad Painting* show at the New Museum in 1978. There was something paradoxical in Campbell's cheap, iconoclastic approach to making paintings and his reverence to the history of painting. The consequences of his irreverent approach to artistic practice are evident in the fragility of early works (such as the badly flaking *Hunt's Dilemma*) and presents interesting challenges to painting conservators. Campbell's non-orthodox approach to painting may have stemmed from spending precious little time in the Drawing and Painting Department whilst at art school. His rejection of traditional painting techniques derived from his experience of learning in the more conceptually driven Mixed Media studios.

⁷⁵ In the gently teasing words of Carol Campbell, he was a 'cheapskate' (Rice and C Campbell, 2012a).

⁷⁶ The Campbell *Catalogue Raisonné* almost certainly includes references to works that no longer exist due to Campbell's habit of over-painting and recycling canvasses.

Exhibition: British Council British Art, Vienna Künstlerhaus, 1986

Campbell was included in a touring British Council exhibition of contemporary British Art, in which tellingly, half of the twelve represented artists were Scottish.⁷⁷ Campbell's champion Henry was in attendance for the opening of the exhibition which according to her review was representative of a cultural sea-change, 'This sort of Scottish presence would have been unthinkable four years ago. Yet it accurately reflects the high esteem in which Scottish contemporary art is now held by the English, London-based art world' (Henry, 1986). In her review she reiterated her case for 'Scottish exceptionalism' in the visual arts further entrenching her position as a champion of the Glaswegian take on Scottish contemporary art (Henry, 1986).⁷⁸

References to the exhibition are scant, not least in the British Council's own online archive. In interview Campbell once referred to it as 'that awful British show in Vienna' (Collins, 1987). The correspondence files in the SNGMA archives include references to the slightly later loan of 'Man and Flea'⁷⁹ to the British Council in a letter (19 Aug 1987) to Keith Hartley from Jacqueline Ford at the British Council. The loan was to feature in the *British Art of the 1980s* touring exhibition destined for Sweden and Finland of which the Vienna exhibition may have been an earlier iteration. Henry's review referred to four new Campbell paintings exhibited in Vienna, specifically to *A Man Perceived by A Flea* (1985) as well as a 'black comedy amid a

⁷⁷ The six Scottish artists were: Kate Whiteford, Gwen Hardie, Tricia Gillman, Bruce McLean, Steven Campbell, and Graeme Murray (Henry, 1986).

⁷⁸ The terminology of 'Scottish exceptionalism' is usually found in relation to Scotland's historic and contemporary position within the union of the United Kingdom, see (Mackenzie and Devine, 2011) and (Herman, 2003).

⁷⁹ More fully titled: *A Man Perceived by A Flea* (1985) acquired by NGS in 1987.

cabbage patch' which could easily be a description of *The Dangerous Early Life of Lytton Strachey* (1985). Henry again used her review of *British Art 1986* as an opportunity to reinforce her historicising take on Campbell with reference to the warm reception Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Margaret Macdonald had received in Vienna some 90 years earlier. Campbell's inclusion in this exhibition might be understood as evidence of significant state institutional support for his work in the period.

Whilst there is nothing unusual about informal social connections in the artworld it is interesting to note that Andrea Rose, who was Head of Visual Arts at the British Council at the time of the exhibition, was married to curator/ critic William Feaver who wrote the *Vogue* write up of Campbell's *Recent Paintings* and the positive review of *The Vigorous Imagination* for *The Observer* both in 1987.

Exhibition: The Vigorous Imagination, SNGMA, August 1987

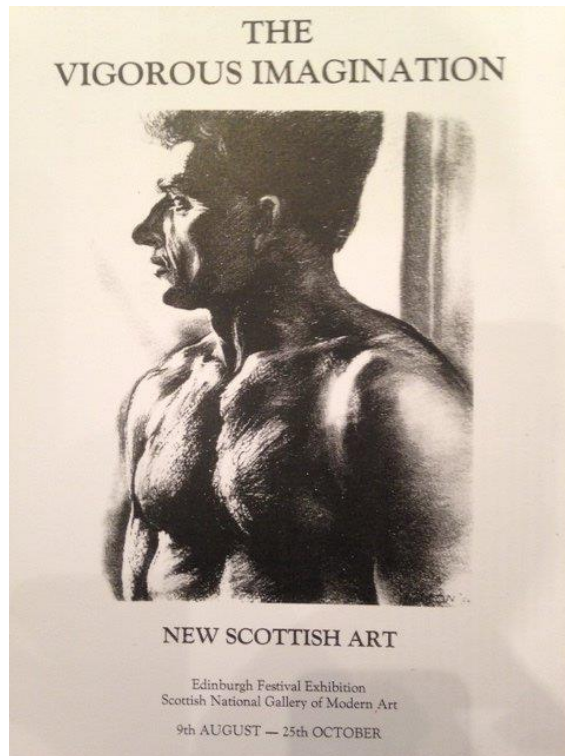


Fig. 96, 1987 Original exhibition poster for *The Vigorous Imagination* featuring Peter Howson's *The Bodybuilder* 1986 (twitter.com/ClareHenryart)

Planning for SNGMA's *The Vigorous*

Imagination: New Scottish Art

exhibition began in 1986. Working

collaboratively, GMA Curator Keith

Hartley, British Council Director of

Visual Arts, Henry Meyric Hughes and

Clare Henry selected artists for a survey

exhibition of contemporary Scottish art.

Campbell featured again alongside art school contemporaries Ken Currie, Peter Howson and Adrian Wiszniewski and thirteen other artists from the rest of Scotland.⁸⁰ Notes in the NGS archive suggest the curators had found agreeing on a title a bit tricky, 'Clare rightly [suggests] that we try to invent an exhibition title soon. But I find this ... difficult' (National Galleries of Scotland, 1987).

The exhibition opened in August 1987 to coincide with the Edinburgh's International Festival and Fringe. Critic Craig Richardson suggested the popularity of *The Vigorous*

⁸⁰ The seventeen exhibiting artists were: Sam Ainsley, Philip Braham, Steven Campbell, Calum Colvin, Stephen Conroy, Ken Currie, Gwen Hardie, Peter Howson, Ian Hughes, David Mach, Keith McIntyre, Ron O'Donnell, June Redfern, Mario Rossi, Joseph Urie, Adrian Wiszniewski and Kate Whiteford.

Imagination ‘owed much’ to the interest established by Alexander Moffat’s 1985 *New Image Glasgow* exhibition (p. 110 Richardson, 2011). The rationale for the exhibition was to highlight the increasing visibility of Scottish art within international contexts. Hartley later observed that the moment in the 1970s and 80s when the artworld returned to figurative painting ‘Scotland came into its own, because painting has always been taught’ (Rice and Hartley, 2011). The significance of *The Vigorous Imagination* exhibition for this thesis is threefold: it further cemented and institutionalised the notion of a group identity for Campbell and his GSA peers, it was an early example of corporate art sponsorship in the Scottish context, and for the critical responses it generated. As an exhibition of contemporary art, *The Vigorous Imagination* was unusual within the context of NGS public programme at the time. Exhibitions in the same year included: a posthumous solo presentation of Futurist Giacomo Balla, work by eighteenth-century Scottish artist Jacob More and an exhibition of Mary Queen of Scots portraits. Richardson has characterised the NGS curatorial approach at this time as one of ‘risk avoidance in modern art’ (p. 110 Richardson, 2011).⁸¹ The NGS was then (and maybe still is) better known for its historic collections, the relative novelty of *The Vigorous Imagination* suggests that the organisation wished to become a bit more contemporary and possibly, more reactive to the Scottish context. The exhibition remains a rare example at NGS where external curators have been invited to take part and it is perhaps significant that it came five years after Duncan Macmillan’s charge that the galleries had failed ‘to make any significant impact on the

⁸¹ The National Galleries of Scotland’s approach to risk was demonstrated in 1989 when the scheduled *Vienna 1960: From Action Paintings to Actions* exhibition was cancelled. In *The Sunday Times* one of the exhibiting artists Alfons Schilling suggesting that ‘the images were too hot for the people of Edinburgh to handle’ whilst Director General Timothy Clifford cited spiralling costs as the reason for pulling the plug (Greig, 1989).

artistic life of the nation' (p. 9 Macmillan, 1982). A letter from Hartley to exhibiting artist Kate Whiteford suggests the risk paid off for NGS 'We had 60,000 visitors which is twice our highest attendance figures for an exhibition' (p. 143, note 23 Richardson, 2011).



Fig. 97, 1987 Campbell arriving in style to the opening of *The Vigorous Imagination* (screenshot Artwork Scotland documentary 2002)

The Vigorous Imagination received extensive press and broadcast coverage when it opened, William Feaver's review for *The Observer* deemed it 'Edinburgh Festival's leading exhibition'. He continued,

Only five years ago Steven Campbell and Mario Rossi were bottom of the festival bill in 'Expressive Images' at the old New 57 Gallery. Now they are back and Campbell in particular is clearly doing the Festival a favour. Between then and now he has won a reputation and smartened up the act [...] Could this be the new spirit in Scottish painting captured in emblematic form? If so, who is the man in the tent sticking out a hand and grabbing the artist-hunter by the heel? Some critic no doubt (p. 19 Feaver, 1987a).

Despite the overall positive tone of Feaver's review he observed that, 'Not much of *The Vigorous Imagination* is confrontational' suggesting that the selection, the work of some of the selected artists, or curatorial framing may have been perceived as conservative.

Waldemar Januszczak commented that the exhibition 'failed to put its finger on what was good about new art from Scotland' (p. 15 Januszczak, 1987a). The perceived curatorial timidity might partly have been the ethos of the organisation and partly the presence of corporate funding. Sponsored by Shell, it was an early example in Scotland of the kind of visible corporate sponsorship that was completely in keeping with Thatcherite principles of

corporations stepping into the void created by withdrawal of state support (explored in Wu, 2011 and Rectanus, 2002). Whilst I have, to date, found no local responses to Shell's involvement with *The Vigorous Imagination*, Januszczak, in his round-up of the year in art for 1987, observed a broader trend: 'Measured in the terms of the Thatcherite economic miracle it was a year of impressive success in the art world. Sponsorship soared. Auction records went through the roof' (p. 15 Januszczak, 1987a). In the Marxist-leaning critical context of the time (including publications such as *Variant* and *Edinburgh Review*) the association with this type of corporate-sponsored exhibition had a negative on perceptions of Campbell.⁸² As had been the case in 1985 at the time of *New Image Glasgow*, Campbell effectively became the face of *The Vigorous Imagination* exhibition in television and newspaper previews. It is not surprising that he became aligned, in the mind of his critics at least, with its corporate and commercial values. Therefore, the exhibition emphasised existing assumptions about Campbell courting commerce and the market that formed in his time in New York. Ken Currie appeared to be critically immune to the charge (though we might regard his simultaneous participation and critique as tolerated dissent) probably because Currie's work at the time was a literal representation of his socialist politics. The contrasting assumption of Campbell's complicity in commercialism may also have stemmed from his *Warhol-esque* willingness to embrace the mechanisms of publicity and his sometimes-flippant public persona in juxtaposition to Currie's vocal denunciations of art world commercialism.

⁸² Especially given the context and emergence of strategies of Institutional Critique and overtly anti-corporate works by artists such as German artist Hans Haacke's *On Social Grease* (1975). Formalised protests against oil and big pharma sponsorship of the arts led by activist groups such as *Liberate Tate* come along later.

Print Commission: The Scottish Bestiary, 1987



Fig. 98, 1986 *Man* (Frontispiece) from *The Scottish Bestiary* (NGS/nationalgalleries.org)

After his return to Scotland, Campbell's first foray back into printmaking was for the illustrated 1987 portfolio of poet George Mackay Brown's *The Scottish Bestiary*. It was issued in an edition of fifty by Paragon Press and was a decidedly Scottish production. Edinburgh-based print collector Charles Booth-Clibborn commissioned Campbell and six

other Scottish artists: Alan Davie, Peter Howson, Adrian Wiszniewski, Jack Knox, and Bruce McLean - there were twenty illustrations in total. Campbell's two plates, *Man* and *Lobster* were a confident return to the distinctive rough woodcut style he had developed in New York. The visual language of Campbell's printmaking was rough, it evoked primitivist techniques of Emile Nolde and early German Expressionism.

Booth-Clibborn was 24 years old and a very recent graduate of University of Edinburgh, he described in an interview for *The Print Collectors Newsletter* how the project had started

with a budget of £1000. He professed the whole enterprise was a 'bit cheeky' ('News of the Print World: People & Places', 1987). He chose the portfolio format for its dissemination potential, it provided: 'the best means to introduce the Scottish School to a wider public... it's the most ambitious *livre d'artiste* attempted in Scotland this century' ('News of the Print World: People & Places', 1987). Discussing some of the challenges of getting the portfolio to print he said it had taken, 'a great deal of politicking to make it happen... but every artist I approached eventually agreed... to work with Peacock Printmakers [in Aberdeen]' ('News of the Print World: People & Places', 1987). Reflecting the production values of both Paragon and Peacock, the resulting *Bestiary* prints although varied in style were high in quality, a point emphasised by several museum acquisitions.

The *Bestiary* portfolio offered Campbell a UK context for his printmaking practice; it also created another material connection to his New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys peer group. Campbell's involvement in *The Scottish Bestiary* project appears to have been somewhat contradictory to his rhetorical attempts, around the same time, to distance himself from his Glasgow contemporaries, 'I never thought I was an Expressionist. Right from art school I was more bound up with the 70s British conceptual stuff' (p. 78 Collins, 1987). Booth-Clibborn's comment suggested he had to use his powers of persuasion to bring the artists together, no doubt the commission was too attractive and culturally significant an opportunity to miss out on.

Transmission Auction, 1987

Transmission Gallery was set up in Glasgow 1983 by a group of recent art school graduates, it was the first committee-run artist-run space in the city intended as a 'venue for new art by young artists' (p. 7 Stephenson, McLauchlan and The Committee, 2001). There was a need in the city for exhibiting spaces accessible to early career artists and non-traditional art practices at a time when commercial galleries were few and risk averse. Rolling membership of the committee continues to change every few years. The space it provides has remained part of the infrastructure of radical art practices within the city, and its structure and ethos has become a model for many subsequent artist-run spaces in Glasgow and beyond. Despite his key role in defining Glasgow's significance in the artworld in the 1980s, Campbell never exhibited in the early days of Transmission. He exhibited there only once, much later, as part of the *Charisma*-curated group show in 2000, discussed in Chapter Six. Transmission did exhibit some Glaswegian New Image painting in its early days, group shows such as *Winning Hearts and Minds* in 1984 featured work by Currie, Howson and other GSA Drawing and Painting graduates. However, the committee and exhibition programme were largely concerned with supporting the kind of expanded Fine Art practices that had been supported by the Mixed Media teaching at GSA. Their interests were in what early committee member Billy Clark summarised as 'time-based installation, site-specific and issue-based work' (p. 108 Lowndes, 2010). The gallery's emergence in the interregnum after the closure of Mixed Media in 1981 and before the Environmental Arts Department was established in 1985 was not a coincidence and Transmission has remained symbiotically connected to GSA since its inception.

By the autumn of 1987 Campbell's art school friend Jayne Taylor (a GSA Printmaking graduate) was on the Transmission Committee at the point when the gallery 'hit a funding crisis' failing to

secure city or arts council funding (p. 107 Lowndes, 2010). A fundraising auction of work by members and supporters was swiftly arranged at the RAC Club in Blythswood Square. Although it led to a temporary falling out, Taylor consigned Campbell's 1982 painting *The Mountain* he had originally gifted to her when they were students. Along with other saleable works by established artists such as George Wylie, Alasdair Gray and others, Campbell's painting made £800 on the night and helped keep the gallery afloat. Taylor later reflected, 'we desperately wanted to raise the profile of Transmission when our funding was in danger of being cut... I knew Steven's painting could save the day and it did... it was a massive sacrifice... later he understood what Transmission meant to me and we made up' (C Campbell and Taylor, 2019). It is an interesting paradox that gallery's future was secured by the sale of work by an artist not represented in its programme.

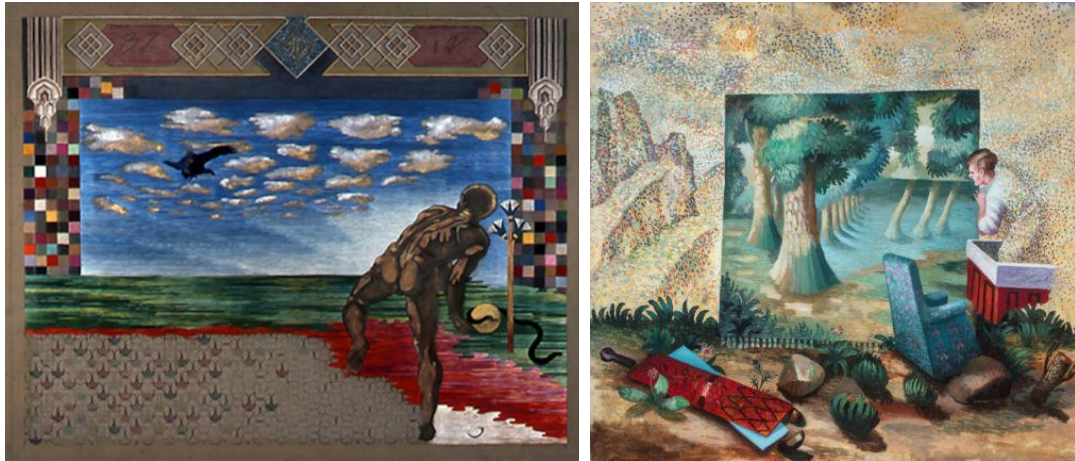
Exhibition: Recent Work Marlborough Fine Art in New York, September 1988

Campbell briefly returned to New York for his *Recent Work* exhibition at Marlborough's midtown gallery. In iconographic terms the paintings in this group are the most overtly Postmodern in style and referencing. Technically these works also represented a huge leap forward for Campbell and the palette is noticeably lighter, brighter in tone. Campbell made this body of work in his East Campbell Street studio in Glasgow and the paintings were then shipped to New York for exhibition. Campbell and friend Tommy Reilly travelled to New York for the opening of the exhibition (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). It was on this visit that Campbell witnessed a traumatic suicide attempt on the New York subway that he later revisited in his 2002 *Caravan Club* works.

Campbell's personal archive does not include any press cuttings from this show which may reflect the lack of coverage at the time. The omission of any coverage from the pages of *The New York Times* is notable given the papers previous support; neither Campbell's champion John Russell nor new *Times* critic Roberta Smith posted a review. A review of the following show by Campbell's Marlborough stablemate Neo-Expressionist painter Enzo Cucchi tells of the rapid change in tastes: his reputation 'like that of Sandro Chia, has fallen sharply in the last few years. Once the Neo-Expressionist moment faded, the scale and ambition of his paintings seemed inflated' (Brenson, 1988). In a matter of five years Campbell and other figurative painters had fallen foul of the vagaries of fashion.

Marlborough's press release for the exhibition stated Campbell had made fourteen new works in oil and acrylic and emphasised this was his first with the Manhattan gallery. It also included quotations from the exhibition catalogue essay by Tate curator Andrew Wilson that suggested

the protagonists in these works were ‘critics, architects, builders playing on the analytical stage of modernist pursuit’ (Marlborough Fine Art New York, 1988).



Figs. 99-100, Left: Nicholas Moufarrege *The Fifth Day*, 1980 (Collection George Waterman III/ artnews.com). Right: 1988 *Collagist in the Drama - Mort de Pierrot*

Whilst living in New York Campbell struck up a friendship with gay artist and critic Nicholas Moufarrege who Barbara Toll Gallery Director Tom Cvikota described as ‘outrageous... but so was Steven’ (Rice and Cvikota, 2014). Campbell and Moufarrege were both featured artists in same issue of *Artforum* (Vol. 23 No. 4 December 1984), the latter had also written about Campbell’s work for *Arts* magazine in 1984. Moufarrege died from AIDS-related complications in 1985. Campbell’s extraordinary *Collagist in the Drama - Mort de Pierrot*, a key work in the 1988 exhibition, might be read as partly a visual *homage* to Moufarrege’s *tromp l’oeil* tapestries such as *The Fifth Day*.⁸³

⁸³ Their shared aesthetic concerns were implicit in Roberta Smith’s review of Moufarrege’s posthumous exhibition, ‘Like many artists of his generation, Mr. Moufarrege was bitten by the bug of appropriation, the desire to uproot and juxtapose different images on a single, yet piecemeal, surface. He combined motifs from past and present, from high and low art, from East and West. He had a particular flair for recycling images from van Gogh [sic], Picasso, Japanese woodblocks, and the comics, interspersing them with Michelangesque nudes, Islamic patterning and Arabic script’ (Smith, 1987).

Conclusion to Chapter Three

By the end of the 1980s Campbell had an established family life; after his 1988 New York show they moved to a comfortable farm steading at Ballochleam in the Stirlingshire hills. Between 1988 and 1989, after an extended family holiday in Italy, Campbell made a small number of large-scale *collages* (Henry, 1990).⁸⁴ This extraordinary group of works, that included *English Palette with Feet of Clay*, were an aesthetic and material departure for Campbell who had been more or less exclusively painting in oils and acrylics (and a small number of prints) since graduating.



Fig. 101, 1988 *English Palette with Feet of Clay*

Campbell's late-1980s *collages* were made from neutral non-representative art materials - coloured paper torn or cut strips, coloured string rather than appropriated printed material or illustrations.⁸⁵ Campbell's stylistic departure in *English Palette with Feet of Clay* was noted by

⁸⁴ This discrete series were a chronological precursor to, but distinct from, the larger group of collages Campbell made in 1991, dealt with in Chapter Five.

⁸⁵ Except for his 1988 *Study for Frottage of the Void* which incorporated plastic adhesive illusionistic chair-caning. A material most likely used for its specific art historic resonances to early Cubist collages such as Pablo Picasso's, *Still Life with Chair-Caning* from 1912 (Musée Picasso, Paris). Campbell's work at this point was hugely indebted to Picasso. He had written his undergraduate essay about his artistic hero and often borrowed motifs from Picasso works in his compositions.

Duncan Macmillan: 'a lighter, more open picture... clear echoes of Matisse in several of this group of earlier *collages*. Campbell seems to be re-joining his dialogue with the great masters' (Macmillan, 1993, p. 69). The initials K.P. next to the caricatured figure in roll neck sweater, were a reference to Kata Phusin, the *nom-de-plume* used by John Ruskin in the earliest editions of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). The curious 'feet of clay' in the composition seem to be humorously lifted from the opening lines of literary critic Graham Hough's 1949 centennial review of Ruskin's *Seven Lamps*,

'it takes about a hundred years for humanity first to discover its idols' feet of clay, and then to recover sufficiently from the shock to return their gaze from these disappointing extremities to contemplate the figure as a whole' (Hough, 1949).

In addition, the Stoic's concept of *Kata Phusin* - translated from Greek meaning: 'by nature' or 'according to nature' - was also referenced by Michel Foucault in his 1981 lecture on the origins and philosophy of marriage 'behaviour... in accordance with nature (*kata phusin*)' (p. 124 Gros, Ewald and Fontana, 2017). Both Foucault and Ruskin were significant reference points for Campbell's 1990 large-scale installation *On Form and Fiction* (dealt with in detail in Chapter Four), therefore these *collage* works can be understood as fundamental to the development of the later body of work.

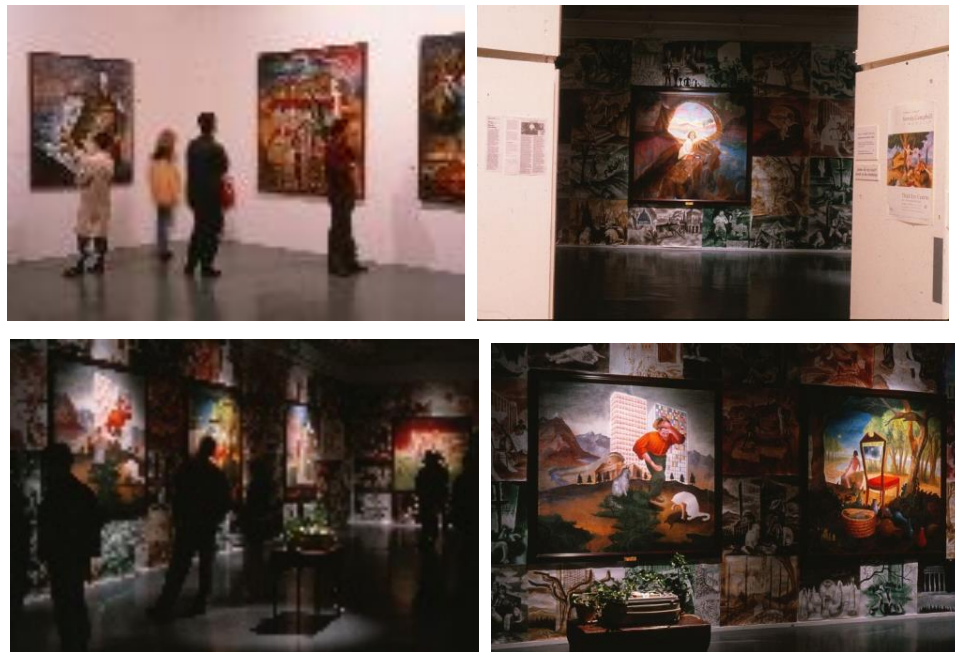
The 1980s for Campbell was a decade of significant personal change that saw him go from being an art student at the beginning of the decade to becoming a successful international artist receiving significant institutional support by its close. No doubt his enormous artistic productivity had taken its toll by the end of the decade. Along with the pressures that came

with his change of country of residence (twice) and change of gallery representation, there was an implicit anxiety about his place within the rapidly changing market tastes and artworld fashions. By 1989/1990 there is a sense that Campbell had reached an aesthetic and artistic apotheosis and to do so had been exhausting.

CHAPTER FOUR: *ON FORM AND FICTION* IN FOCUS 1990

Introduction to Chapter Four

This chapter looks in detail at Steven Campbell's most ambitious work *On Form and Fiction* which was first exhibited in 1990, before touring the UK and finally closing in Southampton in 1991. It was the only fully immersive, multisensory installation Campbell ever made. It was later restaged in 2014 as part of *GENERATION: 25 Years of Contemporary Art in Scotland*, a nationwide series of contemporary exhibition. *GENERATION* was part of the cultural programme organised around the *Glasgow 2014: Commonwealth Games* and is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.



Figs. 102-105, Scanned documentation of *On Form and Fiction* exhibition 1990, Third Eye Centre (Courtesy of Francis McKee/ CCA)

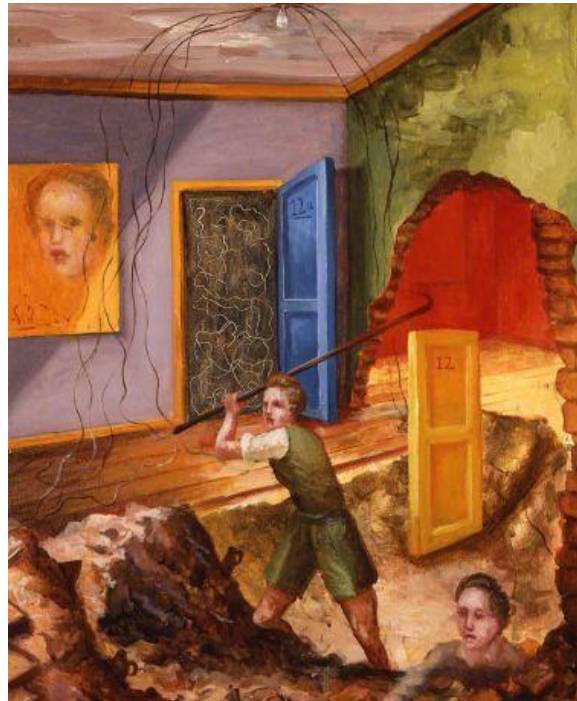
The immersive experience of Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* represented a development from the themed exhibitions Campbell was making in the mid-1980s, such as his Wodehouse/ Darwin/ Foucault-inspired *Recent Work* exhibition in 1987. *On Form and*

Fiction was Campbell's *gesamtkunstwerk*, total work of art. By appropriating motifs and ideas from varied visual and literary sources, he fashioned a Postmodern world of his own making into which audiences and viewers were invited. The term *gesamtkunstwerk* had its origins in Romantic German philosophy, it was popularised by nineteenth century composer Richard Wagner's concept of the interrelationship of the arts (Lajosi, 2010). The concept developed and was later adopted in Modernist design practice such as Sophie Taeuber-Arp's scheme for *Café de l'Aubette*, c. 1928. More relevantly for Campbell though, the concept of the total work of art underpinned how architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh approached his major commission, the Arts and Crafts-style art school that Campbell had trained in. Although he never made another completely immersive installation, Campbell's totalising approach to *On Form and Fiction* signposted a productive method for his future working process. Later exhibitions such as his 1994 *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* (looked at in Chapter Five) can be understood as a direct progression from Campbell's 1990 work, the artist working consciously in series, shaping the narrative and authoring all aspects of the curatorial presentation of his work.

As with most of the other chapters, with limited critical writing available from the time, the sources consulted here are a combination of commissioned catalogue essays, original interviews, and press reviews from the time. In addition, I have used my own transcription from the enormously helpful panel discussion tabled at the *New Approaches in the Conservation of Contemporary Art* (NACCA) 2017 *Material Futures* conference in Glasgow.

Historical context of 1990/ Writing 'History'

In the year that *On Form and Fiction* was exhibited, world events took on, at the time, and in popular histories since, an end-of-an-epoch significance. 1990 has come to be defined by what journalist John Harris characterised as 'pop-cultural optimism' (Harris, 2019). Events were mediated, in the US at least, by the arrival in the late-1980s of the twenty-four-hour news cycle. Consequently, in 1990 viewers witnessed in real time the almost complete collapse of the Soviet Union following the relaxation of civilian crossings of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. It was also the year of the illegal invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi forces and the ensuing First Gulf War between the US-led allies and Saddam Hussein's Iraq. Nelson Mandela was finally freed from jail and Margaret Thatcher's eleven-year tenure as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom came to an end. Then and now it was hard not to conclude that this was Jamesonian 'periodization' in action (Jameson, 1984). The notion that the collapse of the old Soviet Union somehow signalled that history had reached an ideologically liberal conclusion, was disseminated through American philosopher Francis Fukuyama's memorably titled 1989 article for *The National Interest* 'The End of History?'⁸⁶



1990 *Untitled* (Marlborough Fine Art)

⁸⁶ Later published as a popular philosophy book *The End of History and the Last Man* Free Press: New York, 1992.

Many of the milestone events of 1990 were symbolic of the end of Cold War politics and the beginning of a new paradigm of globalised, neo-liberal ideologies. This period of the late-1980s/ early 1990s therefore has come to represent the culmination of the historical era of Modernism and modernity and the acknowledgement of a new *post*-modern era. However, the so-called culmination of post-war certainties in 1990 can also be understood as a continuation of the project of market deregulation and global economic restructuring that had begun in the 1970s and earlier. Framed within Campbell's personal experience, the paradigm-shift was the deindustrialisation of the Scottish Central Belt that had begun in the post-war era and the accompanying gradual decrease in industrial jobs and production in the region. For Campbell and his generation, it also meant greater access to education and the opportunities offered by the centralised and localised economic regeneration political projects through cultural initiatives, such as the opening of the Tate of the North/ Tate Liverpool and the 1988 Glasgow Garden Festival.



Fig. 106, Princess Diana sitting on a reproduction Mackintosh chair, screenshot *Reporting Scotland* opening ceremony of the Glasgow Garden Festival, 29 April 1988

The Barbican's 1990 survey show, *Scottish Art since 1900* had originated in Edinburgh the year before, was evidence of an increased interest in Scottish art in the London artworld. It was curated by Keith Hartley of SNGMA and functioned as a broader, more historical follow-up to the 1987 show, *The Vigorous Imagination*. Among the 360 works on display it featured Campbell's 1982 *Ding-Dong* as well as *Elegant Gestures of the Drowned after Max*

Ernst from 1986. *Scottish Art since 1900* presented twentieth-century Scottish art benchmarked against the framework and terminology of European art history with the implicit intent of elevating Scottish art. The exhibition was an exercise in institutional art history-making.

It is within this Scottish art-focussed, epoch-shifting context that Campbell made *On Form and Fiction* at the Third Eye Centre in Glasgow. It comprised 167 individual watercolours, acrylics and oil paintings exhibited as a complete artwork. Campbell's installation was one of the centrepiece exhibits in the *Glasgow 1990: Cultural Capital of Europe* programme.⁸⁷ Although it was not an overtly political work and did not directly incorporate or comment on the headline world events it was at its heart a work in which Campbell questioned the way that histories are made and narrated.

⁸⁷ Other *Glasgow 1990* exhibitions at the Third Eye included: *Reorienting: Looking East* group exhibition (with work by Christian Boltanski, Sarah Charlesworth, Taishi Hirokawa, Jon Kessler, Tatsuo Miyajima, Yasumasa Morimura, Georges Rousse and Hiroshi Sugimoto); *Contemporary Aboriginal Art 1990* from Australia; Northern Irish artist *Willie Doherty: Unknown Depths*; and *Self-Conscious State* group exhibition of a new crop of GSA Environmental Art graduates (featuring work by Craig Richardson, Roderick Buchanan, Kevin Henderson, Christine Borland, Douglas Gordon).

Institutional Context: The Third Eye Centre and Glasgow's European Year of Culture



Fig. 107, screenshot opening montage from BBC comedy, *Rab C Nesbitt* episode: 'Year of Culture' 1990 (youtube.com)

The 2014 re-staging of *On Form and Fiction*

part of the *GENERATION* line-up offers

interesting historical parallels to its original

staging as part of the programme for *Glasgow*

1990: Cultural Capital of Europe. The annual

European City of Culture festival had been

centrally established in 1985 'at a time when

the European Community (EC) had no legislative basis to act at the level of cultural policy'

(p. 37 Garcia and Cox, 2013). Glasgow was the sixth city to host *City of Culture*, sandwiched

between Paris in 1989 and Dublin in 1991. Glasgow's reputation as a run-down, post-

industrial city was a departure from the previous host cities which had included the

unquestionably elite cultural destinations of Athens, Florence and Amsterdam (p. 37 Garcia

and Cox, 2013). Glasgow was the first host city to create a cross-disciplinary programme

and first to devise a 365-day year-long festival in response to the brief. Previous iterations

of *City of Culture* had been more typically focussed on summer-long festivals based on the

host city's existing cultural offers (Garcia and Reason, 2007). Although widely

acknowledged as marketing-led, the festival was a popular success with both tourist and

home audiences, as captured in Tom Shield's parodic *Diary* column for *The Glasgow*

Herald. Throughout Glasgow's *City of Culture* year Shield recounted for comic effect the

imagined cultural activities of 'Shuggy and Senga' an 'archetypal [Glesca] couple, the very

people that the district council Festivals Unit are trying to cater for' (Shields, 1990).



Fig. 108, Opening of the Third Eye Centre at 350 Sauchiehall Street, May 1975 (George Oliver/glasgowmiracle.blogspot.com)

The Third Eye venue for Campbell's installation had opened in the 1970s under its first Director, playwright, poet and musician Tom McGrath as a multiple artform space.⁸⁸

Deborah Jackson's historical survey of artist-run and institutional exhibition spaces in Scotland noted that McGrath had 'consciously based the model of the Third Eye Centre on the Institute of Contemporary Arts (ICA) in London, with a remit to encourage visual art, theatre and music to exist in the same space' (p. 98 Jackson, 2013). After a few years in the former Blythswood Square premises of the Glasgow Society of Lady Artists, the Third Eye Centre opened to much fanfare at 350 Sauchiehall Street in 1975.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Like Campbell, McGrath was originally from Rutherglen. He played a pivotal role in the psychedelic-scene in London in the 1960s co-founding *The International Times* before returning to Scotland to 'get clean', get a degree and set up the Traverse Theatre in Edinburgh with cultural entrepreneur Richard Demarco before heading west to run the Third Eye Centre (*The Scotsman*, 2009).

⁸⁹ The grand Alexander 'Greek' Thomson designed terrace began life in 1868 as commercial warehouse and retail space. By 1975 it housed various businesses including Mandors Textile Centre and Maestros nightclub (later The Cotton Club).

By the time of Campbell's 1990 *On Form and Fiction* exhibition, Chris Carroll was Director, and curator Andrew Nairne his Deputy. In 1985 Third Eye had been the venue for the earlier group show *New Image Glasgow* featuring Campbell and his contemporaries (discussed in Chapter Three) therefore, *On Form and Fiction* was for Campbell a return to familiar territory.

The timing of Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* show took on a further significance, as 1990 was also the year that Third Eye ran into financial trouble and ultimately closed. Following an over-spend in its budget, the Scottish Arts Council (SAC) refused to give a bridging loan or offer any further support (Jackson, 2013). Later critic and former SAC curator, Cordelia Oliver blasted the funding decisions at the time, 'it was kept short of money. Third Eye was in debt because it simply wasn't getting enough for what it was expected to do' (Oliver and Thompson, 2006). Third Eye was declared bankrupt and Campbell personally ended up out of pocket. After months of financial struggle and speculation, early in 1991 the Third Eye's board was disbanded, and the organisation was forced to finally closing its doors after fifteen years of experimental arts programming. Oliver, a long-time supporter of McGrath and former member of Third Eye Centre founding committee, was scathing about the circumstances of closure, 'The ending was criminally abrupt. The Director of the SAC [Seona Reid] just shut Third Eye down' (Oliver and Thompson, 2006). Despite sensitivities around the SAC's handling of the fall out, the gallery was reborn, phoenix-like in 1992 as the Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA). Seemingly the management of the Third Eye closure and the necessary hand-over of resources and records to the newly formed CCA

was haphazard. The unmanaged process resulted in the loss or disposal of materials, what did survive was effectively down to individuals acting with foresight. The absence of record or an official history of such a key cultural venue was eventually acknowledged in 2013 when GSA and CCA were awarded a large AHRC research grant to ‘piece together a timeline of events’ from the fragments of the remaining archives under the title: *The Glasgow Miracle: Materials for Alternative Histories* (GSA and Centre for Contemporary Art, 2013). The consequence of the closure of Third Eye for Campbell scholars, and the reason to include it in this narrative, is that very little official or institutional material about Campbell’s most significant work *On Form and Fiction* has survived beyond some installation shots, the published catalogue and exhibition posters.

The year 1990 and the landmark *On Form and Fiction* exhibition can be understood then as a key moment for both the city of Glasgow and Campbell himself. With the plethora of long-awaited new media departments at the GSA, 1990 represented a key point in the development of what later came to be defined as the ‘Glasgow Miracle’ (Ross Sinclair quoted in Lowndes, 2010). The somewhat contentious term was first coined by Swiss *über*-Curator Hans-Ulrich Obrist in a panel discussion at the Tate Gallery for the 1996 Turner Prize, the year that Douglas Gordon became the first GSA graduate to be awarded the prestigious art prize. The Glasgow Miracle terminology came to represent, simplistically, ‘the emergence of a strong artistic community in the city at that time’ (GSA and Centre for Contemporary Art, 2013). Although the quasi-religious terminology of the *miracle* continues to be used as a mainstream media short-

hand, Obrist's phrase in this context is controversial.⁹⁰ There is an implicit denial, dismissal or even wilful ignorance of the long history of cultural production in Glasgow. The term brings with it an inferred unlikeliness of anything cultural, critical, or *avant-garde* ever possibly arising from a post-industrial northern city such as Glasgow – **miracle**, *mir' a-kel n.* a supernatural event: hyperbolically a marvel, a wonder. The emergence of the terminology in the context of early 1990s Glasgow was a rejection of the visibility and success of the 1980s artists, of which Campbell was the most prominent.

⁹⁰ For example, in articles published in *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, in Alan Yentob's 2011 documentary *The Grit and the Glamour* and antonymically by Moira Jeffrey's 'Don't call Glasgow's contemporary art scene a miracle' piece and its typically combative online comments thread (Higgins, 2011; Hartvig, 2012; Yentob, 2012; Jeffrey, 2014).

Exhibition: On Form and Fiction, 1990

Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* exhibition opened at the Third Eye on 11 March and ran until 29 April 1990. It toured to several UK venues before closing in Southampton in February 1991. It was his first solo show in his native Glasgow and was sponsored by American accountancy firm Arthur Andersen & Co. Although I found no evidence as to how this sponsorship relationship came about, Andersen were very much in line with the type of corporate collectors of Campbell's work in New York. The association may have been a factor in the perceptions of Campbell as an artist tainted by money and corporate interests.

On Form and Fiction was installed in two rooms: in the smaller ante-chamber four framed oils were hung in classic white cube arrangement; in the second larger space Campbell created an immersive installation comprising several components that made up the whole experience: 'painting, drawing, sound and dramatic lighting, what we might term as 'the installation' now' (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017). The terminology of how to describe *On Form and Fiction* is, like many aspects of Campbell's work, ambiguous. Chief Curator at NGS Lucy Askew remarked in a panel discussion about the 2017 joint acquisition of *On Form and Fiction* with Glasgow Museums:

I sometimes grapple with how we can talk about this work because it started life as an exhibition. And travelled as an exhibition... I think about it, this entity... that Steven created... '*gesamtkunstwerk*' that was the closest I could come to (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017).

Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* could be considered a hybrid work, functioning as both an exhibition and as an immersive installation artwork. It was also an institutional critique in

which Campbell was playing with and challenging the language and meaning of display and viewing. One reviewer at the time noted that Campbell wanted make the show as accessible as possible to, 'get rid of the gallery atmosphere' (Coia, 1990). Campbell later described how he was influenced by Belgian artist Marcel Broodthaers' 1968 installation *Musée d'Art Moderne, Département des Aigles*,

It was an ironic play on idea of 'the masterpiece' as well... [the paintings] all have brass plates. Broodthaers, he did something similar in a museum [Brussels]... and I kind of looked at that (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

Campbell created the museum atmosphere at Third Eye with low lighting, potted plants and benches borrowed from the nearby municipal museum Kelvingrove Art Gallery. His aesthetic intention was to 'make it like a museum inside Third Eye ' (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005). *On Form and Fiction* was at once a single artwork and a collection of autonomous artworks. Campbell's play with exhibitionary formats was classically Postmodern as 'Postmodern objects were often designed with their own mediation in mind, and circulated rapidly through magazine covers, music videos and mainstream feature film' (p. 9 Adamson and Pavitt, 2011).

The Paintings and Display



Fig. 109, documentation of *On Form and Fiction*, 1990 Third Eye Centre (Courtesy of Francis McKee/ CCA)

The main room of *On Form and Fiction* was 'wallpapered' in 150 grey, green and sepia unmounted drawings

(approximately 1m x 1m in size) stapled directly into the walls. Nine highly coloured acrylic paintings framed and larger in scale (approximately 2m x 2m) hung on top of the drawings. The overall schema of *On Form and Fiction* was a super-sized progression from Campbell's earlier multi-panel compositions such as his 1985 *The Re-Illustrated Highland Diaries of Queen Victoria*. Partly influenced by the sequential visual narratives in the comic-books he collected, *On Form and Fiction* should also be read as Campbell's Postmodern riff on historic precedents including Falkland Palace's tapestried rooms, medieval multi-panelled altarpieces and Giotto's Assisi frescoes.⁹¹ Whilst the church's painted interiors were an obvious visual stimulus, the patron saint of animals and nature also resonated with Campbell's pantheistic tendencies, curator Duncan Macmillan later noted 'St Francis of Assisi was one of his great heroes' (Macmillan 2011).

⁹¹ The Basilica of Saint Francis of Assisi was a favourite place for Campbell to visit, he even volunteered to help with their restoration after the 1997 earthquake.



Figs. 110-111, Top left: Gilbert & George *The Tuileries* 1974 (moma.org); top right: c.1305 Giotto di Bondone, detail from *Scrovegni Chapel* frescoes (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Web_Gallery_of_Art); above: Marmion Room 1765-69 (metmuseum.org)

In a 1990 interview Campbell cited The Metropolitan Museum as another visual inspiration for the immersive form of *On Form and Fiction* 'I love the room full of hand-painted wallpaper... that gave me the idea' (Henry, 1990). Campbell's installation also bore strong conceptual similarities to Gilbert and George's 1974 room-sized charcoal drawn installation *The Tuileries*, which like Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* invited viewers to literally step inside the pictorial frame.

In her preview of *On Form and Fiction* Clare Henry listed the prices of the artworks: £1,000

each for the ink drawings, £10,000 each for the framed acrylics and £15,000 each for the oils. The inclusion of price-tags stands out as bafflingly reductive and somewhat self-aggrandising on Campbell's part although no doubt Henry's addition. On the same page of *The Glasgow Herald* Tom Shields' *Diary* picked up on the pricey inventory dubbing it Campbell's 'mega-bucks show at the Third Eye' (Shields, 1990). The focus on the perceived opulence of the exhibition's value provides an unsettling context for Campbell later losing money from sales from the show, as discussed in Chapter Five.

For all the grand ambition of the installation Carol Campbell later recalled the creation of *On Form and Fiction* was on a more domestic scale:

basically, a kitchen sink creation, and I mean that quite literally: I'd walk in our kitchen. Steven with papers spread on the kitchen table, wet, tapped up ink going down... the larger works on paper done the same kind of way but in the studio (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017).



Fig. 112, Carol and Steven Campbell hanging *On Form and Fiction* in Southampton Art Gallery 1991 (CC collection/ @GreerCamp1)

After the exhibition closed in Glasgow, it progressed on tour to Oriel Mostyn in Llandudno, Marlborough Fine Art in London, Aberdeen Art Gallery, the Whitworth in Manchester, and Southampton Art

Gallery. Like Glasgow, very little documentation from these later iterations of the exhibition survived, except for recently re-discovered photographic documentation from

the Southampton archive. Carol Campbell helped to hang the installation at most touring venues and recalled that Aberdeen was the most difficult to hang, as ‘it was in an odd-shaped room’ and ‘they had to cut some of the drawings to fit’ (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). Lucy Askew noted that for each re-installation Campbell ‘responded to the specifics of the venue retaining the overall sensibility of the installation as a whole, sometimes cutting down unframed drawings to fit the architectural features of that space’ (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017). Campbell clearly saw the work as fluid, in addition to cutting drawings to fit the various spaces, some were given away and paintings sold ‘changing the order and relationships between the drawings and the paintings and using furniture equipment sourced locally to the venues’ (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017). When in 2013 the NGS approached Marlborough to discuss re-staging *On Form and Fiction* they found ‘105 drawings in grey, green and sepia ink, reduced from the 150... And nine framed acrylic paintings rather than the original twelve’ (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017). The remaining component parts of the installation having been in storage since 1991.

The soundtrack

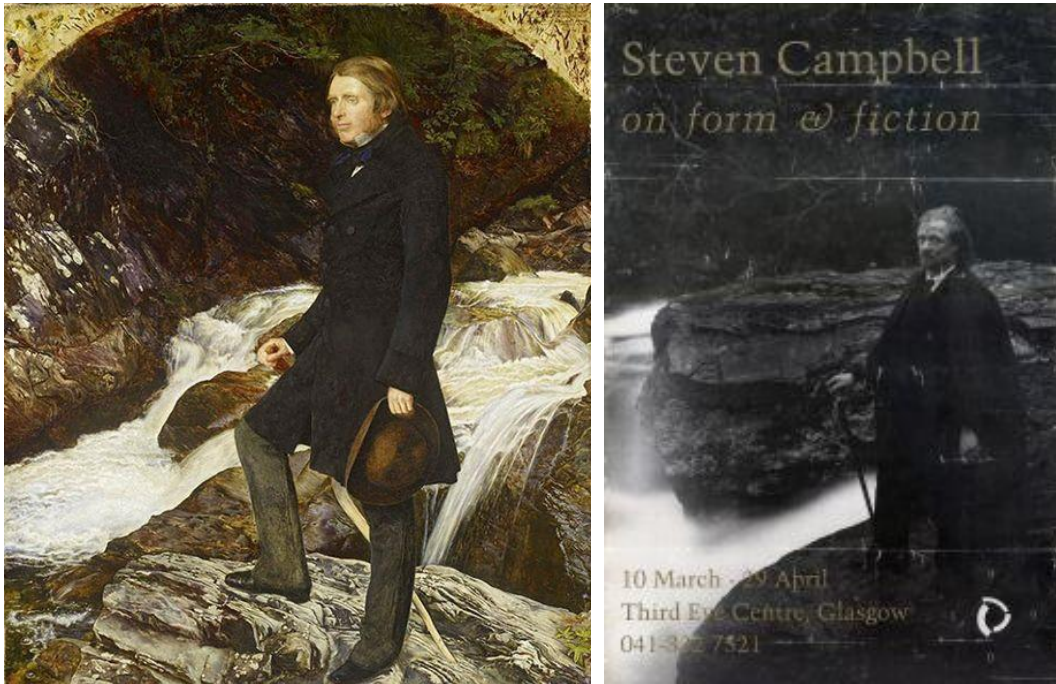
Campbell’s installation included ‘mood musak’ (Henry, 1990), specifically a reworked recording of Jane Birkin and Serge Gainsbourg’s 1969 hit *Je T’aime... (Moi Non Plus)* that looped lasciviously during visiting hours. The recording was played on a retro 1950s reel-to-reel player placed on top of a small table in the middle of the darkened gallery space. Spliced into the track was a home recording of Campbell playing an organ, mimicking the use of the Hammond organ in Gainsbourg’s original. In interview for *Scotland on Sunday* Campbell described it’s production, ‘I wrote a two-minute phrase and got a friend at the BBC to mix... Gainsbourg’s *Je T’aime* with it so you can hear Jane Birkin panting over the

music' (Flowers, 1990). Campbell was not an accomplished musician and his amateur intervention can be read as part of the DIY aesthetic. The original exhibition recording has 'long since been lost' (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017). Campbell never directly addressed his choice of soundtrack. Given the visual and literary references to nineteenth-century art critic John Ruskin in the exhibition, Campbell could have been making wry reference to the critic's famously unconsummated marriage to Effie Gray. It is also possible that Campbell had also picked up on the artistic origins of Gainsbourg's iconic '*moi non plus*' lyric. Gainsbourg's biographer Sylvie Simmons details the singer's claim that the song's title was inspired by an anecdote, 'something that Salvador Dalí once said: 'Picasso is Spanish - me too. Picasso is a genius - me too. Picasso is a communist - me neither' (*moi non plus*) (p. 57 Simmons, 2001). Gainsbourg and Birkin's overtly sexy record made it to No. 2 in the UK charts in 1969 and spawned several parodies including Frankie Howerd and June Whitfield's delightful 1971 comic re-working of the song. Whatever his original intention with the music, Campbell would have been open to its multiple absurdist connotations. When *On Form and Fiction* was jointly acquired in 2016 by NGS and Glasgow Museums, it was agreed that although Campbell's original recording had been lost the Gainsbourg/Birkin version would play on a digital player through the adapted reel-to-reel. Sound was a crucial component of Campbell's installation and has been therefore stipulated in the museum documentation as an 'essential essence of the work' (Askew, C Campbell *et al*, 2017).

The Poster/ Thomas Joshua Cooper's Portrait of Campbell

Two publicity posters were produced for *On Form and Fiction*: one more traditionally featured exhibition artwork: *You! You Little Basket You!* (1989), the second featured a staged black and white photograph of Campbell by American artist Thomas Joshua Cooper. In Cooper's portrait Campbell adopted the pose and attire of John Everett Millais' portrait of John Ruskin made on their highland tour in 1854. It was on this journey that Pre-Raphaelite artist Millais supposedly won the heart of Ruskin's then wife Effie Gray before their marriage was eventually annulled. Cooper's image also appeared in the *On Form and Fiction* catalogue. Cooper, a landscape photographer of international renown, was by then Head of the recently established Fine Art Photography Department at Glasgow School of Art.⁹² Cooper's portrait of Campbell shares visual similarities with Lord Snowden's slightly earlier 1987 portrait of Campbell (discussed in Chapter Three) albeit from a lower viewpoint and not in colour. In both portraits Campbell is posed in the Scottish landscape by a waterfall dressed in stylish attire. Campbell's input into the creation of the image of both photographic portraits is unknown. The imagery is consistent with Campbell's dandyish artistic self-representation so it might be assumed that Campbell had considerable creative input into both. Cooper's 1990 portrait is a more stylised than the earlier Snowden portrait, Campbell's pose consciously invoked Millais' portrait, sporting a Victorian cape, silver-topped cane in hand, standing close to the Glen Finglas location of the Ruskin portrait.

⁹² The first in-take of Fine Art Photography students were in 1985. This department is separate from and different to the Photography Department that exists in the Design school, commercial photography having been an accepted part of Communication Design teaching in GSA at an earlier stage.



Figs. 113-114, Left: 1853–54 John Everett Millais *John Ruskin* (ashmolean.org).
Right: Thomas Joshua Cooper's portrait of Campbell (CC Collection)

Campbell's use of Ruskinian imagery was acknowledged by Stuart Morgan in his catalogue essay: 'Temporarily, it seems, Ruskin has become a role-model' (Morgan, 1990). Campbell re-worked Ruskin's 'Spray of ash-tree' illustration in his 1990 painting *Leaf from a Book by Ruskin* appropriated from Ruskin's 1853 *Lectures on Architecture and Painting* (Ruskin, 1856). Henry also noted 'Ruskin (all the rage at the moment) has replaced last season's obsession with Foucault' (Henry, 1990). The restaged Ruskin portrait was typical of Campbell's use of artistic alter-egos as self-portraits in his work; from his early character Hunt, to the ubiquitous bottle of Gaviscon in his final cycle of paintings, his characters, archetypes and objects were versions of Campbell the artist/ *auteur*.

Iconography of the Nude

Henry commented on the introduction of female nudes in Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* (Henry, 1990) but the iconography of the nude was not new to Campbell - male nudes had appeared in early works such as *Naked Hiker* and *Man with Spiral Tree* (both 1982). Campbell's lack of traditional academic drawing skills was pointed and the nude bodies in his work were deliberately anatomically ambiguous, for example his 1981 painting *Hunt as Hermaphrodite*. A regular critique had been that Campbell did not represent female characters, therefore the introduction of female nudes into *On Form and Fiction* was notable and possibly a response of sorts on the part of the artist. These nudes were not eroticised although cheeky jokes abound (e.g. *A Nude Encouraging Significant Form*). Arguably Campbell's nudes were not gratuitous or objectifying representations, he was not attempting to depict an actual naked woman so much as the visual trope of nudes in art history. There is no suggestion they were painted from life Campbell having intensely disliked life drawing classes since art school. Instead, *Nude Encouraging Significant Form* and *Nude Sitting Nervously* were reverential visual nods to Andre Tarkovsky's dreamy nostalgic 1975 film *Mirror*, a favourite of Campbell's.



Figs. 115-117, Left-Right: 1955 Giorgio De Chirico *Nymphs Bathing* (wikiart.org); 1975 screenshot from *Mirror* (dir. Andre Tarkovsky); 1989 *Portrait of a Nude Encouraging Significant Form* part of *On Form and Fiction*, (NGS/ Glasgow Museums)

Campbell was also drawing on the kitsch-y later works of Italian Surrealist Giorgio De Chirico that had become ironically fashionable in New York after his death in 1978. In August 1984, De

Chirico's 1936 painting *Cavalli e Bagnanti* was featured in the coveted contents page position of Andy Warhol's *Interview* magazine, a spot normally reserved for retro photography or up-and-coming contemporary artists. For their unfashionable romantic, almost mannerist aesthetics, De Chirico's later works have tended to be read as more reactionary outliers of his *oeuvre* when compared to his earlier Surrealist metaphysical works. His later career was described by fellow Surrealist Max Ernst as 'a very slow self-suicide' (Gayford, 2014) however attempts were made to recontextualise the later works in relation to Bad Painting (Russell, 1984). De Chirico's position as an artist who fell out of favour offers an interesting parallel for Campbell's own late career. The borrowed visual references in *On Form and Fiction* reveal Campbell's own aesthetic interest in re-evaluating marginalised artists.

De Chirico's Surreal classicism was arguably a precursor to the Postmodern appropriation of Classical and Italianate motifs that theorist and designer Charles Jencks termed 'Free-Style Classicism' (p. 37 Jencks, 1987). Postmodernisms ironic and playful use of classical motifs could be understood as a deliberate subversion of the previous Modernist generation's reverence to classical form. Campbell frequently appropriated Modernist motifs in his work creating dissonant juxtapositions between the visual language of abstraction vs. narrative and intense decoration. Campbell outlined his interpretation of the ambiguous late De Chirico works in 2005:

They decided that a lot of the late De Chirico paintings... there were an awful lot of problems to do with, were they his paintings or were they not his paintings? were they fakes... His viewing public began to fall away, well the critical public... fell away. I mean it became more interesting when you saw Guston's work. You see these shapes and similar forms in De Chirico's work... strange sort of things (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

As well as De Chirico Campbell's nudes are also reminiscent of the stiff, tubular female

nudes of eighteenth-century architect Jean-Jacques Lequeu, a key source for Campbell in this period. Rediscovered in the 1980s, art critic Phillippe Duboy's 1986 monograph on Lequeu became a Postmodern cult classic and provided significant visual source material for Campbell's *On Form and Fiction*. Francis Picabia's kitsch nudes from the 1930s and 1940s have been suggested by NGS as a potential source for Campbell, the French Cubist painter had also enjoyed a revival amongst hip Postmodern 1980s painters. However, Picabia's work, such as Hollywood glamour-inspired *La Rêve* (c.1935), stylistically correlate more closely with David Salle's kitsch-porn aesthetic in works such as *Fooling with your Hair* (1985) than Campbell's more stylised, less eroticised nudes.

Critical Reception to On Form and Fiction

Much of the critical response to *On Form and Fiction* came in the form of the commissioned essays as well as contemporary newspaper previews and reviews. Clare Henry's full-page preview in *The Glasgow Herald* included a photo of Campbell standing amongst the installation. Henry's loyal support for Campbell in print was a bit of a mixed blessing; whilst she regularly used her platform to draw attention to Campbell's work within a national newspaper it could be argued that her advocacy impacted on his artistic credibility as it was not academic or critical. Henry's weekly newspaper columns were hardly the context in which to expect in-depth or theoretical discussions of visual art and frustrations with her lack of criticality seem a little misplaced when the larger issue was (and maybe continues to be) the limited platforms for critical writing in Scotland.

Henry's preview of *On Form and Fiction* re-treads much of the usual material about Campbell's origins, his time in New York and interest in the past, 'his heroes were all male: a breed of tweedy characters, part Boys Own, part John Buchan...' (Henry, 1990). She went on to describe Campbell's creation of the installation space and atmosphere:

Campbell has set out to transform the Gallery 'into my own place. I hate Third Eye. It's got no atmosphere. I've set out to make it beautiful; control everything; the lighting, the settings, cover the horrid white walls, install lovely antique wooden polished seats, and provide mood music. Make it warm and welcoming' (Henry, 1990).

The article listed many of the visual references in *On Form and Fiction*: a butterfly net; a Greek urn; the Venus de Milo; Falkland Palace tapestry; Raeburn's Rev. Walker; Jacques-Louis David's centurions; Cézanne; Seurat; 'even a second-hand Hockney-via-Picasso ladder.' She commented that 'he quotes from both the text and illustrations of Ruskin's 1837 Poetry of Architecture' (Henry, 1990).

About Campbell's painting *The Insubstantialists*⁹³ Henry quoted Campbell stating, 'I wanted to create a new School of Painting; like the Ruralists, only more fun. We need a new mythology' (Henry, 1990). The article ended with another quote, "'I love to play on form; explore the essentials; show everyone all the things that give me a thrill. I don't care if I contradict myself. I am prepared to make all sorts of mistakes. I am not afraid.'" ...I'm glad to see Campbell hasn't lost his nerve' (Henry, 1990). His sentiment echoed Mackintosh's (borrowed) aphorism that Campbell would have seen on the wall at GSA: 'There is hope in honest error.' The value of Henry's preview of *On Form and Fiction* is in the interpretive content and the extended quotations from Campbell. Henry had clearly established a rapport with Campbell by this time. The interview was less strained than some of his other others and Campbell was generous and thoughtful in what he shared with her (Henry, 1990).

In a less overtly reverential review for *The Observer*, grandee of the Scottish cultural and art criticism W Gordon Smith delivered a positive but tetchy critique of Campbell's installation,

It's a strange and curiously holistic experience. Pure theatre. Pure illusion. And, I suspect, pure hokum... I find his work and aesthetic motives very perplexing. He is an enigma, astride a paradox, creating conundrums... Campbell is an obscurist in the sense that he labours mightily his purpose to conceal... It's difficult to come to any sort of terms with a painter so eclectic in his choice of realistic images but exclusive in his attitude to anything that makes any logical sense. The visual non-sequitur rules, OK? Ironical humour is an important constituent in all Campbell's work (Smith, 1990).

⁹³ 'The Insubstantialists' were recurring pair of detective characters in Campbell's work from this period onwards, the figure on the right is clearly based on Sandy Moffat. In Campbell's narrative the detective duo had the power to become invisible, hiding in plain sight to uncover a mystery – the reverse of arch-villain *Fantômas*. The pair appeared again in his 1996 painting *The Emotional Detectives*, discussed in Chapter Five.

Gordon Smith's main complaint was about Campbell's strategy to subvert semiotic readings of his work,

Art need not be comprehensible. It can move and disturb, entice and excite the spectator without making what we loosely call sense. It seems to me to be perverse, however, deliberately to subvert communication by concentrating all one's intelligence and invention on calculated nonsense (p. 17 Gordon Smith Observer 1990).

Gordon Smith's seemed wide of the mark suggesting that Campbell had intended 'to discourage any form of collaboration' with audiences, arguably by choosing the installation format it was his aim to immersed visitors in his world (Smith, 1990). It might be deduced that Smith as reviewer was not putting the effort in to understand.

The press coverage of Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* was largely positive but seemingly less voluminous than for Campbell's previous projects. It is possible the large programme of activities in the 'Year of Culture' engulfed individual events, or perhaps it was indicative of a discernible loss of interest in contemporary Scottish art from London-centric critics and artworld. There was very little critical response to the show in the art press, seemingly only a single interview undertaken by Todd McEwan that year for *Modern Painters*. It is perhaps notable that *On Form and Fiction* was chronologically sandwiched between the completely unrelated Young British Artist's (YBA's) *Freeze* exhibition in London in 1988 and the *Windfall* exhibition in Glasgow of work by the group of artists associated with the so-called Glasgow Miracle in 1991. Both exhibitions have been retrospectively lauded for heralding neo-conceptual artistic sensibilities in the UK and Scotland. Although *On Form and Fiction* arguably shared some of the same conceptual sensibilities, it was perhaps critically over-looked because it was a painting-based installation and therefore belonged to the *ancien régime*.

After On Form and Fiction: Australia and Japan, 1990

In June 1990 Campbell left the UK for a month-long residency at the Art Gallery of New South Wales, organised by the British Council and sponsored by the Sir William Dobell Art Foundation, Qantas, and the Sydney Intercontinental Hotel. Dobell was an Australian portraitist whose legacy was used to support the arts. Campbell's young family accompanied him on the trip and recall the slightly incongruous opulence of the hotel with its Opera House view. The groundwork for reception and context in Australia had been covered two years earlier when Campbell's 1986 *Painting on a Darwinian Theme* had been included in *Cries and Whispers: New Works for the British Council Collection* a group exhibition of British painting that toured there in 1988.⁹⁴

Campbell's residency was part of a year-long British Council scheme that brought British artists to Art Gallery of New South Wales; other visiting artists that year included Alison Wilding, Anthony Gormley, Patrick Herron, Tony Cragg and Richard Wentworth all on the regular roster of British Council-approved artists.⁹⁵ The Art Gallery of New South Wales press release detailed that during the month Campbell spoke to students and gave a public lecture at the gallery. According to the *Art Gallery of New South Wales News* Campbell's residency resulted in 'a brief installation in the Contemporary galleries followed by a

⁹⁴ *Cries and Whispers* toured Australia, New Zealand, Spain and South America and included works by: Terry Atkinson, Tony Bevan, Vivien Blackett, Steven Campbell, Eileen Cooper, Graham Crowley, Ken Currie, Micky Donnelly, Graham Durward, Stephen Farthing, Andrzej Jackowski, Ansel Krut, Christopher Le Brun, Jock McFadyen, Lisa Milroy, Paula Rego, Andrew Stahl, Mark Wallinger, and Adrian Wiszniewski.

⁹⁵ Gormley produced two big installations (one off-site), Herron stayed longer and produced an exhibition, Cragg and Wentworth realised major projects for the Biennale of Sydney.

commercial exhibition' (p. 31 *Art Gallery of New South Wales News*, 1990) but seemingly no acquisition for the collection. Campbell was given a studio in the museum which he worked in every day of the residency. Carol Campbell later remarked that Campbell did not gain much from the experience. The museum was at the time more interested in making links with the 'upper-middle-class English artists' on residency and were not respectful of Campbell's artistic practice or working-class Scottish identity (Rice and Campbell, 2019). Perhaps what Campbell experienced was a case of class-based othering or institutional bias in which certain social values were given greater weight, be it conscious or unconscious the result was alienating.

At the end of the month Campbell exhibited at the Rex Irwin Gallery in Sydney. Bronwyn Waton's review of show for the *Sydney Morning Herald* (n/d) described the show as a mixture of new works made during the Australian residency alongside works shipped in including: *The Poisoning and Subsequent Paralysis of Abraham van Helsing* from 1983; *Unlucky at Cards, No Heart for Hunting* from 1986; and *The Sadness of Swiss Peasants on the Rhine* from 1989; an image of *The Bridges* from 1989 was used on the invite card. An alarming account of the exhibition opening was included in a *Sydney Morning Herald* column:

Arty types hoping to catch the latest works by Glaswegian painter Steven Campbell... would have been disappointed by Tuesday night's opening at Rex Irwin's Woollahra art boutique. A few hours before the viewing, it appears Campbell had a severe change of heart. He grabbed a kitchen knife and slashed one of the seven canvases he had done on his Australian visit. He then sliced the other six out of their frames and insisted they not be shown to the public... Irwin was in a state of shock and his all-star guests were left with a mere five major works to analyse. ... two of the Australian works were allowed back on the walls. The rest he has marked 'not for human consumption'. And you thought art critics were savage (p. 30 Cockington, 1990).

The description of the opening night incident ties-in with some of the more lurid reporting on Campbell that was to come in Scottish tabloids (as explored in Chapter Five). The story gives an insight into Campbell's state of mind suggestive of a level of distress in part prompted by the pressure of the previous few years of high achieving and possibly the unfolding drama in Glasgow with the bankruptcy of Third Eye. Campbell's actions, if true, were extreme but consistent with his habit of working and re-working compositions until he was happy with them (see the creation of *A Man Possessed by a Demon of the Retina* in the *Two Painters Amazed* documentary). In this case Campbell did not have the option re-paint as he was in Australia for a time-limited residency so destruction may have seemed the simplest option.

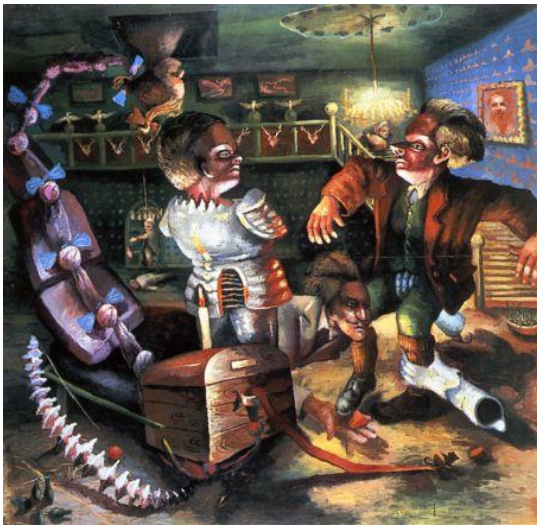


Fig. 118, 1986 *The Mouse trap - A Play Based on the Inability of Animals to Breed in Zoos* (setagayaartmuseum.or.jp)

Barely a month later Campbell opened a solo show at Marlborough Fine Art's Tokyo gallery exhibiting a different selection of ten works he had produced in

the preceding three years. The exhibition, simply titled *Steven Campbell* featured a mixture of works from the 1988 New York *Recent Work* show as well as some previously unshown works from the period 1987-1990. The catalogue for his Tokyo show included installation shots from *On Form and Fiction* and an essay by Takeshi Sakurai, Arts Programme Officer for the British Council. The essay is one of the best and most straightforward introductions to Campbell's work for an uninitiated audience.

There is currently one Campbell painting held in a public collection in Japan: *The Mouse Trap: A Play Based on the Inability of Animals to Breed in Zoos* from 1986 in the collection of Setagaya Art Museum however it was not part of the Marlborough exhibition in 1990. In email correspondence, Setagaya's Chief Curator Naotoshi Noda confirmed, 'This work was toured at the exhibition 'British Art Now: A Subjective View' organized with The British Council from 1990 to 1991 in Japan. Our museum acquired this work from The British Council, Tokyo in 1991' (Rice and Noda, 2012).



Fig. 119, Publicity material for British Art Now: A Subjective View featuring Campbell's 1988 canvas *If the Premise is Murder Through Abstraction then Abstain from Action* (CC Collection. Author's own image)

The *British Art Now: A Subjective View*

exhibition referenced by Noda was one in a series of British Council touring exhibitions in Japan. It focused on British art made after 1983. It travelled to six cities: Tokyo, Fukuoka, Nagoya, Utsunomiya, Kobe, and

Hiroshima and was supported by Japanese daily newspaper *The Asahi Shimbun*. It featured work by sixteen artists including: Campbell, Tony Cragg, Richard Deacon, Ian Hamilton Finlay, Andy Goldsworthy, Antony Gormley, and Paula Rego (Kenji, 2016). Both the Australian residency and subsequent British Council exhibition demonstrate the high-level institutional support Campbell was enjoying in 1990.

Conclusion of Chapter Four

Arguably 1990 was a very decisive year in Campbell's practice in which he produced his most substantial and culturally significant work. *On Form and Fiction* was a departure for Campbell's practice in several respects: it signalled a decisive move toward working holistically, in thematic series and away from the stand-alone works that Campbell had mostly made since his move to New York. The form of the immersive three-dimensional installation was in some ways a throw-back to his student experimentation with performance and creation of theatrical *mise-en-scène*. In the more risk-taking context of the Third Eye Campbell was able to experiment on a grand scale with how he displayed his work, effectively taking on role of both artist and curator. He subverted the meaning, experience and sanctity of orthodox contemporary art gallery and invited the audience into his pictorial space. The exhibition and the fallout from the messy closure of Third Eye took its toll on Campbell who later commented, 'The 1990 Third Eye show was an emotional disaster for me... too smart-arsed' (Henry, 1993).

Despite the paucity of critical sources for this period of Campbell's career there is little doubt *On Form and Fiction* resonated with audiences and made a huge impact on the Scottish art scene – it provided an artistic focal point during a crucial year in Glasgow's history. Arguably 1990 also represented the beginning of an institutional shift in tastes away from 1980s figurative painting and towards neo-conceptual aesthetics. The critical pushback on Campbell by the next artistic generation was arguably evidence of the impact Campbell had made with *On Form and Fiction*, albeit signalled through ambivalence or disapproval. In 2014 *On Form and Fiction* was restaged by the NGS nearly 25 years after it

was first shown. It was used to represent the chronological starting point of Scottish contemporary art in the Scotland-wide *GENERATION* survey effectively re-writing the critical discourse of the previous 20 years. In Chapter Six I argue the re-staging of Campbell's 1990 masterwork was evidence of the significance the work now acknowledged.

CHAPTER FIVE: OUT OF THE SPOTLIGHT 1991-2000

Introduction to Chapter Five

Campbell reflected on his *ennui* after the Third Eye closure, 'I couldn't paint any more. Everyone was painting Campbell's; everyone was doing what I was good at... It killed me' (Henry, 1993). After several years of intense production and living his professional life under a spotlight, Campbell was exhausted. Coinciding with a worldwide recession, the New York art market crashed in 1991. In an evaluation of the decade *The New York Times* art critic Jason Farago summarised the effect of the crash in real terms, 'Prices fell by more than 50% for many contemporary artists, and average art prices didn't recover their pre-crash height until 2003' (Farago, 2015). The recession coincided with Barbara Toll's lawsuit against Campbell in 1991 with her gallery later shutting up shop for good in 1994. In 1992 the *Business* section in *The New York Times* reported on the downturn in the art market and the impact on prices of work by Campbell's contemporaries,

Over the last two years, not only have prices been down but large numbers of works have failed to sell [...] Mary Boone... [who] has represented most of the important artists who emerged in the 80's, was more emphatic. 'Where is the bottom of the market? We are in it,'... she believes... the art world reflects a larger change. 'Value in everything is being questioned,' she said. 'The psychology in the 80's was excess; in the 90's, it's about conservation; it's about determining the value of everything [...] Historically, every movement has suffered a backlash 10 years after it first came to prominence,' she said. 'Pop art had a difficult time in the early 1970's; minimalism was questioned in the early 1980's. It's no different for artists like Schnabel, Salle, Fischl and Bleckner in the early part of the 1990's' (Elsworth, 1992).

Although Campbell had long since left New York, this contemporary account of the art market downturn provides useful context for an artist whose profile and success was closely aligned to New York market tastes in the 1980s.

There was, and to some extent continues to be, a critical consensus that Campbell

disappeared from the public eye in the 1990s. This proposition was set up in the opening sequence of the 2002 *BBC ArtWorks Scotland* documentary about Campbell, summarised by curator and critic Duncan Macmillan, 'People know he was one of the young lions of Glasgow 20 years ago, and they know they haven't seen his work, they've been curious, where did he go?' (Macmillan in *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002). Campbell's mythologised disappearance was then confirmed in the film by artist Roderick (Roddy) Buchanan's statement, 'I think it's all part of the enigma of Steven Campbell "where has he been?" It makes for a great story' (Buchanan in *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002). The narrative arc of the documentary led viewers neatly to re-discovery and *The Caravan Club* exhibition curated by Macmillan, which is considered in detail in Chapter Six.

In fact, the years between 1991 to 2000 were a productive period for Campbell with two significant and formally transitional exhibitions, as well as several public commissions. There is no denying that Campbell's work, and that of his erstwhile New Glasgow Boy contemporaries had fallen from favour when compared with fortunes of the neo-conceptualists who dominated the Scottish art scene in the 1990s and 2000s. Closely associated with the hype around the so-called Glasgow Miracle, the generation of GSA Environmental Art graduates that included Douglas Gordon, Martin Boyce and Christine Borland were light-heartedly nicknamed the 'Scotia Nostra' by critic Neil Mulholland (Mulholland, 2002). The name gained traction precisely because it chimed with a pervading sense of there being a somewhat untouchable inner circle of artists from the early 1990s onwards. This generational shift or 'backlash' in tastes as Boone termed it, functioned in much the same way that Campbell *et al* had been lauded as next generation artists at the time of the 1982 *Expressive Images* exhibition.

In the 1990s Campbell was not as intensely productive as he had been in the preceding decade and was making works on a smaller scale. Excluding *On Form and Fiction* which has been dealt with separately in the preceding chapter the accompanying *catalogue raisonné* (presented as *Appendix One*) lists around 213 works were made in the decade from 1990-1999 (or around 21 per year).⁹⁶ However, by looking in detail at the years 1995-2000 there was a notable slowdown in productivity as he made only about 35 individual artworks. Campbell returned to a more experimental expanded painting practice the 1990s that featured *bricolage*, some of the aesthetic and accoutrements of performance and community-based outreach projects.

Taken as a whole, this period was a somewhat contradictory period for Campbell, although he was arguably freer to experiment, he struggled to get the levels recognition and support, he had enjoyed in the previous decade. In 2002 Mulholland surmised this was strategic, 'Scottish art of the 1990s has been mythologised, not by art history or criticism, but by major exhibitions... Such exhibitions as histories are highly selective, discounting associations with Scottish art of the 1980s' (p. 61 Mulholland, 2002).

The period covered in this chapter was also a more settled time for Campbell, when his life and working practices were fashioned around the routines of family life. However, it was

⁹⁶ As a comparator in the 1980s Campbell was making roughly 27 new works per annum, this dropped to about 18 per year in the 2000s.

also a time of personal sadness and disruption. Campbell's work took a darker turn when impacted by bereavement from the loss of both his brother Graham and his father George in quick succession in the early 1990s. In addition, Campbell was under financial pressure due to legal actions by New York gallerist and loss of income. The Third Eye was insolvent by 1991 and eventually closed with liabilities more than £500,000. The Scottish Arts Council refused to bail out the beleaguered institution and eventually took over the building.⁹⁷ *The Herald* reported that Campbell's large oil painting, *You Eat Fruit as You Wave Me Goodbye* had been sold to lawyer Professor Ross Harper and that in the administrative chaos that followed Third Eye's insolvency, the artist had been effectively forced to absorb the loss (Douglas, 1991). In a later interview for *The Independent* Campbell spoke openly about his circumstances, 'Life shat on me... Terrible things happened. My brother died and I got sued. I was getting killed from the inside and the outside' (Gale, 1993).

In the mid-1990s Campbell was invited to give a keynote talk by GSA's School of Fine Art as part of the series of public lectures known as the *Friday Event*. Sandy Moffat later recounted that it was an 'ill-fated and under-rehearsed performance/ lecture at the Glasgow Film Theatre [GFT], featuring an Elvis Presley lookalike and the shooting on stage of the artist by a gangster's moll' adding that it 'ended in total disarray' (Moffat, 2007). A sense of failure, although often an intrinsic narrative element within Campbell's work, pervades recollections of the event and has become, somewhat unfairly, synonymous with this period of Campbell's

⁹⁷ Under SAC authority the Centre for Contemporary Art (CCA) opened in 1992 much to the dismay of the centre's initial Director Tom McGrath who saw the lack of support as a cynical move to gain control over the independent organisation (Jackson, 2013).

career. The aesthetic details of the GFT performance/ lecture indicated Campbell's continued interest in true crime *genres*: from the art school Nozière performance to the later Black Dahlia works (considered in detail in Chapter Six).

The Collages, 1991-92

In a period of respite between 1991-92 Campbell made a series of large-scale *collages*. A few years earlier, between 1988-89 he had produced a small number of *collages* after an extended visit to Italy (these works previously discussed in Chapter Three). Both groups of works were later brought together in Tramway's 2018 *Love* exhibition, curated by Linsey Young. The *catalogue raisonné* research has so far found a total of 27 collaged works made by Campbell.



Fig. 120, 1991 *Portrait of Two Cousins with the Same Mother Who Left Them Alone When She Was Seventeen*

The shared Ruskin/ *Kata Phusin* references and Italianate landscapes of the early *collages* connected in theme, tone and composition to Campbell's 1990 installation *On Form and Fiction*.⁹⁸ Campbell's earlier 1988 *collages* such as his 1988 *English Palette with Feet of Clay* (Fig. 101) were principally constructed from hand-cut coloured paper. He

used individual lengths of string or rope to draw outlines adding a few small painted areas of modelling, such as the clay feet. These works borrowed the aesthetics of classic Modernist *collages* such as Picasso's 1937-38 *Women at their Toilette* (Musée Picasso, Paris) and Matisse's late-1950s cut-outs. They were beautiful but tentative when compared to Campbell's later more self-assured *collages* which are technically more complex.

The later *collages* were made of varying lengths of hand-painted string applied to the canvas like brush

⁹⁸ *Kata Phusin* was the nom-de-plume of John Ruskin for 1830s editions of *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* translates from Greek as 'by nature' or 'according to nature' in the Greek philosophical tradition. The concept was referenced by Michel Foucault in his 1981 lecture on the origins and philosophy of marriage (p. 123, Ed. Gros, Ewald and Fontana, 2017).

strokes - giving an overall appearance of a tapestry or textile-like surface, Campbell termed them his 'string paintings' (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005). They were paradoxical objects, having abandoned his earlier practice of layering paper, the later *collages* were less like the classic Modernist composites of the earlier pieces. Instead they bore a closer resemblance to Campbell's painting technique, albeit the production was much more laborious.

After the highs of his success with *On Form and Fiction* and the bruising lows of family bereavement, financial loss and criticism, Campbell resorted to making the *collages* as a form of self-prescribed therapy.⁹⁹ Moved by the dignity of the WWI poets for whom writing was a method of dealing with pain, Campbell discovered the matchstick art made by recuperating WWI soldiers as therapeutic practice. The painstaking practice of making these *collages* offered Campbell a regular routine by 'doing it every day' (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). Carol Campbell has spoken of this as a process of re-building for Campbell, away from the public eye 'allowing for a healing process for body and mind' (p. 52 Young, Bracewell and C Campbell, 2018). This period saw Campbell return to the first principles of his practice and undertake a critical self-re-examination. At the time Campbell commented 'The 1990 Third Eye show was an emotional disaster for me' (Henry, 1993). Later he reflected on making the *collages*,

it's the sort of thing you do when you're really having a go at your own thinking... when you're really on the run, you don't know what you're doing. You hadn't seen it before, you hadn't done it before, and you're bored [...] There was a certain period when you feel as bad as you've ever felt you know [...] there's a lightness about doing *collages*. And even when I was doing the string paintings I did. (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

The painstaking process of making these works was a labour of love for Campbell resulting in

⁹⁹ What he experienced is like accounts of emotional crashes experienced by Olympian athletes after competition as well as the more quotidian lows experienced after major life milestones: marriage, birth, divorce, writing a PhD.

exhaustion and bleeding fingers (C Campbell and Young, 2018). They were created in the family home, Campbell hung lengths of hand-painted string to dry on hearth rods over the family Aga. He then cut and glued the pieces onto the canvas which was laid on the kitchen table. In contrast to one of his large paintings which typically took him a week to make from start to finish, each *collage* took a much longer to complete which proved to be a new and difficult process for the impatient Campbell. Years later Campbell described making them,

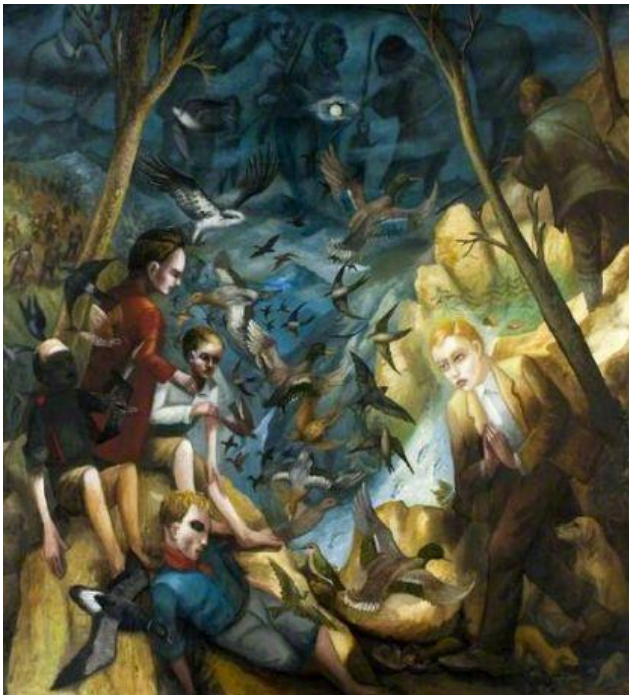
I coloured the string and cut then put the string on the painting, you know, just like painting... like brushstrokes... I left the white bits to be arty, you know, like Cézanne. Unfinished bits of canvas or linen [...] I loved the string paintings but... they just disappeared into oblivion. I didn't do any more (S Campbell and Mulholland, 2005).

Although Campbell perceived the reception of these works as tepid, some of the *collage* works, included in the London and Edinburgh showings of his 1993 *Pinocchio's Present* solo exhibition, were in fact well received first time around. John Russell Taylor's review for *The Times* noted, 'The basic imagery remains recognisably his, but the new medium seems to have given it a new lease of life' (Taylor, 1993). Except for one or two Campbell *collages* in private collections, these works remained in storage until the critically heralded 2018 exhibition which is discussed in Chapter Six.

Exhibition: Pinocchio's Present, Talbot Rice Gallery, Edinburgh 1993

In 1992 Campbell's compositionally spare painting *False Travelog/ The Tower* (1988) was included in the *Figure in the City* group exhibition at Talbot Rice Gallery curated by Bill Hare, the show later travelled to BP Gallery Belgium. According to Clare Henry, it was under Hare's gentle encouragement that Campbell was persuaded to return to painting after the hiatus of making *collages*. The resulting thirty or so canvasses were exhibited in *Pinocchio's Present* solo show for Talbot Rice in 1993. As Henry put it, 'completely possessed, his pictures tumbled out pell mell' (Henry, 1993).

An enduring legacy from Campbell's *Pinocchio's Present* exhibition in 1993 was Duncan Macmillan's comprehensive monograph, *The Paintings of Steven Campbell: The Story So Far*. The book's title was Campbell's suggestion, it implied his awareness of his own narrative history as well as an expectation of more to come. The book was intended both a catalogue for



the exhibition and as a review of Campbell's life and work to that point. Macmillan's narrative ended fourteen years before Campbell died leaving a key period of his career under-represented in the critical writing about him. It remains a vital but limited source on Campbell.

Fig. 121, 1993 *Painting in Defence of Migrants* (Glasgow Museums/ artuk.org)

The paintings in the *Pinocchio's Present* exhibition were tonally and emotionally darker than Campbell's 1980s paintings or the exuberant Postmodern works in his more recent *On Form and Fiction* installation. By contrast to the lightness of the *collages* presented in the show, the paintings in the *Pinocchio's Present* series were dark, claustrophobic representations of the other side of family life. Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, a country he had visited in the 1970s, Campbell was deeply affected by news of the Bosnian War (1992-95). At the time he described how the reporting had spurred him to work, 'it comes like a beacon from hell: this horrible news late at night. I sit for half an hour and then get up and do work in 25 minutes that during the day would take four or five hours' (Gale, 1993). Campbell's 1993 *Painting In Defence of Migrants* (now in the Glasgow Museums collection) was a response to stories of the Kurdish and Yugoslavian refugees arriving in Europe and the UK at the time, albeit allegorical in approach. Having been previously critiqued for not being political enough, the show was characterised by Henry as too serious, too dark 'a dull dreary tonality which... spoils the total impact' (Henry, 1993).

Campbell had been looking to older sources for inspiration: 'This is Titian – of course you can't get close to him, he's so great a painter' (S Campbell quoted in Gale, 1993). The uncatalogued archive of the Talbot Rice Gallery exhibition file includes copies of the didactic labels written by Campbell. These were a gift to find offering insight into his thinking about how the individual works should be interpreted. Campbell's explanation for his 1992 painting *The Drowned* revealed a deeper anxiety about the European refugee crisis of the early 1990s explaining, 'At the end of a day all the drowned come together to play on the beach' (Campbell, 1993). Iain Gale's review for *The Independent* summarised the power of Campbell's position, 'These new paintings are ambitious, complex allegories,

full of pathos, gravitas and genuine scholarly allusion. For all his plain talk, Campbell cannot disguise the depth of his erudition' (Gale, 1993).



Fig. 122 1992 *Pinocchio, The Habit of the Shrike*

Campbell's primary alter-ego in this series of paintings was the folkloric figure of Pinocchio. Gale suggested that 'his use of the boy-puppet, the personification of vulnerability, reflects newly-exposed facets of his art and character' (Gale, 1993). Campbell had visited the *Parco di Pinocchio* sculpture park in

Collodi, Tuscany and took inspiration from the surreal toytown installations.¹⁰⁰ The didactic label for his 1992 painting *Pinocchio, The Habit of the Shrike* revealed that Pinocchio was also, for Campbell, a signifier of existential questions around truth and authenticity in his painting practice. Campbell said, 'When I first painted Pinocchio, it was just after I had done the *collages* and I did not know what was the truth and what was lies in painting. It is a kind of play on what is honest art and what is untrue' (Campbell, 1993). In the composition the shrike perched in the tree is a carnivorous bird that impales its prey on thorns. Pinocchio points accusingly at the seated figure, clearly Campbell identifiable by his trademark riding boots with his Lytton Strachey cap in hand (previously discussed in Chapter Three). The moment of drama is whether Pinocchio's elongated nose 'like a thorn'

¹⁰⁰ The park originally opened 1956 and features commissioned sculptures, mosaics and murals by a number of Italian artists including Franco Gentilini, Enzo Carli, Giovanni Michelucci, Emilio Greco, Renato Baldi, Lionello De Luigi and Venturino Venturi (*Wikipedia: Parco di Pinocchio*, no date).

will pierce the uncertain painter (Campbell, 1993). Campbell's evocative description of the suited Yuppie figure in his 1992 *Pinocchio in Exile, Alone* painting (now in Glasgow Museums collection) was suggestive of his feelings about his increasingly 'marginal' position within the art world (as asserted by critic Michael Bracewell) and turning 40, 'He is old and pissed off, on his own, just standing there, by the sea, sad, with a glass, waiting to become a myth. People do not know he is made of wood' (Campbell, 1993).

Murdo Macdonald's review for *The Scotsman* picked up on the familial themes in the exhibition, 'Campbell tends to minimise personal links with his material... the stereotypical family imagery he uses in a number of works ... found... in a discarded textbook' (Macdonald, 1993). Taken as a subgroup within the exhibition Campbell described the source material for these works,

The Family Pictures started when I went down to the local school to pick up my daughter. They were throwing away some children's books... They were about a stereotype family, a girl, a boy, the mother and the father. They all looked exactly the same... The picket fence that appears in all of them comes from Indonesian funerary art... It separates the living and the dead (Campbell, 1993).

Given Campbell's statements at the time about personal struggles, it is difficult not to read these works as deeply personal reflections on the recent loss of his brother as well as meta-commentaries on the socially constructed ideal family. Following the opening of *Pinocchio's Present* in 1993 while their family still young, the Campbells left Scotland to tour Italy in a camper van for six months (Henry, 1993).

Pinocchio's Present signified another change in Campbell's practice, a return to more traditional mode of painting after his experimental *On Form and Fiction* installation in 1990 and the slightly later group of *collages*. The imagery in the *Pinocchio's Present* works

symbolised his feelings of exhaustion and hurt drawn from painful life events. In the context of Edinburgh, the formal and technical Old Master references could also have been Campbell's response to the city's more traditional aesthetics.

Glasgow gallerist William Hardie was acting as Campbell's agent in Scotland at this time and took his work to the Los Angeles art fair where he recalled, 'The Art Fair [Los Angeles 1993] was opened by David Hockney... He visited our stand where we were exhibiting large works by John Bellany, Steven Campbell and Peter Howson that looked stunning, daring and colourful' (p. 126 Hardie, 2017). Hardie established a good relationship with the artist and invited Campbell to exhibit twice in the 1990s.

Exhibition: Outside Right at the Sunset Gate 1994 Bill Hardie Gallery



Fig. 123, 1994 installation shot of *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* (Clare Henry's review for *The Herald*)

Campbell conceived his 1994 exhibition *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* at the William Hardie Gallery as an installation. Much like the *On Form and Fiction* show four years earlier, *Outside Right* exhibition comprised 84 smaller illustrative paintings on paper that thematically related to seven larger more compositionally complex oil paintings. The *Outside Right* drawings were notably smaller in scale than the *On Form and Fiction* artworks and more modestly priced at £1,100 per drawing. In a move away from their usual exhibition style, Campbell's show hung in all rooms of Hardie's gallery on West Regent Street:

Campbell's show... described by the painter John Johnstone as 'a whole entertainment', was one of those special cases where I felt the gallery was contributing more than the space and all the things that went with the word 'gallery', because the artist was doing something extraordinary (Hardie, 2017).

Campbell based these works on the extraordinary true story of Scottish international footballer John White who had played in the number seven jersey at club level for Alloa Athletic, Falkirk and Tottenham Hotspur. He was nicknamed The Ghost for his uncanny

talent for appearing in the opposition's half. He died aged 27 in 1964 when hit by a lightning whilst sheltering under a tree during a game of golf.

The exhibition catalogue was a key element within the *Outside Right* project. Conceived and authored by Campbell the dust cover featured a photograph of a selection of small paintings pinned to his studio wall creating an overall *collage* of images creating an impact not unlike the wallpaper drawings in *On Form and Fiction*. The habit of ordering (or curating) sketches was part of Campbell's practice as evident in documentation saved in his later sketch books.



Figs. 124-125 Left: 1994 *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* exhibition catalogue dust jacket. Right: c. 2001-02 scanned page from the sketchbook featuring *Black Dahlia/ Psycho Rug* drawings

To date, I found no gallery documentation of the *Outside Right* exhibition. However, press photography showed individual works framed and formally hung in thematic symmetrical clusters. Although both conceived as installations, the visual impact of the grouped framed works contrasted with the immersive visual narrative of *On Form and Fiction*.



Fig. 126 1994 *Outside Right* (artnet.com)

Both the *Outside Right* and *On Form and Fiction* exhibitions were deliberate moves by Campbell away from the conventionally beautiful hangs of his monographic shows of the 1980s. In this spirit, rather than impose a curatorial narrative, Hardie allowed Campbell the freedom to critically position this work,

encouraging him to write the catalogue text,

Two bundles of small paintings arrived tied up with string: our exhibition. Steven was very articulate about these pictures, and I suggested he should write a narrative which we would publish as the catalogue, which we did (p. 114 Hardie, 2017).

The accompanying text is poetic in tone, a short story full of lively imagery written by Campbell instead of the usual commissioned critical essay.¹⁰¹ The *Outside Right* catalogue took the form of a pocket-sized hardback. Campbell's narrative was presented in short paragraphs or stanzas. Coupled with the heightened colours of Campbell's illustrative paintings, the catalogue has the pleasing appearance of a *Ladybird* children's book. This was significant given Campbell's interest in collecting and appropriating imagery from retro children's literature.

What follows is the full transcript of the text (I have retained Campbell's use of red ink for the moment-of-death dream sequence),

A boy of 7 one day left home to play. Being a very young boy he imagined he was older, so in his mind as he left home he was a young man. On passing the seat, the phone, the

¹⁰¹ The precedent was Campbell's short 'Pre-Ramble' text that appeared in the catalogue for his 1987 *Recent Paintings* exhibition at Marlborough Fine Art in London, discussed in Chapter Three. The catalogue also included a commissioned contextual essay by Tony Godfrey therefore Campbell's text was not the sole mode of critical interpretation.

bell jar and eventually the door, he left his Home to meet friends and play football. As it happened, to do so, he had to walk through a golf course to get to the football field and as he did, he imagined years of golfing ahead as a young man does, leaving childish things behind. He was the kind of boy who stubs his toe, bumps his head, falls from trees. The walk to the football field passed a beach where cold bathers lay, alarmed he ran by, his feet thudding the sand. These Thoughts and Many Others came to him on his journey. He was 7 years old, what he did not know was it was the 7th of the 7th at 7 o'clock. Approaching the golf course, he was at the height of his maturity, years fell on him. He knew the weather was going to be bad, but immaturity left him vulnerable. When the lighting flashed he ran to a tree which at that moment seemed to bubble and boil, the sap appearing as amber balloons from the trunk. His Memory before becoming a weather system was.... of a girl who loved milk. This love became a problem. The girl on the phone, his parents kept saying, there's a girl on the phone and in his mind she lived there, reclining nervously, alarmingly, waiting. He remembered kangaroo girls, for him more real than Malcolm McLaren's 'Buffalo Girls.' (He judged everything by his limited travel experience, which was only Australia.) So these girls had tiny beautiful babies which travelled home. The sunset gate was something he knew well but on that day he imagined it had been plotting in a sneaky art deco kind of a way. A picket, wrought or Tudor gate, would probably have enabled the story to knit less well and so reduce the opportunity for disaster... of a lifting from the ground, of heat and of loneliness. As he rose into the air, as an angel does, the moisture in his body became part of the air and began moving away from him, establishing its own identity which was, as art is, creative. It moved around his home area establishing small Gardens, until the air became warm (S Campbell and Hardie, 1994).

Campbell's interpretation of the John White story was infused with literary and art historical references: the over-arching narrative a Proustian/ Joycean exploration of White's split-second experience of death; *After Manet* an homage to *Déjeuner sur L'herbe* (1862-63); and *Un Homme et une Femme* incorporating Dora Maar-era Picasso portrait, the writhing bodies of Rodin's Gates of Hell appear in the background of *7 on the Right Wing*. This painting, its title a pun on football terminology, was arguably Campbell's absurdist repost to the earlier critical debate about his ideological positioning. The disturbing motifs of the deconstructed swastika form of the female figure and *Sieg Heil*-ing nose of the male character simultaneously destabilised Campbell's position and sincerity and whilst satirising the power of the potent Nazi symbols.



Figs. 127-128. Left: 1994 *7 On the Right Wing* (roseberys.co.uk).
Right: 1971 Giorgio De Chirico *Metaphysical Interior with Sun which dies* (wikiart.org)

There was personal iconography too, the red sunset gate motifs were a reference to his suburban childhood and his *I Hate Berg* painting a comment on his feelings about Alban Berg's atonal Modernist compositions. The overarching themes of melancholy, childhood nostalgia and home were perhaps a reflection of his feelings in response to personal loss and changes in art world tastes. The narrative also incorporated a sort of pantheistic spiritualism in details such as the bubbling tree sap which releases spirits trapped in the trees. Also, in the moment after death as the boy's soul becomes a cloud that rains on the ground around his home encouraging growth and creating a legacy of flower gardens. In interview at the time Campbell described his intentions,

I want to see how many things you can put into a painting and make it work... I wanted to create a whole new world. Build up my vocabulary. With these small works I can be creative; play around. On this scale I can rip them up or take them on. I can show a bit of my mind; give vent to my emotional life. I chase a concept through two or three paintings. The next day I have another idea (Henry, 1994).

In a (now lost) home-video of the exhibition preview Campbell was captured speaking to Hardie before guests arrive in a long free-association dialogue about numerous subjects including the work in the show, artistic matters and his continued deep concern about the

ongoing wars in the former Yugoslavian states. Hardie later emphasised the importance of allowing Campbell's voice to guide the presentation of the work,

Steven was exciting to work with because his haunted face was the *façade*, always, of the unexpected. 'Yes Steven, the boiling sap and the lightening-struck man are the subject of the painting.' 'No, the lightning strikes the tree which dies and releases its soul in the form of the man in a Victorian jacket who planted the tree.' There was no better expositor of Steven Campbell than the artist himself (p. 176 Hardie, 2017).

Hardie's recollection revealed more about his curatorial approach than offering an interpretation of Campbell's themes. Nonetheless, it did highlight the associative, synchronic thought process that informed Campbell's approach to making. Hardie recalled Campbell's typical humility on the opening night, worrying that no one would attend Campbell said, 'it was his fault that it was raining heavily' (p. 176 Hardie, 2017). He noted they, 'sold one very large work to the Gallery of Modern Art in Glasgow [GOMA] and another to an Edinburgh collector' proving that Campbell was enjoying some institutional support at this time (p. 176 Hardie, 2017). It is noteworthy the support came from Glasgow's GOMA. When it eventually opened in 1996 the gallery triggered an outpouring of criticism for the perceived conservatism of the acquisitions. GOMA Director Julian Spalding took flack for his overtly populist curatorial approach that prioritised figurative art at the expense anything else. *The Guardian's* Adrian Searle reputedly described the GOMA collection as 'dire purchases' (p. 33 Searle quoted in Tipton, 1996). The negative association for Campbell was bound to be bruising.

The smaller scale of the *Outside Right* catalogue and lack of wider critical engagement in this show would indicate the lack of Marlborough's influence and the vital machinery of promotion. From the historian's perspective it certainly feels as though this was the moment when the Campbell juggernaut was beginning to slow down.

Commissions and outreach in 1990s

In a departure from his previous working pattern of making work then exhibiting it, throughout the 1990s Campbell was commissioned by various Scottish public organisations to make new work. By their nature, the resulting artworks necessitated that Campbell approach them as stand-alone pieces, working in a less obviously holistic way than he had up to that point. The resulting commissions were still recognisably Campbell's aesthetic and still functioned intertextually with reference to Campbell's wider body of works.

Outreach project: The 9-Vs Stirlingshire villages, 1993-94

Over the winter of 1993-94 Campbell and Bill Forsyth were awarded funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation to set up and run a series of outreach workshops for young people under the working title *The 9-Vs*. They were conceived of as a series of drop-in talks, workshops, and happenings for 16-22-year olds in nine villages around Stirlingshire. Pooling their collective connections, journalist Ruth Wishart described the aspiration for the project, 'They come and learn to draw, or listen to the likes of Edwin Morgan, Stuart Hepburn, Bill Forsyth. All the while there will be much else going on, like a series of cult movies playing in the background' (p. 7 Wishart, 1994). Glasgow-based artist and writer Neil Bickerton lived in the area and attended the workshops while he was studying art in sixth year studies at Balfron High School. In interview for this thesis, Bickerton was keen to emphasise his recollections of the session were, 'just memories of the class I attended as a teenager. They're a little vague.' (Rice and Bickerton, 2019). Bickerton's high school art teacher had mentioned in passing that he might want to attend, he did not know who Campbell was or what the sessions would entail. He recalled an atmosphere of freedom, more of a Fluxus-style happening than a structured workshop. The sessions were attended by kids of the villages, pupils of all ages from all years of Balfron High and seemed to

have been conceived to widen participants cultural experiences rather than learn specific technical skills. Sessions were held in Kippen Village Hall utilising both the main hall and Summer Ice room. Bickerton recalled Campbell would arrive a little late, having walked over from the village pub. At each session, a group of nude female life models were constantly in motion while attendees were encouraged to make quick, two-second sketches. It was not so much a life drawing class (something Campbell had never enjoyed at GSA) as fast, ephemeral, charcoal on newsprint drawings inspired by the atmosphere. Simultaneously, invited guests ran workshops with speakers that included: a poet (but not in Bickerton's recall Morgan), a screenwriter (not Forsyth), a Buddhist monk and in the final session, an Elvis impersonator. Bickerton described Campbell's role as like that of 'a lion-tamer in the middle of a group of confused teenagers' (Rice and Bickerton, 2019). There were no other facilitators, no homework, and no defined outcomes for the participants. It was experiential and as such a bit intimidating for those who preferred structure. The final session was a big communal meal catered by an Indian restaurant in Stirling.

Commission: Being Human Bill Forsyth portrait for SNPG, 1994



Fig. 129, 1994 *Being Human* (NGS/
nationalgalleries.org)

In 1994 Campbell painted *Being Human* a portrait of Scottish film director, friend, and collaborator Bill Forsyth whose films include the low budget success *Gregory's Girl* (1981) and Hollywood-backed *Local Hero* (1983). At the time Campbell described Forsyth as 'a longstanding pal and confidant... [we] can talk for hours about his work and mine. He's an honourable man. A rare quality' (p. 7 Wishart,

1994). The portrait was commissioned for c. £15,000, its title taken from Forsyth's reincarnation film starring Robin Williams released the same year. The painting included four portraits of Forsyth as well as portraits of his two children, Sam and Doone (friends with the Campbell girls of similar ages). Forsyth's arm outstretched over them mimicked the arc of the Kingston Bridge painted below. The bridge was a recurring motif in Forsyth's films, it featured heavily in *That Sinking Feeling* (1979) and *Comfort and Joy* (1984). Campbell said of it, 'He often uses the bridge at night in his films. His long arm echoes its shape and protects his kids' (*The Independent*, 1994). The portrait included many signature Campbell tropes: the flora and fauna in the middle ground of the painting are visually like the *Garden* paintings in the *Outside Right* series. The children's toys (a hula-hoop and melted racket) can be read, with the arc of the bridge as almost abstract surface pattern reminiscent of Modernist non-representational motifs found in the work of Juan Miró or Wassily Kandinsky. Campbell also included a

diminutive self-portrait, half-hidden behind the tree holding one of the framed portraits of Forsyth.

This commission was evidence for the continued institutional support Campbell enjoyed at the time. Responding to a more traditional brief, Campbell's portrait recognised Forsyth's significant achievements and, in the context of the SNPG collection, brought him into the pantheon of Scottish national culture. Campbell rose to the challenge; the resulting enigmatic work retained elements of his appropriative and symbolic modes representation. This is evident when compared to Adrian Wiszniewski's more conventional 1995 group portrait *The Citizens* (featuring artistic directors of Glasgow's Citizens Theatre Robert David MacDonald, Philip Prowse and Giles Havergal) commissioned around the same time by SNPG and whose formal qualities adhere within boundaries of the genre of portraiture.

Commission: Pillow of Dreams Glasgow Royal Concert Hall, 1995

Glasgow Royal Concert Hall opened in 1990 as part of the Year of Culture. Five years later Campbell, and his GSA peers Wiszniewski, Howson and Currie were invited by city councillors to pitch their ideas for a £50,000 interior decorative scheme (Campbell C, and Rice, 2019). Each were commissioned to produce large paintings for the concert hall foyer. Campbell's panel, titled *In this place of Dreams Portrait of the Chin of Joan Sutherland* (1995) (frequently referenced as *Pillow of Dreams*), was typically mannerist and featured a larger-than-life-sized representation of the floating head of the soprano. Sutherland's illuminated face hovers over four sculpted heads of renowned composers (Beethoven, Bach and two yet unidentified) arranged Mount Rushmore-style below her in a twilight landscape. Campbell's diminutive frieze of composers recalled the sculpted Beethoven head on Renfrew Street, a favourite local folly he would have passed every day on his way to art school. The Rushmore motif evoked, in reverse scale, the dramatic chase scene from Alfred Hitchcock's film *North by Northwest* (1959). The



eyes in Sutherland's crown recall the imagery of Salvador Dalí's dream sequence for Hitchcock's 1945 movie, *Spellbound* indicating Campbell's sustained interest in the English Hollywood *auteur*.

Fig. 130, 1995 *Pillow of Dreams*, Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (alancook.wordpress.com/ @brokenglasseye)

Although Campbell created a cohesive single image in this work, it was constructed from several material elements.

The *bricolage* construction was a return to an earlier mode of working not really seen since his art school use of junk materials. Campbell topped Sutherland's golden crown with painted eyes stuck onto the canvas surface. This practice prefigured his 1997 *Chesterfield Dreams* works that were to also feature painted elements stuck onto painted surface. At

this time Campbell taught himself a home-spun version of casting and was experimenting with the material properties of *Crystal Sheen*, a commercially available high gloss epoxy resin used in this work and the later series (C Campbell and Rice, 2019). Originally *Pillow of Dreams* featured a feather pillow attached to the picture surface representing Sutherland's chin, a visual joke to emphasise her iconic jawline.¹⁰² It was torn off in 2009 by a small child and required conservation work to stabilise the painting's surface. The incident raised questions about the feasibility of keeping complex, museum quality art works in non-museum spaces (Gardham, 2009).

The Royal Concert Hall commission was significant because it again provides evidence that Campbell continued to receive institutional support during the period characterised as his disappearance, albeit on a more local scale. The concert hall commission was another context in which Campbell's work was presented alongside his art school peers further binding their reputations. In the minds of the Royal Concert Hall commissioners and institutions such as Spalding's GOMA, the collective artistic identity of New Image/ New Glasgow Boys was inescapable despite rhetorical attempts by Campbell and Currie to disengage.

¹⁰² Her face instantly recognisable because of her heavy-set chin, Campbell had previously punned on her remarkable feature in his 1984 painting *Two Men Gesturing in a Landscape Each with the Chin of Joan Sutherland*.

Commission: Golden City Glasgow Airport mural, 1995



Fig. 131, *The Golden City* (Paisley Museum and Art Galleries/ artuk.org)

In 1995 Campbell was commissioned to paint a mural for Glasgow International Airport. The resulting work *The Golden City* was decidedly symbolic; belonging to Glasgow Campbell's representation of the city was highly personal. The mural was originally sited in a long corridor space between airport security and duty free. Even by Campbell's standards the work was large, the immersive panoramic composition a throwback to the early nineteenth-century dioramas of Glaswegian landscape artist John Knox (1778–1845). *The Golden City* was a typically meta work by Campbell, a knowing synthesis of many recurring motifs in his work. The composition included a deer borrowed from Landseer re-re-appropriated from his 1982 *After the Hunt* painting. Campbell's signature signpost made a reappearance after a ten-year absence, re-worked to direct travellers to either Fintry or Glasgow. The dangling leg motif, familiar from his *Wee Nook* paintings, is visible through the branches as he painted it in his mid-1980s *Shy Scotsman* commission.



Fig. 132, Glasgow's coat of arms

In true contrary form, Campbell painted an idealised representation of the countryside around Glasgow, rather than the city itself. Delicate representations of fish, trees and bird motifs were Campbell's riff on the iconography of Glasgow's coat of arms (C Campbell and Rice, 2019). In his pastoral re-working of city patron St.

Mungo's saintly attributes, Campbell drew attention to the seeming incongruity of symbols from nature used to represent Glasgow, a city more usually associated with industrial urbanity.

The unusual high topographical viewpoint was evocative of Glasgow as seen from the Campsie Fells where Campbell lived, creating an almost heavenly perspective of the mean city. The only urban element in the composition was the *tromp l'oeil* golden-coloured city prospect, which Campbell suspended in the sky, its edges curling upwards. The surrounding figures point instructively towards the archaic representation of the cityscape, overlaid onto the landscape, it was suggestive of the invisible layers of history. Campbell's historicising cityscape was reminiscent of the type of elevated topographic views produced during the city's mercantile expansion in seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, but included incongruous modern details such as the high flats at Maryhill where Carol had grown up.



Figs. 133-134, Left: 1693 (Detail) John Slezer, *Glasgow from Glasgow Cathedral* (gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/specialcollections). Right: 1915 C R Mackintosh *Fritillaria* (www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian)

The posy of *Snakehead Fritillaria* flowers in the foreground was an unmistakable visual tribute to the Charles Rennie Mackintosh, architect of the iconic art school building. The central figure of the woman and child can be read as Campbell's family and suggests he was trying to cultivate a pervading sense of *heimlich*, or familial comfort (antonymic to Freud's *unheimlich*) in this painting as opposed to what we might understand as his signature atmosphere of confusion. The title 'Golden City' may also be an

allusion to the idea of a wealthy South American utopia explored in Voltaire's 1759 satire, *Candide*. Whether this was a direct quotation is uncertain, however it is interesting to note that Campbell's favourite Glasgow bookshop, where he bought so much of his literary and visual source material, was *Voltaire and Rousseau*. Therefore, the title of the painting may have been an indirect nod to his interest in the eighteenth-century French author.

Commission: *Bigwig* album review, 1995



Fig. 135, 1995 page from *Bigwig* magazine (CC Collection. Authors own image)

In 1995 Campbell was invited by (the now defunct) Scottish music magazine *Bigwig* to make a painting in response to the newly

released *Leftism* album by electronic music duo Leftfield. Images of the resulting paintings were published in the regular *Artbeat* series in which 'big names from the art world' were commissioned to produce 'visual representations of music' (*Bigwig*, 1995). It is unclear how this commission came about, possibly through Marlborough, although more likely through local connections. *Bigwig* readers were given no indication of Campbell's subjective response to Leftfield's music that famously featured on the soundtrack to that year's hugely successful *Trainspotting* film. The hyperbolic copy claimed,

Steven Campbell's review of Leftfield's release had the band calling our office to source the work. The first ever *Artbeat*, Adrian Wiszniewski's 'Baby Chaos', was auctioned at the *bigwig* launch party and going, going, gone'd for £3,500 (*Bigwig*, 1995).

Although tiny in scale, the reproductions of the two Campbell works reveal some recognisable motifs, such as the *tromp l'oeil* framed portrait on its side reminiscent of his *Being Human* portrait of Bill Forsyth from the same year. The yellow ovoid shape, visible in the left-hand work, is reminiscent of the tree sap paintings in his 1994 *Outside Right* series. As an historical document, the commission possibly reveals more about the tentative state of Scottish magazine publishing in the mid-1990s than about Campbell's work. It was his third commission in 1995, albeit on a much smaller scale than the paintings for Glasgow Airport and Royal Concert Hall and although fairly insignificant, it provides another context in which Campbell's name and reputation were connected to his GSA peer Wiszniewski. The proposal

to make a visual response to Leftfield's electronica sounds would have no doubt appealed to Campbell's interdisciplinary instincts placing him within a trajectory of painters such as James Abbott McNeill Whistler and Bridget Riley whose work responded directly to music. It was around this time that Campbell was mooted by *Scotsman* columnist Ruth Wishart to be writing an opera, although this was never realised (Wishart, 1994).

Exhibition: Chesterfield Dreams, Stromness, London, and Glasgow 1996-97

After an extended stay in Italy, Campbell presented a major body of work in the *Chesterfield Dreams* exhibition at the Pier Arts Centre in Orkney with smaller versions of the exhibition touring to Marlborough Fine Art in London as well as the William Hardie Gallery in Glasgow. It was initiated and curated by the Pier's Director Neil Firth and represented for Campbell a return to the total concept form of exhibition. The show comprised strange, thematically linked reliefs works, *bricolaged* oil paintings and works on paper and a small, illustrated booklet. Much like the 1994 exhibition, the Marlborough edition of the *Chesterfield Dreams* catalogue was accompanied by fragments of Campbell's own poetic commentary. As ever with Campbell, there were a myriad of themes and motifs at play in these works including: dream imagery, psychotherapy, death and corpses, love, and sex. A Pinocchio doll figure recurs in several of the works thematically linking this series back to his *Pinocchio's Present* works from 1993. The inclusion of a lightning struck tree and sunset-gate-bodied girl were also a thematic throwback to his *Outside Right* series. Campbell's *Chesterfield Dreams* works were larger in scale (roughly 185cm x 125cm) than the equivalent works in the *Outside Right* group (averaging 30 x 40cm) but nowhere near the scale of paintings that he was making in New York in the 1980s. The change in scale a logistical constraint of working in smaller studio spaces.

About half the artworks in the *Chesterfield Dreams* show were upholstered, neither painting nor sculpture they were reminiscent of Robert Rauschenberg's paradigmatic 1955 work *Bed*. Rauschenberg coined the term 'combine' to describe artworks made from real world objects affixed to traditional painting supports to create painting-sculpture hybrids (*Time Magazine*, 1960). The practice was also explored by Surrealist artist and poet Mina

Loy in her American *assemblages* such as *Christ on a Clothesline* (1955-59) made from street detritus found near her home in the Bowery district of Manhattan. Like Rauschenberg's combines, Campbell's *Chesterfield Dreams* works were made from padded leatherette, studded with brass pins onto canvas supports. The unusual formal qualities are evocative of the eponymous Chesterfield-style of upholstery synonymous with caricatures of the psychotherapist's couch. This sub-Freudian motif has also been explored in the bedroom-themed installation art of Duggie Fields.

Several of the *Chesterfield Dreams* works incorporated figurative relief cast plaster panels coated in crystal sheen by Campbell. He also incorporated found objects and cut-out painted motifs to represent moments within the narrative.¹⁰³ As such the DIY formal qualities of these works could best be understood as *bricolage*. Their homespun aesthetic typified what art historian Anna Dezeuze has defined as 'the very act of making do', a practice adopted by artists as either out of necessity or as a strategic response to consumerism (p. 37 Dezeuze, 2008). Rather than a strategy of purely material concerns, Dezeuze suggested it could be for some a conceptual strategy 'in which new relations between art and the everyday could be articulated' (p. 33 Dezeuze, 2008). Campbell's modelled reliefs are unsettling, and this is part of their power and interest to the viewer.

¹⁰³ The sculptural nature of these works relate them to Campbell's other 3-D objects such as the Foucault glass head fabricated for his *Recent Paintings* exhibition in 1987 as well as the later homemade painted *papier-mâché* heads featured in his 2001 show *The Caravan Club*.



Fig. 136, 1996 *The Emotional Detectives* (Glasgow Museums/ artuk.org)

Although less overtly literary in form than the story in the *Outside Right* catalogue, Campbell's poetic catalogue notes guide audiences to his idea that 'the place where you lie on is the place of your dreams... the stains of bedrooms/ hotels where the artist has stayed over the years' (Campbell S Marlborough Fine Art, 1997). A brief glance would alert the viewer that this is

not a restful place of dreams but a place full of disturbing imagery and disquiet. The *Chesterfield Dreams* works were an amalgam of references including: Alfred Hitchcock's strange 1955 black comedy *The Trouble with Harry* (in which residents of a rural New England village find and try to hide an inconvenient corpse with humorous consequences) and the story of poet Percy B. Shelley's death by drowning in 1822 off the Italian coast. Campbell also worked the sickly figure of ex-pat Scottish novelist Robert Louis Stevenson into his narrative and the true story of a body found by a police officer friend in the canal in Kirkintilloch, one of several elements from his wide cache of his personal imagery and anecdote.

In 1831 Regency-era ladies fashion journal *La Belle Assemblée* published a short story under the title 'Lord Chesterfield's Dream'. Whilst there is no evidence that Campbell was aware of this obscure story, some of the imagery the anonymous author invoked - the adorned alabaster sculptures, and the narrator's dream of seduction - chime closely with Campbell's imagery in this series (*La Belle Assemblée or Bell's Court and Fashionable*

Magazine, 1831). Campbell's *Chesterfield Dreams* title might also be another footballing reference, a pun on Second Division Chesterfield FC's successful FA Cup season 1996-97 as much, or as well as, a reference to an obscure nineteenth-century story.¹⁰⁴

Formally, the device of smaller framed elements and portraits within the overall picture frame are a development from earlier works such as his 1989 collage *Portrait of May Milton Between Studio and the Toilet* or his 1994 *Being Human* portrait of Bill Forsyth. Their formal qualities also pre-figured the sketches he later made for the Edwin Morgan project for SNPG in 2000-01. The framing device Campbell used in *Chesterfield* works like *The Birds* and *The Spider* was suggestive of a hall-of-mirrors-style inner world simulating the rows of painted eyes staring out at the spectator in a portrait gallery. The effect of *collaged* layers alongside the psychotherapeutic dream references, confirm that Campbell's work continued to some extent Surrealist concerns.

The two emerging figures in his *The Emotional Detectives* painting (Fig. 136) was later echoed by the posing of the double-portrait of Campbell and Bill Forsyth made by Orcadian



photographer Gunnie Moberg. The image was captured when they were in Stromness for the opening of the *Chesterfield Dreams* exhibition, the similarity suggesting Forsyth had been roped into dressing for the occasion.

Fig. 137, c.1990s Gunnie Moberg, *Steven Campbell and Bill Forsyth* (NGS/ nationalgalleries.org)

¹⁰⁴ Chesterfield FC eventually made it through to the semi-finals to play against Premiere division Middlesbrough in the 1997 Semi-Final.

After Orkney, *Chesterfield Dreams* also showed at the William Hardie Gallery in Glasgow before travelling to Marlborough in London. It was the second time Campbell exhibited with Hardie garnering very little in the way of critical responses or reviews. Instead I include an extended quotation from Hardie's description of the Glasgow edition of the show,

there was room for ten of Steven Campbell's large pictures. Campbell had written illuminating catalogue notes... As they originated on the sofa upon which the artist would dream his dreams, several of the paintings had button-backs like a chesterfield. They were couched, if you'll pardon the pun, in a new language. The art-historically minded could see traces of Beuys and of Jain art, and even more unexpectedly, of the potter Bernard Palissy... As usual with Steven Campbell, everything down to the smallest detail was there for a reason. But gone was the carefree humour of his work three years earlier; these pictures were larger, more sombre, more elegiac (p. 175-176 Hardie, 2017).

Although *Chesterfield Dreams* is now a lesser-known body of work in Campbell's *repertoire*, it was not without success and he did sell some of the works. Notably, Glasgow Museums bought *The Emotional Detectives* from Hardie. He later recounted how his gallery and the local economy were prioritised in the purchase, 'I appreciated Julian Spalding's approach to the Steven Campbell painting which he scrupulously bought through us' (p. 119 Hardie, 2017).

Hardie's memoirs of being a gallerist are a subjective *pot-pourri*, a collection of anecdotes and personal observations nonetheless useful to the historian. In a typically subjective passage Hardie extemporises on the *Chesterfield Dreams* works and Campbell himself,

In August 2007 I had received news that Steven Campbell had died... *Harry to Heaven* in his show ten years earlier in Blythswood Square came to mind, the Shelley picture on which Steven had inscribed 'Via Reggio,' the place of the poet's drowning... [Campbell's] roots were in picture-making and although he was proud of passages of painting an eye, or a flower... agreed that all such realism was a distraction. Each of his own paintings attempted vigorously to subvert the viewers expectations (p. 179 Hardie, 2017).

The *Chesterfield Dreams* body of work, although still within the realms of painting are more clearly sculptural in their formal qualities and thus, to some extent, are outliers in Campbell's practice. However, elements of the work were consistent with Campbell's ongoing concerns such as: self-referentiality - his alter-ego in these works was Shelley - and intertextuality, such as his referencing of Hitchcock's dark comedy and literary allusions to both Shelley and Stevenson. The references to psychotherapy through the language of dreams and form of the Chesterfield couch again point to an enduring engagement with Surrealist themes.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

The 1990s represented a period of highs and lows for Campbell. It was a period of experimentation in his practice and ended in validation with Scottish Arts Council funding in 2000 and another SNPG commission, both considered in the next chapter. Key motifs and practices in Campbell's 1990s work also anticipated later bodies of work made for the Talbot Rice Gallery *Caravan Club* exhibition in 2002.

The relatively small scale and diversity of Campbell's output in the 1990s was indicative that he no longer received the national-level institutional support that he had enjoyed in the 1980s. Tate, SNGMA and his American patrons failed to follow up on their early support either with new purchases or by exhibiting the works they already had. However, Campbell did continue to get commissions albeit more local and on a smaller scale. His exhibitions in this period were largely self-initiated or initiated by galleries in Scotland: whilst *Pinocchio's Present* in 1993 and *Chesterfield Dreams* in 1997 both travelled to Marlborough his London gallery, there were none that were initiated there. Perhaps the lack of larger-scale projects was the very factor that prompted Campbell to produce such an eclectic and experimental body of work in this period.

There is a wealth of research on the health and wellbeing benefits of increased or higher social status. By comparison there is a small but growing body of research on the negative impacts of loss of social status. Although their research was mostly grounded in professional management structures, Jennifer Carson Marr and Stefan Thau explored the psychological impacts of loss of status and how it can effect an individual's productivity (Marr and Insead, 2013). Key factors identified by Marr and Thau were the loss of resources that come with a higher social status, self-blame, or a sense of failure. Although not directly comparable to art, usefully one of their case studies measured professional Baseball players

salary negotiations proposed a model that comprised the intangible factors of celebrity. They concluded that initial position in a status hierarchy influences performance after losing status: 'High-status individuals experience more self-threat and subsequent difficulty performing well after losing status than do low-status individuals' and that a reversal or 'opportunity to affirm self' could restore performance (p. 243 Marr and Thau, 2013). Their hypothesis supports anecdotal assumptions about the negative impact of professional disappointments. Seen through this lens Campbell's slowdown in productivity in the 1990s might be understood as a response to his perceived change in status within artworld fashionability. Campbell's subsequent return to a hyper-productivity in the early 2000s, following the affirmation funding, would also support this.

CHAPTER SIX: RE-EVALUATIONS 2000 TO THE PRESENT

Introduction to Chapter Six

This chapter deals with a revival of interest in Steven Campbell's work in the early 2000s when he was sought out by a younger generation of curators, critics and artists and his work subject to re-evaluation. Campbell's reaction to the process of critical re-evaluation his reputation was undergoing was discernible in his work. As well as being a phase of innovation and reinvigoration for Campbell, there was also a detectible mood of retrospection and reflection in his work. In what was to be his final cycle of paintings, he revisited characters from his earliest works including Violette Nozière – from the 1981 *Poised Murder* performance – and Lytton Strachey – subject of his 1985 painting, *The Dangerous Early and Late Life of Lytton Strachey*. Campbell died suddenly in 2007 at the relatively young age of fifty-three after a very productive couple of years of painting. Campbell's posthumous exhibitions are considered as part of the process critical reframing of his practice.

Creative Scotland Award, 2000

As already outlined in Chapter Five, in the decade between Campbell's 1990 Year of Culture installation *On Form and Fiction* and the start of the new millennium, both he and figurative painting more generally had been left stranded by the changing tides of taste. Whereas Campbell's institutional support in the 1980s was international and UK-wide in scope (including US and German galleries, Tate and the wide reach of the British Council) his collaborators and patrons in the 1990s became almost entirely restricted to small commercial galleries and local authorities in Central Belt Scotland. On the most fundamental level, the impact of this falling away of institutional support can be seen in the scale of works Campbell made in this period which became much smaller in size. Although he was less productive in the 1990s, Campbell continued to innovate, his ambition for the works and their complexity did not diminish.

Campbell was gravely ill in the early 2000s which also impacted on his productivity. Reflecting in the 2002 *Artwork Scotland* documentary, Campbell set down the boundaries of what he would and would not say about his health scare,

a year ago today I had only a certain amount of time to live... When I should have been lying down and just getting well... I did all that [the paintings in *The Caravan Club* exhibition] ...people see ...the possibility that I hadn't been well... but what it was really was nothing to do with anyone (TV: *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002).

Although clearly delineating his privacy, Campbell continued to be open about his struggle back to health and resuming his practice. He later commented in a 2005 interview in *The Scotsman*,

I was going through a temporarily insane period... I was just painting on paper. It was more stuff for me, to sort out my head, sort of therapy... I've got a healthy self-

destructive streak in me. I have genuinely lost periods. I don't mean lost through drink - I don't drink half as much as people suppose. I was in hospital, I woke up and thought I was 35. I was 49. My strengths are my weaknesses (Mansfield, 2005).

After the crisis came support. In 2000 Campbell was awarded the £25,000 *Creative Scotland Award* by the then-Scottish Arts Council. The award was transformative for Campbell's artistic confidence. It heralded a change in scale for Campbell: he started making larger works again. It also marked the beginning of a period of renewed institutional support. In a short film produced shortly after the award Campbell reflected on the award's impact,

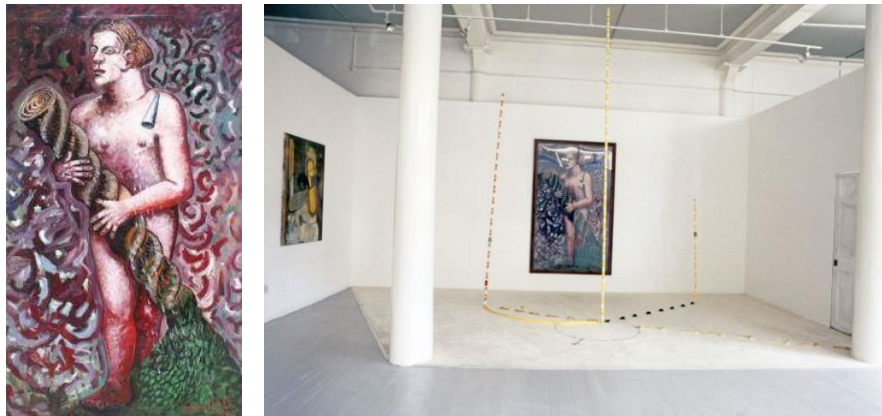
The money... gives you a sense of... I know it's a sort of shallow thing to say... a sense that you're wanted to a degree. If somebody gives you that kind of money to do a work you're particularly keen on, it gives you a sense of confidence even though you should have all the confidence in the world. You know when you get that, you know you're suddenly of worth (*Film: Steven Campbell: The Creative Scotland Award 2000*, 2000).

In considering why Campbell was awarded the funding at this stage, it seems likely that enough time had passed for a critical distance to be established from the noise around the Glasgow painters of the 1980s for funders to be able to assess Campbell on his own terms. The 1990s generation of Glasgow artists had effectively established a decade-long monopoly of the apparatus of art in Scotland, their grip slowly beginning to loosen by 2000. The Scottish Art Council's *Creative Scotland* award was controversial, as outlined by Helen Monaghan in her review of Campbell's *Caravan Club* exhibition, 'Campbell, along with other seasoned professionals such as Peter Chang, Will Maclean and George Wylie were selected over the younger generation of artists. Many of them felt they had been excluded and the SAC's choice was a predictable and safe bet' (p. 96 Monaghan, 2002). However, the Scottish Arts Council's *Annual Report 2001-02* emphasised the intention of the award was to support mid-career artists,

the Creative Scotland Awards that fund new work by artists of established reputation. It was therefore heartening to hear the brilliant painter Stephen [sic] Campbell, in January

2002, express his thanks for the monetary award and, equally, his appreciation of an emphatic public endorsement of his talent' (p. 2 Boyle, 2002).

By 2000 Campbell had become side-lined by health issues and changes in art world tastes. In this respect that Campbell can be understood, in Michael Bracewell's terminology, as marginal (see Chapter Five) or an outsider in the Scottish and UK art world, and completely forgotten in the US, despite his great success there earlier in his career.



Figs. 138-139, Left: 1983 Campbell *Man with Spiral Tree* (greatwesternauctions.com).
Right: 2000 works by Albert Oehlen, Campbell, and Lucy McKenzie in
Charisma: It May be a Year of Thirteen Moons But It's Still the Year of Culture exhibition Transmission
Gallery (Courtesy of Keith Farquhar).

In 2000 Campbell was asked to take part in a group exhibition at Glasgow's Transmission Gallery *Charisma: It May be a Year of Thirteen Moons But It's Still the Year of Culture* curated by artists Keith Farquhar and Lucy McKenzie as curatorial duo *Charisma*.¹⁰⁵ The gallery committee, arguably more painting-friendly than it had been for years, included artists Kate Davis, Alan Michael and Clare Stephenson. The *Charisma* exhibition was in keeping with a generational aesthetic shift in programme. Campbell gave them an early piece, his 1983 work *Man with Spiral Tree*. Being invited to this show was significant for several reasons, not least that his work had never been shown at Transmission Gallery neither when it was established in

¹⁰⁵ The exhibition's title references Rainer Werner Fassbinder's tragic love story *In a Year of 13 Moons* released in 1978.

1983 by a group of fellow Drawing and Painting graduates keen to expand the network of exhibiting spaces in the city, nor in the intervening seventeen years.¹⁰⁶ Charisma's approach represented a conscious break from previous curatorial framing of Campbell. The exhibition and press release made no reference to Campbell's New Image/ New Glasgow Boys associations, instead it proposed that, 'The current reception of his work, post Year of Culture, poses questions to basic form and content within gentrified art tastes and its close allegiance with fashionability' (Charisma and Transmission Gallery, 2000). Campbell was given a new context alongside 1980s German neo-expressionist work of Albert Oehlen and contemporary work by Markus Selg, Merlin Carpenter, Farquhar, and McKenzie. McKenzie may have had a more nuanced and developed response to Campbell's work through her personal connections to GSA. McKenzie's engagement with Campbell's work was also evident in her 2000 *Poised Campbell* painting (in a private collection) which reworked Richard Lenaghan's documentation of *Poised Murder* group student performance from 1981. As a copy of the photography of Campbell's painterly performance tableaux, McKenzie's painting was a deliberate complication of the Postmodern feedback loop of artistic transcription, effectively inserting herself into the existing art school narrative.

¹⁰⁶ Although Campbell's *The Mountain* had been sold in the 1987 Transmission Gallery fundraising auction as outlined in Chapter Three.

Exhibition: Edwin Morgan tribute Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 2001-02



Fig. 140, c. 2000-01 preparatory sketch for Edwin Morgan exhibition (SNPG archives. Author's own image)

Soon after his *Creative Scotland Award* Campbell began making a body of work about poet (and fellow Rutherglen Academy old boy) Edwin Morgan later exhibited at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (SNPG) in 2001. Again, the project is woefully under-represented in the literature about Campbell. I included

an extended quotation of his own description of the creative development of project,

I thought I'd take a look at my own work via the history of Scottish art, because mine always look as if it was part of some tradition of things... I done four paintings and four reliefs based on the aura of Eddie [Edwin Morgan]. But what I found when I went to Eddie's House ... it wasn't at all poetic or... that made him stand out from anything. But if you looked you could find certain things [...] so I was really a kind of detective of the house... It was good because I had to start drawing again, using a sketchpad. And I hadn't done that for years and years, my god 10 years. So, in doing this thing with Eddie, it got me back to doing it in a more traditional way of saving ideas rather than just having the memory of it, saving the ideas visually in a notebook. But working on this scale it means your mind becomes quite acrobatic' (*Film: Steven Campbell: The Creative Scotland Award 2000*, 2000).

Six years after Campbell was commissioned to painting Bill Forsyth, he was again approached by then-Director of SNPG, James Holloway to exhibit there. The project developed into collaboration with art-photographer Ron O'Donnell celebrating three Scottish bards represented in the collection: Robert Burns, Edwin Morgan, and 1960s pop singer-songwriter Donovan. The project's working title *B.E.D.* comprised the initials of the primary subjects, it may also have been an oblique reference to a night Campbell once spent at Burn's House in Dumfries sleeping in the poet's bed (Rice and C Campbell, 2019). In the end, Campbell and O'Donnell settled on Morgan as the sole subject of their work. However, early press coverage of the project in *The Sunday Times* had placed greater emphasis on the Burns element of the

triumvirate. *B.E.D.* should have coincided with an in-fact never-realised costume drama about Burns and his lover Clarinda (aka Agnes Maclehose).¹⁰⁷ *The Sunday Times* piece was illustrated by a picture of Campbell sitting on his studio floor surrounded by painted sock heads. In a clear demonstration of this thinking, Campbell was quoted comparing Burns to rock stars of the day. In a decisive move away from the ubiquitous romantic imagery of the SNPGs 1787 Alexander Nasmyth portrait of Burns, Campbell was planning to represent the bard in modern attire, 'Burns will be wearing Armani – he was a very hip guy wasn't he? He would have been a really snappy and fashionable dresser, so our plan is to bring him in to modern times' (Miller, 2000).



Figs. 141-142, c. 2000-01 preparatory sketches for Scottish National Portrait Gallery Edwin Morgan commission (SNPG archive. Author's own image)

Some of Campbell's early concept sketches survive in the gallery archives capturing the stuffiness of the traditional gallery spaces of the SNPG before its refurbishment in 2011. They are curious workings out of the exhibition layout that have a presence and life beyond the functional, almost like stage-sets in miniature or dollhouse scale. The sketch on the left even has cut out 'Ron' and 'Steven' figures floating in abstract space seemingly surrounded by clock

¹⁰⁷ The film's main producer was actor James Cosmo, reputedly Johnny Depp was to star as Burns (Scott, 2000)

faces, a motif borrowed from his visit to Morgan's house, a *memento mori* or a reminder to get on with the job in hand.



Figs 143, c.2001-02 *Red Train Going Left Right Up Down - Tearing Apart* (CC collection)

These sketches reveal Campbell's preoccupation with abstract patterns made by the complicated hangs of framed portraits on the gallery walls. Using the same red ground, the Morgan sketches bear a strong visual resemblance to Campbell's representations of passenger faces looking through windows of trains in his slightly

later 2002 *The Caravan Club* exhibition. In his *Red Train Going Left Right Up Down - Tearing Apart* the faces framed in train windows look like a gallery of portraits, or possibly even film strips.

Campbell's Edwin Morgan works depicted the writer in heavy-rimmed spectacles, a visual throwback to Alexander Moffat's 1980 portrait of Morgan. On related drawing featuring the glasses Campbell wrote the name 'Carlos'. The specific reference is unclear it could have been a reference to William Carlos Williams, the Puerto Rican/American Imagist poet much admired by Morgan, or to Carlos the Jackal whose incognito look was synonymous with retro-styled, black-rimmed specs. On closer inspection, the name 'Walter Carlos' had been written on the drawing and scribbled over by Campbell. This is the birth name of the early transgender synth pioneer Wendy Carlos, famous for the *Switched-On Bach* album that featured in the soundtrack of the 1971 Stanley Kubrick film *The Clockwork Orange* which of course is also the local nickname given to the Glasgow subway system.



Figs. 144-146, left: 2001 *A Tribute to Edwin Morgan* (Detail) (SNPG archives); centre: 1980 Alexander Moffat *Edwin Morgan* (NGS/ nationalgalleries.org); above right: *Carlos* sketch (CC Collection. Author's own image); below right 2000-01 *Edwin Morgan* head portrait (CC collection).

As always with Campbell, the references were multiple, visual, linguistic, and tangential. He continued to be aesthetically and intellectually concerned with layering interpretations at the same time as breaking direct or literal semiotic meanings of the images he made, creating new meanings suggested by tangles of words and ideas.

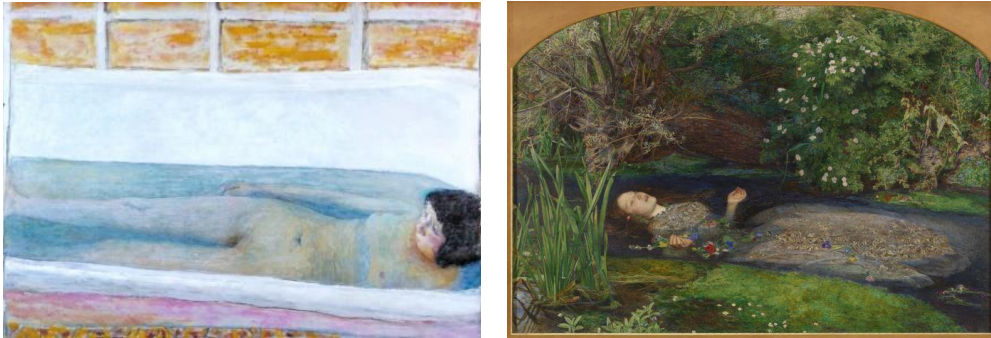


Fig. 147 installation shot, *A Tribute to Edwin Morgan* exhibition 2001 SNPG (SNPG archives)

Exhibition: The Caravan Club & Artwork BBC Scotland documentary, 2002

Campbell's *Caravan Club* exhibition opened at the Talbot Rice Gallery in Edinburgh in August 2002 having previously exhibited there in 1993. The exhibition was accompanied by the television broadcast of a new BBC *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary about the show some seventeen years after the *Arena film* on Campbell was first broadcast in 1986. Much of the nostalgic tone of the 2002 documentary came from its reliance on footage from the earlier film. The *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary advanced the narrative that Campbell had all but disappeared from public life. The voiceover set up the plot in the opening sequence, 'Here at the Talbot Rice Gallery it's his first large-scale solo show since he disappeared from the public eye ten years ago' (TV: *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002). As detailed in Chapter Five, Campbell had never stopped working, exhibiting, or selling work in the preceding decade. However, by exaggerating Campbell's reclusive behaviour, the documentary makers were giving both artist and viewing public a fresh start in which the story can begin anew. It was, in effect, a re-working of the prodigal son narrative explored in the *Arena* film with Campbell's return from New York replaced here by his return from obscurity. The commissioning of the documentary by the national broadcaster might be indicative of Campbell's change of fortunes by 2002. Arguably it was evidence of his reputation returning from the margins of the artworld in the 1990s to a more central position (again) in the national cultural discourse. The *Artworks* documentary embraced the self-reflexivity of the *Caravan Club* group of paintings. Carol Campbell was quoted described the disquieting effect on them all in Campbell's process of making, 'It wasn't an easy show to watch Steven create... He was plumbing a darker side of himself to make them. I found them quite difficult and really powerful to deal with' (TV: *ArtWorks Scotland: Steven Campbell*, 2002).

In the *Caravan Club* catalogue, curator Duncan Macmillan made a direct connection between Campbell's work and Surrealism through the interior psychological spaces he attempted to represent, 'Campbell has always subscribed to this idea of painting as an autonomous dream-driven world' (Macmillan 2002).



Figs. 148-149, left: 1925 Pierre Bonnard *The Bath*; right: 1851-52 John Everett Millais *Ophelia* (tate.org.uk)

The works in Campbell's *Caravan Club* series drew on a range of visual and cinematic sources. The recurring submerged, female nudes that appear in several of these paintings are ambiguous; are they bathers or are they unfortunate victims of crime? This question was at the heart of much of the critical responses to these works, exemplified in one review by the suggestion that Campbell was somehow exploiting middle-brow tastes for crime thrillers (Jeffrey, 2002). Campbell transformed the recurring bath motif into a cartouche in the large oil *Pulling the Pope Pushing the Kid*. A gathering of caravans loom in the background of the composition with what appears to be crime scene detritus is dumped in the foreground. The painting is infused with the sad atmosphere of John Everett Millais' *Ophelia* (1851-51). In sections of the canvas Campbell used feathered post-impressionistic brushstrokes redolent of Pierre Bonnard's *fin-de-siècle* intimate domestic bathing scene.



Figs. 150-151, Left: 2001 *Pulling the Pope pushing the Kid*.
Right: c.2001 *Physco [Psycho] Rugs Hosta!* (Private collection)

When read as a group, the prevailing mood of the *Caravan Club* series is sinister. A key reference point for Campbell was Alfred Hitchcock's 1960 film *Psycho*. Several paintings and sketches in the series bear the legend 'Physco Rug' - the artists' dyslexic attempt to spell *Psycho Rug*. Campbell was hung up on the observation that there was no bathroom rug in the infamous *Psycho* shower scene. In these works, Campbell folded his observation about *Psycho* into his earlier exploration of the notion that inanimate objects can retain memories (explored in the *Chesterfield Dreams* series). In Campbell's reckoning, the imagined *Psycho* bathmats bore witness to the horrible act of violence that Norman Bates perpetrated on Marion Crane in the film. In Campbells paintings shadow-y figures and traces of what had happened were visible on the surface of the rugs.



Fig. 152, 1960 screenshot, *Psycho* (dir. Alfred Hitchcock)

As well as the multiple artistic and cinematic references this group of paintings included visual references to incidents from Campbell's own life. For example: the abstracted, 1960s-style vintage caravans were inspired by a family camping holiday and the recurring rat motif, head inside a paper bag, a throwback to his days commuting on the New York subway (underlined by Campbell's use of the American spelling of 'donut' on the bag). The recurring mutilated figure with amputated legs was from a vivid recollection of an attempted suicide Campbell unfortunately witnessed on the New York subway. In the *Caravan Club* group of works Campbell was consciously working with trauma and repressed pain, this arguably underlined the link between Campbell's practice and what Jonathan Eburne has described as Surrealism's commitment to respond, 'directly to the violence of twentieth-century history' (p. 1 Eburne, 2008).

Pattern featured prominently in this group of works along with his continued concern with surface and decoration. Campbell's own wardrobe was the source for retro geometric pattern used in several paintings in this series. The *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary featured a sequence of Campbell dressed in a louche holiday shirt, fading into the patterning of his *Jane Avril by Toulouse-Lautrec with Hippo Guts* painting appropriated from the garment, he was engulfed by his art. The camera trickery of the BBC documentary was a nostalgic nod to fade special effects used in early cinema such as the *Fantômas* movies (1913-14) that were to become a reference point for Campbell's later work.



Figs. 153-154, Left: 2002 screen shot BBC *ArtWorks Scotland* documentary.
Right: 2001-02 *Jane Avril by Toulouse-Lautrec with Hippo Guts*

Campbell's use of pattern was indicative of his interest in the historic links between textiles and painting, i.e. the tension inherent in medieval tapestries between their materiality (or objectness) versus their function as pictorial representations. Tapestry and rug motifs recur in Campbell's work from the late 1980s onwards, floating up to the surface of his paintings, creating autonomous pictorial spaces within the space of his paintings. This compositional practice was undoubtedly also a response to the sequenced panel layouts of the comic books that Campbell collected. Campbell's frequent use of floating tapestry and rug motifs can also be understood as a translation or analogy of his studio working practice.



Figs. 155-156, 2002 Campbell in his studio (Courtesy of Talbot Rice Gallery) and detail of layered canvasses

Campbell simultaneously worked on multiple unstretched canvasses, nailed into his studio walls, that he layered, finished and unfinished, on top of one another. The canvas layers are visible in pictures of Campbell's studio, the jumbled pictorial spaces created an *ad hoc collage* effect from the arbitrary juxtapositions that Campbell would replicate in his compositions with *tromp l'oeil* motifs such as rugs and *cartouches*.



Fig. 157, 2002 temporary installation, *The Caravan Club* (Courtesy of Talbot Rice Gallery)

Both Campbell's *Caravan Club* exhibition and his Edwin Morgan tribute show the year before featured crudely sculpted and painted objects made in unorthodox found materials such as beer cans, sport socks, cotton wool and cardboard, installed alongside the paintings. *The Caravan Club* installation included a series of *papier-mâché* heads, riding boots and a homemade cardboard *portmanteau* (or Gladstone bag), one of Campbell's signature motifs. These sculpted objects represented an interesting development in his practice, the materialisation of motifs from within the imagined spaces of his paintings into the space of our world. It was an attempt to collapse the distance between the viewer and the artist's internal world similar in conception to Jean Dubuffet's 'animated paintings' of the 1960s and 70s (Dubuffet, 1973).



Fig. 158-159, Left: 2001-02, cardboard and painted *papier-mâché* donut box and donut (Ron O'Donnell/ The Steven Campbell Trust); Right: date unknown, sock head (Instagram.com/hilljohnston)

The Caravan Club also included a mural/ installation which was recorded in the documentation of the exhibition but otherwise lost. The *assemblage* of Campbell's hand painted junk objects functioned as props for the mural and were suggestive of Campbell's formative interest in performance and his 1990 painted installation *On Form and Fiction*. Many of the individual objects no longer exist due to the ephemerality of their construction. Some were included in the 2018 *Love* exhibition at Tramway in Glasgow, recognisably Campbell's visual style. Decontextualised from the original installation they lost their narrative function but took on almost relic-like presence in the gallery space.

Thematic exploration: Death, dead bodies, and the Black Dahlia Murder

Many of the paintings in Campbell's *Caravan Club* exhibition were dark in tone and subject matter but this preoccupation was not new for Campbell. Reviews of the exhibition questioned whether this was lazy exploitation of middle-brow interests 'In the past the painter explored the old-fashioned detective novel and the comic turns of Jeeves and Wooster, now he is looking at our modern obsession with death, with murderers and serial killers in particular' (Jeffrey, 2002). In fact, it was a return to an earlier mood and themes for Campbell. This section takes a thematic look at representations of death and dead bodies across his practice. In common with a fascination with criminality and violence explored in Surrealist art and literature, accidents, death, and dead bodies were regular motifs in Campbell's work. This can be observed from the dramatic narrative of his earliest *Poised Murder* collaborative performance in 1981 up to the partially hidden corpses in his final cycle of *Fantômas*-inspired paintings made in 2006-07. The early alter-ego Hunt that appeared in his degree show was a composite character: athlete, spy, and *noir* gumshoe detective indicating the sources he was looking to. Campbell's early New York paintings featured clumsy characters seemingly oblivious to the imminent dangers of various comedic disasters. The works in his 1993 *Pinocchio's Present* exhibition were noted for their introspective darkness, a response to both family tragedies and the Yugoslavian wars. His 1994 *Outside Right at the Sunset Gate* exhibition was themed around the true story of John White's death by lightning strike and his 1997 *Chesterfield Dreams* series contained references to poet Shelly's death at sea and the storyline of the bothersome cadaver in Alfred Hitchcock's 1955 dark comedy *The Trouble with Harry*. Therefore, risk and death were a persistent theme for Campbell, signifying both emotional and intellectual concerns. As well as a response to wider existential crises and personal circumstances, his dark turn of mind can also be understood as a deep and

reverential interest in Surrealism which is implicit and explicit in his work. In two distinct bodies of work, Campbell explored and revisited two notorious twentieth-century crimes heralded by Surrealists as *cause célèbres* in their day: the scandalous Violette Nozière case of



patricide in 1930s Paris and the notorious Black Dahlia murder in 1947. Campbell explored the latter in a series of paintings and drawings made around 1999-2002 leading up to his *The Caravan Club* exhibition.

Fig. 160, c.2000-2002, *Untitled Black Dahlia/ Psycho Rugs*

‘Black Dahlia’ was the media nickname of a young woman Elizabeth Short who was found dead and horribly mutilated in an empty lot in Los Angeles in 1947 (Somebody Knows, 1950). The case triggered a tabloid sensation and remains unsolved. Because of its notoriety there are many theories circulating about possible perpetrators of the crime. The story has been fictionalised in books, TV movies and was made into a schlocky film in 2006 directed by Brian de Palma. In their 2006 publication *Exquisite Corpse: Surrealism and the Black Dahlia Murder* art historian and journalist Mark Nelson and Sarah Hudson Bayliss presented visual and evidence-based hypothesis linking the Black Dahlia murder, indirectly to the European Surrealists living in exile in post-war America.¹⁰⁸ Nelson and Hudson

¹⁰⁸ An informal grouping that included Max Ernst living in Sedona, Arizona, Man Ray in Los Angeles, and Marcel Duchamp in New York at the time of the murder.

Bayliss proposed that Short's death and the cultural responses to it bridged 'the worlds of art and crime... Elizabeth Short's body and the killer's crime-scene signatures bear a startling resemblance to elements in works by leading surrealist artists of the time' (p. 9 Nelson and Hudson Bayliss, 2006). Short's body had been very carefully mutilated and positioned to create a specific visual impact. As Campbell's paintings predated the publication by eight years, there is no suggestion that he was engaging directly with Nelson and Hudson Bayliss' thesis. Campbell was most likely responding to secondary TV and literary sources, artworld anecdote and the mood of the moment. This would be consistent with Carol Campbell's description of his approach when exploring a subject that was to, 'investigate something up to a certain point and then to stop so there was enough room for him. Don't become an expert on a subject because then there is no room for you' (Campbell and Young, 2018).

Nelson and Hudson Bayliss made a convincing argument that the crime was most likely perpetrated by the convicted sexual predator George Hodel, a practicing surgeon, psychiatrist, would-be artist, and art collector who was briefly a peripheral figure in the US Surrealist circle,

A far-reaching relationship between surrealist art and the killing appears to have existed for decades before and after the murder. Notable artists... Man Ray... Salvador Dali, Max Ernst and many others – may have unwittingly inspired this act of bizarre violence. Others may have referred to the murder in later works and may even have hinted at a knowledge of who the killer was (p. 10 Nelson and Hudson Bayliss, 2006).

Campbell's *Black Dahlia* paintings and sketches came late in his career and do not represent a major body of work but are worthy of consideration due to his approach. Typical of Campbell's tendency to synthesise, he conflated the Black Dahlia story with

narrative elements from Hitchcock's 1960 film *Psycho*. Specifically, the *Physco* [*Psycho*] *Rug*, a nod to the infamous shower scene. Instead of the worldly Black Dahlia of the real story, Campbell's corpse is childish, a female stand-in for the eternal boy *Pinocchio*, revisited from earlier works. She represented for Campbell childhood innocence, reminding the viewer of her humanity, that she was not just a victim of the sensational crime.

Campbell's *Black Dahlia/ Psycho* cycle comprised c. three large acrylic paintings on paper and a few small ink drawings. They were not exhibited as part of the *Caravan Club* exhibition but produced in parallel. In these paintings Campbell painted Black Dahlia's corpse on top of a 'Psycho Rug'. The rug motifs provided these compositionally spare works with colour, abstract pattern, the shadows illustrated the memory of the crime, Campbell's a poetic reimagining of forensics.

A useful literary parallel can be found for Campbell's treatment of the subject in the career of American crime writer James Ellroy, whose 1987 *Black Dahlia* novel provided the jumping off point for him to make these works. Ellroy has obsessed over the case over several decades, his consciously meta-fictive approach provided numerous opportunities for him to revisit the case in his literature, in interviews and articles. He uses the term 'transmogification' to describe his tendency to create composite characters (Powell, 2016). In Ellroy's case he synthesised the fates of his lead character Kay Lake, with Elizabeth Short (aka the Black Dahlia), and that of his own mother, Geneva Odelia, who was also found murdered in Los Angeles some ten years later. This hybridity was described by Crime Fiction scholar Steven Powell as, 'the ever-changing identity of individuals within a three-

way relationship, tied together by circumstances or emotions, a *noir* unholy trinity' (p.92 Powell, 2016) their identities not fixed by real life facts or within the boundaries of the novel. Ellroy gives himself, 'free rein to speculate and fantasize' (p. 94 Powell, 2016), a strategy that has allowed him to even more consciously insert himself into, and manipulate the real Black Dahlia story to a greater extent than Truman Capote managed in his faction account of mid-western murders of the Clutter family in his much critiqued 1966 book *In Cold Blood*.



Fig. 161, c. 2006-07 *Untitled* from the *Baby-Faced Killer Series* with Lytton Strachey

Although less narratively manipulative, Campbell's exploration of detection, crime and violence can be linked to wider artistic interests in these themes. Campbell's synthesising approach was also symptomatic of the Postmodern turn - contesting

signification, truth, narrative and meta-narrative - in art and literature of the 1970s and 80s. There remains an inherent tension in Campbell's work; while he continually drew attention to the artificiality of representation, he simultaneously created complex, illogical narratives unable to relinquish the impulse of storytelling, reinterpretation, and pathos. This was very evident in his late *Baby-Faced Killer* series of paintings. Much like Hitchcock's 1955 black comedy *The Trouble With Harry*, the bodies in this group of works resisted clumsy attempts to hide them. The yellow suited corpses might be read as a metaphor for signification and semiotic meaning, no matter how hard the protagonists tried to disguise or deconstruct them in Campbell's compositions they were still visible.

Outreach project: 16 Days of Action, Glasgow Museums, 2003

Perhaps in response to the dark themes of violence and murder explored in his *Caravan Club* exhibition, Campbell was invited to be the lead artist in a Glasgow Museums school's project run by Anne Wallace. This represented for Campbell a return to the outreach work he devised with Bill Forsyth in the late 1990s (outlined in Chapter Five). Wallace commissioned Campbell to work with a small group of Glasgow secondary pupils in response to the theme of violence against women. The resulting collaborative multi-media work *Lord Mammal Stone* (location currently unknown) was part of a programme of activities around the annual *16 Days of Action* campaign initiated by the UN on 25 November 2003, the International Day to Eliminate Violence Against Women. The *Times Education Supplement Scotland* described the process of making, 'pupils were not expected to copy his techniques but incorporating their work into his meant they too would have to use symbolism to get across their views about violence against women' (Cuddihy, 2004). The press launch was held at Hyndland Secondary School where it was originally installed with an intention for it to be shared, 'it will tour secondary schools in Glasgow, acting as a talking point' (Wallace quoted in Cuddihy, 2004). Around this time Campbell also participated in another outreach project working with school pupils in Aberdeen



run by the Lemon Tree art centre spending a week working with them in 2002 (Rice and C Campbell, 2019).

Fig. 162, Steven Campbell at the 'Artists Annual Christmas Office Party' 2003 in *The Doric Bar* Edinburgh, awarded *The Order of the Frog* (Courtesy of Tommy Crooks)

Exhibition: Jean-Pierre Léaud, Glasgow Print Studio, 2004

In 2004 Campbell exhibited a series of new paintings and prints at the Glasgow Print Studio (GPS) in his *Jean-Pierre Léaud* exhibition named after the French actor best known for playing 'Antoine Doinel' in François Truffaut's films.¹⁰⁹ This body of work was a typical Campbell vortex of literary, cinematic and autobiographical iconography and references in which, perhaps remarkably, 'Léaud' barely featured as a character. Instead, Campbell was interested in the entanglement of the identities of actor Léaud, director Truffaut, and his semi-autobiographical character Doinel over time. Their complex interdependence provided a parallel for the way Campbell used altar-egos and stand-in characters in his paintings. Arguably Truffaut's collective



personal narrative was also analogous to his sense of his own life's journey, like Léaud's, had been lived out in the public eye.

Fig. 163, 2004 *The Rosslyn Experience* (gpsart.co.uk)

Campbell had a relationship with GPS and Director John McKechnie going back to the 1980s and the exhibition included his 1985 etching *Natural Follies at Bee Junction* (edition of 50). He also made four new woodcuts in smaller editions of 20, much rougher in style than the earlier GPS print. They were a return to the roughly hewn aesthetic of his American prints and for *The Scottish Bestiary* (see Chapter Three). The *Léaud* exhibition also included one plaster relief work, *Two Poets: David & Rambo* (location currently unknown), which although is a representation of the late nineteenth-

¹⁰⁹ Léaud debuted as Doinel aged fourteen in *The 400 Blows* (1959) which was followed by: *Antoine and Colette* (1962); *Stolen Kisses* (1968); *Bed and Board* (1970); and finally in *Love on the Run* (1979).

century French poet Arthur Rimbaud, ended up in the catalogue spelt like Sly Stallone's character due to a misunderstanding when Campbell phoned in the titles (Rice and Campbell, 2019). In a throwback to his *Chesterfield Dreams* series, Campbell painted the poet's portrait onto the surface of a monochrome plaster relief covered in writhing tiny figures like Rodin's *Gates of Hell*. The youthful Rimbaud/ Rambo stood triumphantly wielding a knife atop a decapitated head. His stance evoked Michelangelo's Goliath-slaying *David* (1501-04 Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence) and, by virtue of a shared source portrait, also referenced David Wojnarowicz's *Rimbaud in New York* photographic self-portraits series (1978-1979) that, in an



act similar to Campbell's use of artistic alter-egos, featured the artist wearing a Rimbaud mask.

Fig. 164, Campbell, and a section of *Rimbaud/ Rambo* (Edward Jones, *The Herald*)

Campbell's interest in Rimbaud was multifaceted, both as a cult and literary figure. Campbell connected with Rimbaud's poetry through his use of vivid abstract imagery. Both Campbell and Rimbaud played with semiotic meaning in their work, words, and images with non-literal meanings. Both were interested in achieving a type of truth and originality, but neither

were reliable witnesses. For Rimbaud this was exemplified in his synesthetic poem 'Vowels' published in his 1873 collection *A Season in Hell* where he designated letters of the alphabet with colour values and thereby imbued with additional meaning. In this sense Rimbaud was an outlier or precursor to later shared concerns of Surrealism and Postmodernism – both key to positioning Campbell. French literature scholar Gwendolyn M. Bays explored André Breton and

Surrealism's indebtedness to Rimbaud in their shared willingness to break down the ego to release creativity,

[Rimbaud] announced his intention of using violent means in order to make himself a seer. Throwing himself into debauchery was merely an inverted form of asceticism whereby the young poet was trying to break down the barrier between the conscious and unconscious psyche some thirty years before Freud (p. 47 Bays, 1964).

Campbell may also be understood as an artist willing to break barriers of consciousness or at least one who gestured towards this possibility in his dreamlike compositions. Like Campbell, Breton and Léaud, Rimbaud arguably has become as much known for his life story as his artistic output and the apparent contradictions between the two, what Patti Smith referred to as 'the civil war of his personality' (p. v Rimbaud, 2011).

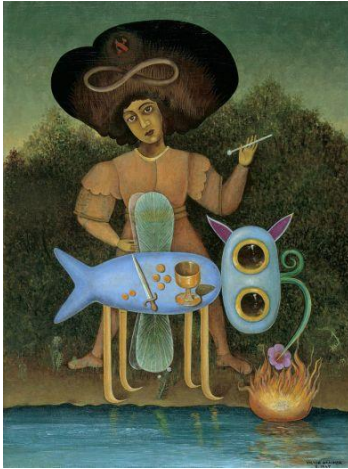


Fig. 165, John McKechnie putting the finishing touches to the Glasgow Art Fair 2008 booth featuring *The Ocular Circus of Cézanne* (Getty/ gpsart.co.uk)

Technically the *Léaud* series included some of the weakest and the some of the best paintings in Campbell's

oeuvre. Works such as *The Green Man's Twisted Eye at Rosslyn*, with its double-rotated central section was perhaps the most compositionally complex he had ever attempted. Overall, there was a pervading sense of urgency in these works, seemingly Campbell's mind was running at double-time with his hands and body struggling to keep up. Certainly, the next group of paintings he made between 2005-07 were technically much stronger and feel like a confident return to previous form. However, the *collage* of references and the ambition that drove Campbell to make the *Léaud* paintings was more significant than the technical prowess displayed in individual works.

Many of the *Léaud* works featured a curious recurring motif: Campbell had sprayed malachite green paint around the eyes and mouths of several figures in the series. The effect was jarring drawing attention to the surface of the canvas, giving the appearance of crudely *graffitied* eyeglasses. Campbell's *The Ocular Circus of Cézanne* - more reminiscent of Paul Signac's 1890 psychedelic portrait of Félix Fénéon *Opus 217* than the name-checked Paul Cézanne - featured green spray-painted circles on the face of the central figure. The stick figure, borrowed from the paintings of German Neo-Expressionist A.R. Penck, pointed to the green-rimmed eyes for emphasis. A clue to decoding Campbell's gesture may come in a tarot reference in one of the other paintings in the series: *De Magier with Mona Lisa Hair Smile*. In tarot decks the *De Magier* or *Magician* card represents creativity and transformation. Card designs typically include an infinity loop ∞ symbol that bears a strong visual similitude to Campbell's crude spray-painted spectacles. The symbol was appropriated by Victor Brauner in his talismanic



1947 painting *The Surrealist*. The occult, mysticism and spirits in nature were a strong underlying theme in Campbell's *Léaud* paintings. The folklore character of the Green Man, a motif borrowed from the mysterious Rosslyn Chapel, recurring in several canvases.

Fig. 166, 1947 Victor Brauner *The Surrealist* (guggenheim-venice.it)

There was a retrospective nature to many of the references in the *Léaud* exhibition. Campbell returned to Robert Louis Stevenson as a source in his painting of a suited and booted boyband, *Jekyll and the Hydes*. In the spare composition, all three members of the band had sprouted multiple heads to represent their multiple personalities. His own practice of using multiple alter egos in his work resonated, through Stevenson's most

famous character, with the philosophical and literary concept of Scottish duality, doppelgängers and moral contradiction also explored by Douglas Gordon in artworks such as, *The Divided Self I & II* (1996) and *Monster Reborn* (1996/ 2002). Campbell's Hunt character, the artist's first alter-ego, also reappeared in the *Léaud* series in works such as *A Mussolini Moment*.



Fig. 167 Bela Lugosi mesmerises in *Dracula*, 1931 (dererkwinnert.com)

Another Campbell favourite that made a re-appearance was *Dracula*, only in these works Campbell focussed on Bela Lugosi, the actor who immortalised Stoker's Prince of Darkness in the classic 1930s *Dracula* franchise. Lugosi was represented in greyscale as if he had walked straight off the screen and into the painting. Campbell was again reflecting on the way Lugosi, like Jean-Pierre Léaud, had become synonymous and interchangeable with the character that made him famous, a phenomenon also explored in Tim Burton's 1994 film *Ed Wood*. By painting his *Dracula* as Lugosi, Campbell was foregrounding the cinematic reference, drawing attention again to the interdisciplinarity of source material.

Although horror and occult references were plentiful in the *Léaud* group of paintings, the exhibition was collectively less overtly dark than *The Caravan Club* had been, the palette notably lighter in colour and tone. The interpretive material for this show was lightweight: a gallery talk by the artist and a small catalogue with less than one hundred words of

introduction and no essay. This was probably reflective of GPS's more modest programme budget when compared to the (then) core-funded Talbot Rice Gallery.

Later in 2004 Campbell was nominated for the Glenfiddich Spirit of Scotland award in the visual art category. As ever *The Reformer* (formerly *The Rutherglen Reformer*) ran a piece supporting the local boy, urging readers to vote for Campbell before the televised final in November (McHendry, 2004). Somewhat bafflingly, Campbell and the other nominated artists were beaten in a public vote by Fiona Bradley, Director of The Fruitmarket (Glenfiddich, 2004) in a result that symbolised the pre-eminence of curators over artists in the era.

Exhibition: Campbell's Soup group exhibition at Glasgow School of Art, 2005



Fig. 168, Ronnie Heeps *Hunt Looking for Campbellsque Tendencies* (Paisley Museum and Art Galleries/ artuk.org)

The Glasgow International Festival of Visual Art (GI) was launched in 2004 with curator and writer Francis McKee as Director. The festival grew out of the official and unofficial contemporary art activities that would happen in the city around the annual *Glasgow Art Fair*.¹¹⁰ The first iteration of *GI* was pulled together in just under a year with a tiny budget of £40,000 (p. 390 Lowndes, 2010). The haste was noted by Adrian Searle 'a slightly confusing and piecemeal affair. It feels as if it was coordinated in a rush' (Searle, 2005). Nonetheless there were over one hundred and fifty artists showing in twenty-nine exhibitions and installations in the first festival. From the outset McKee's approach was outward looking and global in scope, reflective of Glasgow's standing as a centre of art production and the community of

¹¹⁰ In response to the loss of trust generated by Glasgow City Council's shoddy treatment of curator Alexia Holt and the almost closure of Tramway in 2003, Rebecca C Nesbitt suggested, 'The Glasgow International Festival may be seen as an attempt on the part of the city council to placate the visual art community and latterly acknowledge its international importance after this debacle' (Nesbitt, 2005).

international artists who lived there. GI was more in the spirit of a curated international biennial than *Glasgow Art Fair*, the straightforward selling event it was replacing. The funders including Scottish Arts Council, Glasgow City Council and the tourism and development agencies, were also looking at GI as a means of driving cultural visitors into the city. Success was measured by increased tourist spend and hotel beds filled. Although it effectively meant having to swallow an instrumentalisation of the arts, the project was deemed a success, budgets increased, and its survival was assured – the festival continues to this day. McKee later cited the importance of the commissioned impact reports,

there was an interesting economic survey that the city carried out after the second year of the festival in 2006, that showed the economic benefits... brought to the city – [it] found that for every £1 spent, £9 came back and that transformed the festival. It wasn't that the city didn't like contemporary art -but once they saw the economic benefit it became clear that Glasgow International was working for... the city (p. 397 Lowndes, 2010).

Initially McKee approached all the major galleries and institutional spaces in the city as well as many artist-run spaces about participating. The Exhibitions Office at GSA (comprising Kathy Chambers and myself) were approached with the specific suggestion of revisiting the legacy of the 1980s 'New Image' painting through an exhibition in the Mackintosh Gallery. The project was an opportunity to revisit and revise understandings of the period from within the place the artists trained. In response to his review of the 2001 *Charisma* exhibition, we invited Neil Mulholland from Edinburgh College of Art to curate the GI show. He suggested an exhibition themed around Campbell and his influence on Scottish contemporary art. We wrote to Campbell to invite him to participate in the project, he agreed. Mulholland invited a further twenty-three artists to exhibit, in his curatorial thesis Campbell was the central figure. Mulholland's intention for the intergenerational show was to evidence a loose lineage organised around an expanded notion of painting and performance, that beginning with an

earlier generation of (mostly Glasgow) painters including Alasdair Gray and John Byrne, via Campbell, up to the (then) most recent graduates that included Lucy Stein and Iain



Hetherington.¹¹¹

Fig. 169, 2005 installation shot, *Campbell's Soup*, Mackintosh Gallery (Alan Dimmick)

Campbell exhibited three paintings:

The Naked Hiker last exhibited in the Mackintosh Gallery as part of his 1982 degree show, *Gesturing with a Blue*

Fish, a classic large scale work first exhibited at the Riverside in 1984, and his most recent *Waiting - Paisleycus Byrnicus Virus Invading Mr Gray*, the paint still slightly wet when it arrived. *The Sunday Times* review of the show quoted Campbell describing the typically improvised approach he took to making *Waiting - Paisleycus Byrnicus*: 'a constant state of not knowing. I gesso the canvas and then think, what now. It's still a surprise' (Burnside, 2005). The exhibition also included two works produced in direct tribute to Campbell: Lucy McKenzie's *Poised Campbell* (2000) based on stills from Campbell *et al*'s 1981 *Poised Murder* performance and Ronnie Heeps' psychedelic homage, *Hunt Looking for Campbellesque Tendencies* (c.2000).

¹¹¹ The press release outlined the participating artists and why they were chosen, 'In this exhibition cross-cultural and cross-generational allegories will simmer between the works of precursors Alasdair Gray, John Byrne, Ron Kitaj, Jack Knox and Alexander Moffat, paintings by Campbell contemporaries Mark Kostabi, and Alexander Guy as well as idiosyncratic works by younger artists such as Rabiya Choudhry, Ronnie Heeps, Iain Hetherington, Laurence Elliot, Keith Farquhar, Michael Fullerton, Iain Hetherington, The Lonely Piper, Rory MacBeth, Lucy McKenzie, Ellen Munro, Lee O'Connor, Alex Pollard, Harry Pye, Jo Robertson and Lucy Stein' (author's own archive).

The accompanying catalogue included commissioned essays by Mulholland, Susannah Thompson, and Michael Bracewell. Exhibiting artists were invited to speak at the one-day 'Souposium' held in the Mackintosh Lecture Theatre. The event was recorded, and DVDs distributed to GSA, ECA libraries and to participating speakers. Campbell's long interview with Mulholland (made all the longer by multiple audience interruptions) was a central source for this research.

Being directly involved in the organising the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition obviously brings with it the risk that my research could be clouded by subjectivity and lack critical distance. I have been careful to look for a range of published critical responses to support my general recollections and interpretations and have tried to create a context. The experience of meeting Campbell, planning, and delivering the exhibition was the impetus to undertake a wider research project resulting in this thesis. My experience of researching the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition in 2004-05 simultaneously highlighted Campbell's key position within contemporary Scottish art and culture and revealed a gap in historical and critical writing about him that writing this thesis sought to redress.

John Byrne Double Portrait(s)



Figs. 170-171, Left: 2005 *Waiting - Paisleycus Byrnicus Virus Invading Mr Gray*; Right: John Byrne, *The Artist Steven Campbell* (Paisley Museum and Art Galleries/ artuk.org)

Campbell's painting *Waiting – Paisleycus Byrnicus* (2005) was purchased directly from the *Campbell's Soup* exhibition for the Paisley Museum and Art Galleries collection. The painting was the result of a mutual portrait project initiated by Ross-shire gallerist Gordon Brown. In 2004-05 he invited Campbell and fellow GSA painting alumni John Byrne to paint one another, incredibly they had never met before. Campbell was not a natural portraitist, usually capturing the spirit of a person through a series of objects and attributes as evident in earlier portrait commissions of Tom Normand and Edwin Morgan. Campbell's portrait of Byrne was an exercise in non-verisimilitude as well as being an example of a classic Campbell self-portrait alter-ego. Anna Burnside described it in *The Sunday Times* as

a wonderfully dense, colourful thing. A portrait within a portrait, [the] nod to Dorian Gray, at the centre is a figure which started off as Byrne but now has remarkably familiar cheekbones and pale, choppy hair' (Burnside, 2005).

Campbell resolved the lack of direct likeness of his portrait with other elements to identify the sitter. As a tribute to Byrne's hometown he almost entirely covered the canvas surface in lurid 'exuberant paisley patterns' (Burnside, 2005). The pattern took on a sinister life of its own within the narrative, '(t)he hidden figures have a terrible paisley-pattern disease that has contaminated their bodies' (Burnside, 2005). In another interview Campbell described his nervousness about the assignment and the struggle to make a satisfactory likeness,

My palms were sweating. I was sitting here hoping he wouldn't phone, and he said he was sweating, hoping I wouldn't phone [...] He scared the bejesus out of me. He's got a great vibrancy about him – how to get that in a picture? I tried reducing his face to its intrinsic simplicity, whacking on the paint, and you know what I ended up with? F***ing Santa Claus! I turned it back into John Byrne, but it's still not the man I met (Mansfield, 2005).

In contrast, Byrne's reciprocal portrait of Campbell sat more securely within the realms of traditional portraiture. It was a more accurate likeness of Campbell; the wariness of his expression belies Campbell's initial reservations. Byrne later explained,

[W]hen I first heard of him and saw an image of his work he became an important part of my life because you couldnae dislodge that image from your head, it was so different... particularly because it was Scottish... he'd gone to New York and then come back... I was only really getting to know him when he departed this world... I wish he was still with us, he's with us in all that huge body of work he left, extraordinary. Oh, he was true original (Byrne in Sinclair, 2010).

Later that winter the two portraits hung side-by-side in Paisley Museum. Campbell and Byrne took part in a public discussion with curator Andrea Kussel, to celebrate the acquisition. The room was busy and the talk full of good humour, warmth, and a shared self-perception of their place in Scottish art history. That the mutual portrait project originated in rural Scotland highlighted the role that regional, commercial galleries played in this part of Campbell's career. Brown's foresight to pair Byrne and Campbell, who had not previously met, was rewarded by the resulting museum-quality portraits and was indicative of the kind of role curators outside the central belt could play in supporting Scottish contemporary art. It provided a useful

exemplar for collaborative contemporary art projects in the so-called peripheral galleries and institutions in Scotland.

A Return to Surrealist Concerns, 2007



Fig. 172, 2007 *She ran wrong handed in to a dream of the film Repulsion becoming Catherine Deneuve*

In May 2007 Campbell was invited to exhibit at the short-lived Hamnavøe Gallery in Aberdeen. Entitled *The Vengeful Murders of Babette Nozière in One Act*, the small exhibition included a series of eight thematically linked paintings featuring Campbell's reimagining of the Violette Nozière story. She was a Surrealist *cause célèbre* of the 1930s and had first appeared as a character in his *Poised Murder* performance of 1981. This series also featured another Surrealist favourite, Allain and Souvestre's fictional arch criminal *Fantômas*. In these works, Campbell created a fictional sister for real life Violette: 'Babette' who was described in Duncan Macmillan's accompanying text, wearing 'her sister's clothes and seeks revenge for her execution' (Hamnavøe Gallery, 2005). In fact, the real life Nozière notoriously escaped capital punishment despite her mother's pleas for the death sentence to be applied. Campbell's murderous sister narrative was evocative of Jean Genet's 1947 play *The Maids*.¹¹² In these paintings Campbell also merged 'Babette' with the identifiable image of actress Catherine Deneuve recognised for her portrayal of another

¹¹² Genet's play was loosely based on the true story of the Papin Sisters who were found guilty of murdering their employers, the Lancelins, in the French city of Le Mans also in 1933. The story became one of the most famous *fait divers* of its day, covered and sensationalised by French mainstream press. Much like the Nozière case, the Papin affair was heralded by the *avant-garde* with photographs of the sisters 'before' and 'after' the crime appearing as early as 1933 as visual fodder in *Le Surréalisme au service de la révolution* (Breton, 1933). The sad and violent story continued to inspire artistic responses including Genet's.

murderous sister, the character of 'Carol' in Roman Polanski's first English-Language film *Repulsion* (1965).

The layered cinematic references in Campbell's late Nozière series grounded the viewer in the visually familiar whilst simultaneously destabilising any reading based on prior knowledge of the stories, although all were thematically linked by abuse and violence. A key revelation in the proceedings of the original 1933-4 trial was Nozière's posthumous accusation that she had been raped by her father: the perpetrator was transformed into the victim and the narrative form changed from melodrama to noir. Campbell gave a nod to dramatic form in the exhibition's title, 'In One Act'.

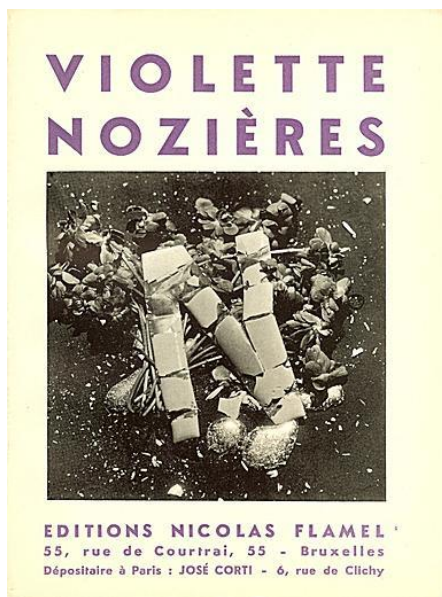


Fig. 173, *Violette Nozières* December 1933, published by Editions Nicolas Flamel, Brussels (ebay.com)

In 1933 Belgian Surrealist writer and artist ELT Mesens' published an anthology of texts and images in response to the coverage of the Nozière case (adding an extra 's' to her name). It featured written and visual contributions from Man Ray, Andre Breton, and Paul Éluard amongst other male artists. Their intervention might be understood as part of a wider

Surrealist preoccupation with criminality, specifically their interest in women's transgressions. In her detailed history of the case, Sarah Maza suggested that Nozière's crime was symbolic for the Surrealists, 'High literary culture fully partook in the cult of the bizarrely violent... the

dominant *avant-garde* movement of the time, Surrealism, drew much of its creative energy from fantasies of sadistic transgression' (p. 174 Maza, 2011).

Campbell knew about the case through Claude Chabrol's stylish and sympathetic revisiting of the story in the 1978 film *Violette Nozière* that starred Isabelle Huppert as the juvenile murderess. Campbell had painted multiple full-length portraits of Nozière in 1981 as scenic art for the *Poised Murder* collaborative student performance. By 2007 Campbell's hybrid *Violette/Babette/Carol* character slashed and menaced her way through his series of paintings.

Campbell gave her agency and a vengeful power that had been missing from the original narratives. Campbell's preferred soundtrack for the 1981 performance had been Philip Glass's sprawling 1976 opera *Einstein on the Beach*. The repetitions in Glass's minimalist masterpiece provide an instructive analogy for the way Campbell returned to certain themes over the span of his career. In Glass's opera spoken phrases such as 'these are the days my friends, these are the days' and musical phrases are hypnotically repeated and revisited over the duration of the five-hour performance. Throughout his twenty-five-year career Campbell's cast of returning



characters, motifs and narratives could be read as meta-narrative – the intricate worlds he created in each new canvas a combination of innovation and self-reference, a never depleting series of appropriations.

Fig. 174, Steven Campbell with original *Violette Nozière* scenic art for the *Poised Murder* performance (CC Collection)

Exhibition: Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven Glasgow School of Art, 2008



Figs. 175-176, Left: c.2007 *Untitled* from the *Extreme Sports* series; Right: detail with Gaviscon bottle

Campbell died months after making the self-reflexive and revisionist *Nozière* paintings. He felt unwell but carried on working unaware his appendix had burst. After a spell in hospital being treated for septicaemia, he died surrounded by family on 15 August 2007. Many of the paintings made in his final months featured a bottle of Gaviscon in the composition. The bottles functioned as a stand-in for Campbell himself, visual testimony to the medication he had been taking to mitigate the pain.

His final paintings were compositionally very strong and technically some of Campbell's most accomplished works. Thematically they related to the Hamnavøe show through the re-appearance of *Fantômas* as a character, represented by Campbell in these works in various guises. The first Allain and Souvestre *Fantômas* story, originally published in 1911, was followed by another 30 books about the escapades of the anti-hero thief and master of disguise. Between 1913-14 five *Fantômas* films were made by French director Louis Feuillade.

They used the early cinematic dissolve special effect as the villain vanished into backgrounds and changed appearance. Both films and novels were hugely popular gaining credibility with the artistic *avant-garde* as well as their obvious mass appeal. Notable Modernist *Fantômas* fans included Jean Cocteau, Kurt Weill, James Joyce, and René Magritte amongst others. Arguably their popularity was part of a wider trend for sensational crime stories that dominated press and literature in early twentieth-century France. Campbell's aesthetic interest in the ambiguous, intersection between popular and *avant-garde* tastes and *Fantômas*



corresponded with this concern.

Campbell's 'Fantômas' hid in curtains and was disguised in patterned carpets. In his *The Childhood Bedroom of Captain Hook with Collapsible Bed* he looked out from a framed painting or mirror on the wall behind the youthful Hook.

Fig. 177, c. 2006-07 *The Childhood Bedroom of Captain Hook with Collapsible Bed*

Campbell had been working on new paintings for a solo exhibition of at the Mackintosh Gallery at GSA when he died. Carol Campbell and the family were keen to go ahead, and a preview date was set for 15 August 2008 on the first anniversary of his death. In the end it was a two-venue exhibition with half the works being shown at Glasgow Print Studio (GPS) alongside the prints he had produced for the *Léaud* show in 2004. The exhibition's title, *Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven...*, had already decided by Campbell, a poetic line taken from the libretto of Claudio Monteverdi's

opera *L'Orfeo* (1607). The exhibition was co-curated by former-GSA Exhibitions Officer Kathy Chambers and GPS Director John McKechnie. The accompanying catalogue featured essays by Chambers, McKechnie, Mulholland and Campbell's New York collaborator, writer Barry Yourgrau.



Figs. 178-179, Left: Kathy Chambers selecting drawings in the Mackintosh Board Room; Right: installing the exhibition in the Mackintosh Gallery, Alan Kean, and Alistair Scott (Author's own images)

The exhibition at GSA included seven large oils on canvas, four framed acrylics in paper, including one of Campbell's original 1981 *Violette Nozière* portraits, and thirty smaller drawings on paper. The quality and complexity of the paintings demonstrated Campbell had been working with a renewed confidence, his untimely death even more poignant. A smaller version of the exhibition travelled to Marlborough Fine Art in London in July 2009 and the catalogue reissued.



Fig. 180, 2008 The Steven Campbell Trust Hunt Medal (Author's own image)

In 2008 the Campbell family established a memorial award for graduating GSA Fine Art students. Inspired by Campbell gaining the Bram Stoker prize in 1982, the Hunt Medal was established for work that represented 'Poetic

Creativity'. The medals were struck by sculptor Billy Teasdale, the design based on a drawing of one of Campbell's own degree show works made by his friend and art school contemporary Ninian Adair. A year later a trust was established in Campbell's name, inspired by Campbell's outreach work the aims were to further access to art education.¹¹³

Exhibition: On Form and Fiction restaged, 2014

In 2014 to coincide with Glasgow hosting the Commonwealth Games, National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) and Glasgow Museums jointly organised *GENERATION: 25 Years of Contemporary Art*, a Scotland-wide exhibition programme celebrating contemporary Scottish art. Taking the year 1989 as the starting point, the programme featured work by over one hundred artists in sixty galleries and museums across Scotland. The programme did not seek to present a national school or style, rather it sought to represent a diversity of artistic practices in Scotland in the period from 1989-2014. It included more women artists than previous surveys and included not only Scottish born artists but those who had trained in Scotland and who chose to live in Scotland.

GENERATION included a restaging of Campbell's 1990 *On Form and Fiction* by NGS in the Royal Scottish Academy building. The venue was significant, symbolically the epicentre of the art world in the Scottish capital. Chronologically Campbell's was the earliest exhibit and represented the starting point of the project's narrative. The inclusion of this work was a bold

¹¹³ I am one of the founding Trustees along with Carol Campbell, Kathy Chambers, Tom Chambers, Tommy Reilly, Marion Marlow, and Mark Sheridan

aesthetic and institutional shift in how Campbell was presented. It represented a decisive move away from the curatorial packaging of Campbell as part of the New Image Glasgow/ New Glasgow Boys narrative. In this new institutional reading, Campbell's work was re-framed as the Postmodern link between traditional painting techniques and neo-conceptualist practices.

2014 was a very significant year for Scotland in the international spotlight with the Commonwealth Games and the referendum on whether Scotland should become an independent country. In this context, *GENERATION*, and its associated restaged exhibits, could be understood as a quasi-political move, inscribing – through exhibition – a definitive, official historical narrative of Scottish contemporary art. A direct example of the representational power of exhibition and display.

The curatorial method at play in *GENERATION*, of exhibiting each artist in separate gallery spaces or rooms, borrowed heavily from the display methods established by the *ARTISTS ROOMS* touring exhibition programme, a collaboration between NGS and Tate. However, the 2014 curatorial approach of treating each display as an artwork had the somewhat problematic effect of levelling the various creative disciplines and materials represented. In Campbell's case this had the potential outcome of disguising the *painting-ness* of his *On Form and Fiction* room.

Roughly two thirds of the original *On Form and Fiction* exhibition was reconstituted in the 2014 restaging. The overall scale was reduced due to some of the individual component paintings

and drawings having been sold, cut-up or given away by the artist at the time of the original show. What remained went into storage at the original end of the tour and had not been touched since 1991. To recreate the wallpaper effect of the Third Eye installation, NGS conservation team Kirsten Dunne and Sarah Laing, meticulously pinned each drawing to a hidden cork surface lining the gallery wall using the original holes in the drawings created by Campbell's irreverent use of the staple-gun in 1990.

The restaging of Campbell's 1990 installation can be understood within a broader curatorial trend for restaging exhibitions. Considering relevant terminology, curator Robert Blackson proposed that reenactments were 'the direct opposite of making history... literally covering the same ground' (p. 29 Blackson, 2007). Drawing no distinction between historical reenactments (such as the Sealed Knot recreations of English Civil War battles) and contemporary art re-enactments, Blackson considered the emancipatory and creative potential for re-enactment.

In much the same way that psychotherapy can be a tool for individuals to revisit, edit and reinterpret their own past; cultural re-enactments offer the producer, spectator, and participant the possibility of interpretation and interaction with an artefact of the past. The 2014 restaging of Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* exhibition was undoubtedly an exciting opportunity for researchers and audiences to see the exhibition first-hand. However, the meticulous recreation of Campbell's exhibition could not in this case provide the artist with any creative opportunities; nor did it offer the kind of cathartic space that could empower participants in the way that Jeremy Deller's 2001 film *The Battle of Orgreave* reenactment might be understood. Therefore, the term reenactment cannot be relevant for Campbell's

exhibition, as it has the implications of action, performance and participation that restaging a static exhibition does not.

In 2011 Bruce McLean and the Nice Style Pose Band (with artists Gary Chitty, Paul Richards and Harry Webster-Trussell) restaged outdoors a one-off performance of their 1974 piece *High Up On A Baroque Palazzo* at the Henry Moore Institute in Leeds as part of a retrospective exhibition of McLean's work. The differences in staging, the artists' physical abilities and the direct interaction with the film of the original moved the event out of the territory of reenactment and into the space of reinterpretation of an original work. The practice of creative reinterpretation of an existing score or text is standard in disciplines of music, theatre, and dance.

In his 2011 book *Retromania*, Simon Reynolds observed, 'Instead of being the threshold to the future, the first ten years of the twenty-first century turned out to be the 'Re' Decade. The 2000s were dominated by the 're- 'prefix: revivals, reissues, remakes, reenactments. Endless retrospection' (p. xi Reynolds, 2011). There is the potential for audience nostalgia in restaging; considering the current vogue for all things vintage and retro, an alternative parallel for the restaged exhibition might be made with the recent spate of classic album tours such as Kraftwerk's 2013 revisiting of their 1981 *Computer World* album at Tate.

In an unpublished paper delivered at the 'An Exhibit' conference on 22 February 2014 at the ICA in London, artist and curator Jeremy Miller discussed the numerous times Richard

Hamilton's *An Exhibit* of 1957 had been restaged. Miller remarked that the renewed interest in Hamilton's experimental proto-Pop installation coincided with the emergence of the Royal College of Art's curating course in the 1990s (where Miller now teaches), being one of the key case studies that the students were introduced to. Therefore, its importance has been somewhat exaggerated and critical re-evaluation potentially disproportionate. The trend of restaged exhibitions has veered towards tribute without interpretation. The 2013 redux of the 1969 exhibition *When Attitudes Become Form* fetishised its curator Harald Szeemann at the expense of the artworks becoming impenetrable for audiences not already in the know. In a tweet from the 2013 Venice Biennale artist Laureana Toledo (@lautoledodo) commented 'When attitudes become form, forms can calcify, and there are days when postwar art history starts to sound like a ClassicRock radio station'.

In 2011 historian Julian Myers-Szupinska considered the proliferation of restaged exhibitions as the physical manifestation of the new discourse of exhibition history. FRAC curator Florence Derieux suggested, 'the history of the second half of the twentieth century is no longer a history of artworks, but a history of exhibitions' (Derieux quoted in Myers-Szupinska, 2011). Acknowledging the 'pitch in academic study of the history of art away from monographic studies and towards essays on exhibitions' Myers-Szupinska warned the nascent discipline of exhibitions history must be wary of failing to make the connections between artworks (the very things in the exhibitions being discussed) to theory, ideology, class and historical structures and process:

If our contemporary fixation on exhibitions hopes to be something more than anecdote, confession, half-encrypted publicity, or half-abstracted meta-discourse – that is if it aspires to become a history – then these will be the tasks before us (Myers-Szupinska, 2011).

The restaging of Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* in 2014 represented a *de facto* institutional reframing away from specific critical associations with painting, tying the work to the expanded discourse of neo-conceptualism that, at the time of the original exhibition, was perceived to be antithetical to Campbell and all he represented. The restaging of the exhibition simultaneously foregrounded a curatorial discourse that refocussed art historical narrative around its own (rather than the artists') practice. Arguably Campbell's *On Form and Fiction* has benefitted from being restaged in the *GENERATION* context, it enjoyed the most public engagement and the conservation project and subsequent joint acquisition by NGS and Glasgow Museums in 2016 has assured both its and Campbell's place in Scottish art history.

Conclusion to Chapter Six

The decade began for Campbell with ill-health which was a turning point in his biographical narrative, ‘I was lying in hospital for five weeks, pretty ill and I hadn't done this thing [the Edwin Morgan commission] and I thought 'oh god I've got to get out, I've got to do this thing'’ (*Film: Steven Campbell: The Creative Scotland Award 2000*, 2000). The crisis and his subsequent Creative Scotland award galvanised Campbell into a speed and intensity of production he had not experienced since the early 1990s.

There was an air of retrospection in Campbell’s work in the 2000s. His later work revisited earlier themes and subjects including the Violette Nozière story, *Dracula*, and the Rosslyn Chapel. This may in part have been prompted by being rediscovered by a younger generation of artists and critics such as Mulholland’s *Campbell Soup* project that actively re-contextualised Campbell’s work through exhibition and display. Other posthumous exhibitionary projects sought to present Campbell’s work in new critical contexts alongside new work by younger artists. These included: *At Land* group show in 2013 curated by John Kellock at the artist-run Market Gallery and Rosie Roberts’ 2015 group exhibition *On Fun and Friction* at SWG3, both in Glasgow. Both shows were curated by graduates of GSA Painting Department suggestive of a detectable thread or legacy in Campbell’s *alma mater*. Campbell’s influence can also be detected in numerous contemporary artistic practices such as Claire Paterson’s exploration of props and three-dimensional motifs in her expanded painting practice and Laurence Figgis use of sequential narratives, pattern, and Hitchcock references. In 2019 Peter Hill interviewed video artist Rachel McLean at Talbot Rice Gallery Edinburgh 2018 when she spoke about Campbell,

He was the most amazing influence on artists of my generation. He made visits to schools all over Scotland and really enthused all these young kids about art, and how they could all go to art school if they really wanted to. He never actually came to my own school, but when I started at Edinburgh College of Art, so many of my classmates

told me that it was because Steven visited their schools that they decided to become artists. His message seemed to be, 'If I can do it, so can you' (Hill, 2019).

Campbell began the decade with a sense of personal re-awakening that reignited his practice evident in the quality, complexity, and abundance of work he made in this period. This process of personal re-evaluation was paralleled by a critical re-evaluation of his work primarily in the field of exhibition making, through the work of the Steven Campbell Trust and in this academic project.

CONCLUSION

With this thesis I set out to write a referenced critical biography of the Scottish artist Steven Campbell. The aim, through primary and secondary research, was to update and expand the existing scholarship for this artist as no major work has been undertaken in the field since Duncan Macmillan's 1993 publication *Steven Campbell: The Story So Far*. Existing research and writing specifically about Campbell has been largely limited to short-form articles in art journals, newspaper journalism and research through curatorial practice. No significant academic project has been attempted on Campbell although he has frequently been cited in wider surveys of Scottish art such as Craig Richardson's 2011 *Scottish Art Since 1960*. For this project I have undertaken several years of study in response to underlying research questions around why no major scholarship for such a significant artist and cultural figure exists. In the process of exploring what scholarship exists and making a case for why it is time to revisit Campbell's *oeuvre*, it has also been necessary to interrogate and evidence the assertion that Campbell was and remains a significant cultural figure worthy of a major academic study. I believe I have done this in respect to documenting the network of significant cultural and social contexts through which Campbell and his work have passed. In addition, I have compiled the first *catalogue raisonné* (presented here as *Appendix One*) of Campbell's major works. The purpose of creating the catalogue has been to support the research process for writing this thesis, to aid curatorial research on Campbell and to provide reference data for future scholarly research on Campbell. The process of my enquiry was underpinned by my art historical training and practice-based curatorial knowledge. As such the thesis has achieved its intended goals both in scope and scholarly rigour and stands up to assessment criteria of making a unique contribution to knowledge.

What I have demonstrated

Through this research I have attempted to demonstrate that Campbell's early critical alignment with the terminology of Neo-Expressionism, New Image and the New Glasgow Boys functioned on a superficial level, primarily a reference to their shared art school experience. Campbell and the others associated with the terms all graduated from Glasgow School of Art within a few years of each other, all were figurative painters, all were white and male. The effect of this superficial homogenised grouping, as I discuss in Chapters Three and Five, has been at the expense of reading and understanding Campbell's work on its own terms. Critiques of Campbell have frequently been based on a superficial reading of the group as well as generalised projections about class and identity.

Campbell's move to New York in the early 1980s has been used as evidence to critically align his practice with international Neo-Expressionist trends by virtue again of shared signifiers of identity (European, white, male painters). The Neo-Expressionist nomenclature (and other related terminology) was not based on analysis of the work and did not fully take account of the appropriative and intertextual nature of his Postmodern practice. Within the breadth of my research I have sought to evidence, with reference to specific works and inter-disciplinary modes of working, that Campbell's practice was representative of 1980s Postmodernism and worthy of further research. Campbell's practice can also be meaningfully aligned with Surrealist concerns, encompassing both classic Surrealist techniques of *collage* and automatic or instinctive image-making as well as his interdisciplinary approach to practice. The confusing, dream-like narratives in Campbell's paintings could be understood as a continuation of Surrealist preoccupation with the subconscious and his kitsch representational aesthetic visual

reference to Surrealist precursors of Rene Magritte, Leonora Carrington, and Dorothea Tanning. As discussed in Chapter Six Campbell also explored specific Surrealist *cause célèbre* in his *Violette Nozière* and *Black Dahlia* works.

The paradox of Campbell is that although he arguably approached painting in his formative art school years, as one of a range of modes of visual production, a means to an end; he developed a deference for the history of painting, himself ultimately becoming synonymous with the Scottish tradition of painting. The scale and visual complexity of his later work, explored in Chapter Six step beyond the rapid, rough, DIY ethos of the early Bad Paintings he made in the very early 1980s. I have used images of both Campbell's work and the associated visual references points throughout this thesis as a means of illustrating arguments about specific visual referencing and wider visual cultural influence.

What next for my project

As outlined in my Introduction, no biographical study can give a complete picture of a life and there remains within my project several areas for further research. In terms of a specific aspects of the Campbell biographic narrative, further research could and should be undertaken in US in respect of exploring business and museum archives. In Chapter Two I presented a snapshot of who were Campbell's collectors in the US. There is further provenance work to be done in the UK and Europe around which and what type of private collections also hold Campbell's work. Further iconographic research can be undertaken for all periods of Campbell's production and a lot more to be explored in terms of literary influences and textual content in his work.

It is my intention to publish this thesis as an illustrated, critical biography. This will require a rigorous editing process and a significant revisiting of the rights and ownership of images used in this thesis and in many cases, commissioning of new photographic documentation. A suitable publishing context could be found with either a museum publishers, alternative cultural imprint, or academic publisher. It is also my intention to undertake further research curatorial projects both monographic with Campbell as the primary subject, and thematic, looking at Campbell in the various contexts of literary, Postmodern, and surreal practices.

The *catalogue raisonné* as presented here in a basic excel format is very much a work in progress. It will necessarily be subject to further updates in content as new previously unknown or undocumented works emerge onto the secondary market. Issues around the transition from traditional print format catalogues to digital were explored in Emily Atwater's 2012 article 'The Changing Form of the *Catalogue Raisonné*'. Whilst she detailed the various risks involved in the various modes of online delivery and creation of an open access resource she also acknowledged that, 'one of the greatest strengths of the online CR is its potential to be updated as information becomes available, to be a truly up-to-date, current representation of an artist's body of work' (p. 191 Atwater, 2012). The scale of the practical work and research, the resolution of numerous logistical issues and following best practice would make an excellent subject for a postdoc project and it is my intention to develop the catalogue further.

What is the future for Steven Campbell?

As outlined in Chapter Six, although initiated in 2011 and taking nine years to complete part-time, this thesis can be mapped on to a wider trend, mostly through curatorial practice, to critically re-frame Campbell's work. Through exhibitions such as the 2014 *GENERATION* re-staging of *On Form and Fiction* and Linsey Young's 2018 *Love* exhibition at Tramway, Campbell's work is now being discovered by a younger generation of curators, artists and audiences not weighed down by the critical baggage of the past. The potential danger for Campbell scholarship and this project is that without ongoing institutional support, and an associated upturn in the market for his work, his legacy may become an obscure footnote for those in the artworld and those in the know. Although I have demonstrated, with reference to significant Campbell collectors and the popular dissemination of his work, that Campbell is an important figure in Scottish culture, I would argue he is not fully recognised as such. At present Campbell's work has the major disadvantage that figurative work remains out of favour with most Scottish and UK galleries and that, despite occupying a significant place in recent Scottish art history. It has been subject to the vagaries of what curatorial-duo *Charisma* termed in relation to his work: 'fashionability' (McKenzie, Farquhar and Transmission Gallery, 2000). Campbell's former New York dealer, Tom Cvikota commented on the possibility of developing German context for his work. With artistic exemplars such as Lucy McKenzie in mind and having recently presented an excerpt of Campbell's creative writing in the context of the Research Pavilion at the 58th Venice Biennale, it is to the European context that future developments for Campbell's legacy may lie.

At the beginning of the process of re-evaluation and critical reframing of Campbell's work was McKenzie's engagement with Campbell's legacy in the early 2000s. Her Scottish vernacular reference points and appropriative strategies aligned closely with Campbell's practice. It is interesting to consider how Campbell's magpie-like appropriation becomes more relevant in the context of post-internet art. My own visual research strategies and the writing of this thesis would have been impossible without online open access resources and google image searches. Therefore, it is with optimism and hope that I imagine Campbell's encyclopaedic, visually synthesised practice should have some relevance and interest for future generations of artists, curators, and audiences.

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APPENDIX ONE

Steven Campbell *Catalogue Raisonné* Work in Progress (with partial redactions)

**Thesis submitted by Gráinne Rice
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**Edinburgh College of Art/
The University of Edinburgh**

School of Art

July 2020

Appendix One – Steven Campbell Catalogue Raisonné

Steven Campbell *catalogue raisonné* has been created as an excel spreadsheet and converted into pdf for the purposes of submission. It is a work in progress submitted with partial redactions where provenance information includes names and personal details of private individuals not already in the public domain.

Abbreviations/ key:

ACC	Art Council England collection
Artnet	artnet.com
CC Coll	Carol Campbell Collection/ Artists' Estate
CC correspondence	Private correspondence held by Artists' Estate
Fruitmarket LOW	<i>New Paintings</i> Fruitmarket List of Works, 1985
GR measurements	Measurements taken by Gráinne Rice
Love	<i>Love</i> exhibition catalogue, Tramway Glasgow, 2018
MFA London	partial stocklist supplied by Marlborough Fine Art, 2011
Mutual Art	mutualart.com
New Image	<i>The New Image: Painting in the 1980s</i> , Tony Godfrey, 1986
NP catalogue	<i>New Paintings</i> exhibition catalogue, 1984
NP price list	<i>New Paintings</i> Riverside price list, 1984
ORASG	<i>Outside Right at the Sunset Gate</i> exhibition catalogue, William Hardie Gallery, Glasgow 1994
POSC	<i>The Paintings of Steven Campbell</i> , Duncan Macmillan 1993

Recent Paintings	<i>Recent Paintings</i> exhibition catalogue, 1987
RWMNY	<i>Recent Work</i> exhibition catalogue Marlborough, New York 1988
Viewpoints	<i>Viewpoints</i> exhibition brochure, Walker Art Center, 1985
V&A	Victoria & Albert Museum, London
VI cat	<i>The Vigorous Imagination</i> exhibition catalogue, 1987
WAC	Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, MN.
WSIH	<i>Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven</i> catalogue, Glasgow School of Art/ Glasgow Print Studio, 2008
YCBA	Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CN.
Your Paintings	artuk.org

Steven Campbell Catalogue Raisonné (28/10/2019). Work in Progress. Gráinne Rice

Date	Title	Location / Collection / notes REDACTED	Ref	Dims	medium
pre-1978	Self-portrait sculpted head				
	John McLean head				
	copy of J-F Millet's 1857 painting 'The Gleaners'		RL interview 2012		
1980	<i>The Trip/ Zoo Opera</i>		Love catalogue		performance stills; mise-en-scene;
1981	<i>Poised Murder [Robert Ashley music]</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat	[5 performances? Locations across Glasgow city Centre]	collaborative performance and installation
1981	[portrait of Violette Noziere part of <i>Poised Murder</i> installation]				
1981	<i>Its Just Murder at the Bar [stills]</i>		Wretched Stars; POSC Macmillan		performance stills; mise-en-scene;
	<i>The View From the Bridge</i>		POSC Macmillan		performance stills; mise-en-scene;
1981	<i>Accidental baptism</i>		POSC Macmillan	121.9 x 96.5cm	oil on paper
1982	<i>GSA DEGREE SHOW</i>				
1981 / 82	[hunt painting] <i>*Degree Show*</i>		Arlene & Ninian Adair		on book covers

1981/82	<i>[hunt flag] *Degree Show*</i>		Arlene & Ninian Adair; POSC Macmillan		3d object
1981/82	<i>Third fire today *Degree Show*</i>		POSC Macmillan; correspondence CC	124.5 x 114.3cm	oil on paper; printing ink
1981/82	<i>Hunt's Dilema *Degree Show*</i>		CC Collection		
1981/82	<i>Hunt as hermaphrodite</i>		POSC Macmillan	152.4 x 106.7cm	oil on paper
1981/82	<i>Hunt falling</i>		POSC Macmillan	198.1 x 76.2cm	oil on paper
1981/82	<i>Head of an Athlete (books)</i>		GWA	GWA dims: 52 x 62cm	Oil on bookends
1981	<i>Head of an Athlete (red)</i>		GWA	GWA dims: 60 x 50cm	Oil on paper
1981/82	<i>Head of an Athlete (medal)</i>		GWA	GWA dims: 56 x 47cm	Oil on paper
1981/82	<i>Big Head</i>		GWA	GWA dims: 61 x 51cm	Mixed media
1982	<i>The Mountain</i>		mutualart.com; artnet	artnet dims: Height 25.6 in.; Width 17.3 in. / Height 65 cm.; Width 44 cm.	oil and screen ink on paper
1982	<i>The Acrobats *Degree Show*</i>		Phillips sale cat. 1990	Phillips dims: 236x201cm	painted on curtains; Inscribed, mixed media on brocade material, diptych
1982	<i>The Admiral *Degree Show*</i>		POSC Macmillan; mutualart.com; artnet; Artscribe, No. 37; GMA Archives;	218.4 x 152.4cm; mutualart.com Sotheby's NY: 207.5 by 147.8cm., 81N by 58in.	oil on paper

1982	<i>Diana and Actaeon [destroyed- external examiners see Sandy Moffat]</i>		POSC Macmillan		oil on canvas
1982	<i>[Portrait of Carol & dog] Lady with Palette Hat and Hound</i>		CC Collection loc: GPS		oil on canvas ?
1982	<i>Untitled (Naked hiker) *Degree Show*</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat; Glasgow Herald 22/06/82		oil on paper
1982	<i>Steel Moustache and the Axe</i>		Your Paintings; Artscribe, No. 37; GMA Archives	Your paintings: 205.5 x 152 cm	oil on paper
[1982-3]	<i>Hunt's Fall</i>		POSC Macmillan		
[1982]	<i>The Push</i>		GMA archives		Oil on Paper
[1982]	<i>Ding-dong</i>		POSC Macmillan; GMA archives		
1982	<i>untitled [Hunt? ploughed field, statue with bow and arrow]</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 99 in.; Width 114 in. / Height 251.4 cm.; Width 289.5 cm.	oil on canvas
[1981]	<i>Hanibal Crossing the Alps</i>			Palmer dims: 104 x 120 in.; 264.4 x 304.7 cm	Oil on canvas
1983	<i>Hope</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1983	<i>The Poisoning and Subsequent Paralysis of Abraham van Helsing</i>		POSC Macmillan; artnet; Artscribe 45;	artnet dims: Height 105 in.; Width 105 in.; Depth 48 in. / Height 266.6 cm.; Width 266.6 cm.; Depth 121.9 cm.	oil on canvas
[1983-4] or 1980	<i>Zoo Opera</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue		installation / scenic design/ performance

1983	<i>Gesturing hiker</i>		Barbara Toll Fine Arts		woodcut on paper
1983	<i>Gesturing Hiker</i>		WAC archive materials; Fruitmarket LOW;	WAC archive memo: 65.5 x 52 in.	woodcut
1983	<i>Gesturing hiker</i>		MIA website	60 x 48 in. (152.4 x 121.92 cm) (image) 65 x 52 in. (165.1 x 132.08 cm) (sheet) 73 1/4 x 59 3/4 in. (186.06 x 151.77 cm) (outer frame)	Woodcut on Japan paper
1983	<i>Gesturing Hiker</i>		British Council website	BC: 166.5 X 132 CM	woodcut
1982	<i>Gesturing Hiker with a Furnace</i>		Your Paintings; Glasgow Herald 22/06/82	190.5 x 121.9 cm	oil on board
1983	<i>Hiker's ballet with a yawning child / Oxford Salisbury</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; Artscribe No. 45;	289.6 x 289.6cm; VMFA: 111 x 117 in. unframed	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Young Man amazed at the height he is up</i>		POSC Macmillan; NYT 24/06/83	248 x 291.5cm	oil on canvas
1983	<i>A Man amazed at the height he is at</i>		artnet	artnet dims: 96 x 96 in. (243.8 x 243.8 cm.)	drawing ink on paper
1983	<i>Poachers of the North Sea Surprised</i>		POSC Macmillan; WAC archive material; NYT 24/06/83;	WAC archive letter: 98 x 98 in	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Wee Nook Cottage</i>		POSC Macmillan; artnet; VV 20/12/83	281.9 x 281.9cm; artnet dims: Height 100 in.; Width 91 in. / Height 254 cm.; Width 231.1 cm	oil on canvas
1983	<i>The Man Who Climbs Maps (Carol's favourite) / Oxford Salisbury</i>		POSC Macmillan; Bridgeman; artnet	POSC Macmillan: 281.9 x 281.9cm; Bridgeman: 274x274 cms; artnet dims: 274 x 274 cm. (107.9 x 107.9 in.)	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Disguised as a Tennis Player, etc.</i>		POSC Macmillan; WAC archive material; artnet	WAC archive slide: 102.5 x 106.5 in.; artnetr dims: Height 103 in.; Width 108 in. / Height 261.6 cm.; Width 274.3 cm.	note on slide: o/c ?oil on canvas? Artnet: oil on canvas

1983	<i>To the hiker the pain of departure is like a red flag to a bull</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 111.9 in.; Width 115 in. / Height 284.2 cm.; Width 292 cm.	oil on canvas
1984	<i>The Enigma of Static Electricity</i>		POSC Macmillan; Viewpoints; artnet	Viewpoints: 108H x 108W in.; artnet dims: Height 108 in.; Width 108 in. / Height 274.3 cm.; Width 274.3 cm.	oil on canvas
1982	<i>After the Hunt</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; email corr with Registrar	284.5 x 299.7cm; from CAM curator: 108 x 120 in. (274.3 x 304.8 cm)	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Napoleonic Garden</i>		POSC Macmillan; Viewpoints; BY review 1983	289.6 x 289.6cm; Viewpoints: 114 (h) x 114(w) in	oil on canvas
1983	<i>The Happy Camper</i>		Sotheby's Contemporary Art morning sale on 7 June 2013 Lot 304; POSC Macmillan; artnet	Sotheby's catalogue notes: 99 by 113 in. 251.5 by 287 cm.	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Hiker in a Landscape Turned into a Marsh Overnight</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat; POSC Macmillan; VV 20/12/83	112 x 92"	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Eagles are Attracted by Disaster</i>		(GR correspondance with Kay Bearman, MMNY 25 June 2013) (GR site visit Yale Center Brit Art 12 Aug 2014: originally gifted to Harvard, gifted to YCBA and accessed	H.111 x W.108 inches (from Met Museum records corr. Kay Bearman) Yale website: (281.9 x 274.3 cm)	oil on canvas
1983	<i>The Hiker said 'Death You Shall Not Take'</i>		British Council website	British Council catalogue: 244 X 244 CM	woodcut
1983	<i>The Hiker said 'Death You Shall Not Take the Child'</i>		Princeton University Art Museum;	Princeton dims: wo vertical panels sheet: 256.8 x 255 cm. (101 1/8 x 100 3/8 in.) image: 243.0 x 244.0 cm. (95 11/16 x 96 1/16 in.) each sheet, with velco: 263.5 x 127.1 cm each	Woodcut on six sheets of thin Sekishu paper
1983?	<i>Death You Shall Not Take the Child</i>		NY: Tom Cvikota?		woodcut on paper
1983 / 1985	<i>The Hiker said 'Death You Shall Not Take the Child'</i>		New Image Glasgow catalogue; artnet	artnet dims: Height 96.1 in.; Width 96.1 in. / Height 244 cm.; Width 244 cm.	woodcut
1983	<i>To the North with Good Luck</i>		Sotheby's Scottish Paintings 1 May 2008 Lot 228 Est £30,000 - £40,000; mutualart.com; artnet	Sotheby's catalogue notes: 204 by 145.5 cm.; 80.5 by 57¼ in.	oil on paper laid down on board

1983	<i>Pursuing the Uneatable / Pursuing the Unbeatable</i>		Bonhams 30 Aug 2009 10:00 PDT Los Angeles Sunset Estate Auction - Fine Art including Modern & Contemporary Auction 17511; mutualart.com; POSC Macmillan;	Bonhams catalogue notes: 117 x 97in unframed; mutualart.com: 96.5 X 117 in.; artnet dims: Height 117 in.; Width 97 in. / Height 297.2 cm.; Width 246.4 cm.	oil on canvas, unframed
1983	<i>Young Men Surrendering to the Landscape</i>		Your Paintings; artnet	your paintings: 254 x 243 cm; artnet dims: Height 100.5 in.; Width 95.9 in. / Height 255.3 cm.; Width 243.7 cm	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Landscape with Suicidal Ferns</i>		POSC Macmillan; Viewpoints	Viewpoints: 112H x 103W in	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Tragic Hikers</i>		WAG website	WAG website: sheet 101 x 100 inches	woodcut on paper
1983	<i>Tragic Hikers</i>		New Image Glasgow catalogue	NIG: 101 x 102 in. shaped image	woodcut
1983	<i>David Hume Soup/ Davie Hume's Soup</i>		email corr with bank Registrar; POSC Macmillan; VV 20/12/83	JP Morgan Registrar: 116 x 108 in.	oil on canvas
1983	<i>The Humeans Debating The Wild Ferns</i>		Artnet	artnet dims: 268 x 238.8 cm. (105.5 x 94 in.)	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Harvest with Winter Wind</i>		mutualart.com; artnet	mutualart.com: 119 X 102 in. ; artnet dims: Height 102 in.; Width 119 in. / Height 259.1 cm.; Width 302.3 cm.	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Making Holes in a Road</i>		mutualart.com; artnet	mutualart.com: 86 X 85.5 in.	india ink on paper
1983	<i>Pastoral Gestures</i>		mutualart.com; Viewpoints	mutualart.com: 107 X 115.5 in.; Viewpoints: 112H x 103W in	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Two Hunters immobilised by an excessive use of Bark cammouflage</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website; Bridgeman; Artnet	MFA: 280 x 280 cm; artnet dims: 280 x 280 cm. (110.2 x 110.2 in.)	MFA: acrylic on canvas; bridgeman: oil on canvas; artnet: oil on canvas
1983	<i>Mountaineer finds Jewellery in a Highland Glen</i>		Bridgeman	Bridgeman: 218.4x147.3 cms	oil on paper

1983	<i>The Goats</i>		Bridgeman; artnet; VV 20/12/83	Bridgeman: 261x241.2 cms; artnet dims: Height 10.3 in.; Width 95 in. / Height 26.1 cm.; Width 241.2 cm	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Gesturing Gardener with Watering Can</i>		Bridgeman; artnet	Bridgeman: 204.5x119.5 cms; artnet dims: 204.5 x 119.5 cm. (80.5 x 47 in.)	oil on paper
1983	<i>Chain of Events</i>		Artnet	arnet dims: 248.9 x 271.8 cm. (98 x 107 in.)	Oil on canvas
[1983]	<i>Oxford to Salisbury Fallen</i>		mutualart.com; artnet	mutualart.com: 125 X 100 in.	[oil on canvas]
[1983] n.d.	<i>Oxford to Salisbury</i>			An American Passion dim: 100x124in (254x315cm)	oil on canvas
1983	<i>Man with Spiral Tree</i>		mutualart	mutualart: 206 x 122 cm,	oil on paper laid on board
1983	<i>To A Hiker the Pain of Departure is Like...</i>		Artnet		
1983	<i>Choice of Tie and Local Phenomena</i>		Moufarrege Mutant International		
1983	<i>Father You Will Never Leave Me</i>		Moufarrege Mutant International		
[1983]	<i>Taming the Wild Ferns</i>				drawing
1983	<i>From Oxford to Salisbury Broken</i>		Artscribe 45	artscribe dims: 96x96 in.	
[1983-83]	<i>Reading Wodehouse in a Treehouse</i>		arnet	arnet dims: Height 113 in.; Width 109.1 in. / Height 287 cm.; Width 277.2 cm.	oil on canvas

[1984]	<i>Is it Hunt?</i>		Bonhams 23 Jun 2013 10:00 PDT Los Angeles Modern & Contemporary Art Auction 20980; Artnet	Bonhams catalogue notes: 110 x 98in.unframed; artnet dims: Height 110 in.; Width 98 in. / Height 279.4 cm.; Width 248.9 cm.	oil on canvas
	NEW IMAGE GLASGOW - THIRD EYE CENTRE				
1984	<i>In the Mist, Van Helsing gesturing as [the Head of] Hume</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; The Times 4 Dec 1984; Fruitmarket LOW;	264.2 x 274.3cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Young Camper Discovering a Grotto in the Ground</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; artnet	284.5 x 287.0cm. Gray's Auctioneers: h: 9' 4" x w: 9' 4"; artnet dims: Height 112 in.; Width 112 in. / Height 284.5 cm.; Width 284.5 cm.	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Propagating by Elecrolysis</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list; artnet	Artnet: dims: 205.7 x 149.9 cm. (81 x 59 in.)	acrylic on paper/ Fruitmarket LOW: oil on paper
1984	<i>God's in his Heaven, All's Well with the World</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; POSC Macmillan; Viewpoints	dims: 205.7 x 149.9 cm. (81 x 59 in.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Gesturing with a Blue Fish</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; Campbell's Soup	c.102 x 92"; 259 x 234 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Gesturing Berties with United Monocles</i>		Fruitmarket LOW;		gouache on paper
1984	<i>Propagating by elecrolysis and gesture</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; Artnet	c.110 x 110"; Artnet dims: 280 x 254 cm. (110.2 x 100 in.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Owl butting (biting) hiker on the knee</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; mutualart.com; artnet; Fruitmarket LOW;	c.95 x 80"; Christie's catalogue notes: 100 x 99 in. (254 x 251.4 cm.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Fall of the House of Nook with Tree Blight/ Oxford Salisbury</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; POSC Macmillan; artuk.org	your paintings: 277.1 x 355.6 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Is anaemia in nature caused by disease or lightening</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & NP Fruitmarket cat; POSC Macmillan	c.110 x 110"	oil on canvas

1984	<i>Meet [Meeting] at the huntsman's gate at 7:00</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list; Fruitmarket LOW;		oil on canvas
1984	<i>The Berties/ Two Berties</i>		Artnet; Fruitmarket LOW;	artnet dims: 276.9 x 247 cm. (109 x 97.2 in.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>The escape of Jonathon Harker from Wee Nook</i>		'New paintings' Riverside price list	Phoenix dims, from email corr. : 108 x 84 in. (274.3 x 213.4 cm)	oil on canvas
[1984]	<i>The escape of Jonathon Harker</i>		mutualart.com; artnet	mutualart.com: 92.5 X 97 in. ; artnet dims: joined drafting paper (or similar), total sheet size approximately 96 x 93 in. (243.8 x 236.2 cm), unframed	ink and gouache on joined paper;
1984	<i>Through the ceiling, through the floor</i>		New paintings' Riverside price list & POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; Art & Public website	281.9 x 165.1cm; Art & Public website: 282 x 165 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Man in a landscape dissatisfied with his own profile</i>		'New paintings' Riverside price list		oil on canvas
1984	<i>Portrait of the artist with his daughter, Lauren [Ninian supplied props Glas Museums, painting: 1984 God's in his Heaven, All's Well with the World] / Oxford Salisbury</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat	289.6 x 386.1cm	photo of installation: Ken Mellin
1984	<i>Flapping like an aspin</i>		POSC Macmillan; artnet; Barry Yourgrau 1983;	297.2 x 233.7cm; artnet dims: Height 117 in.; Width 92 in. / Height 297.2 cm.; Width 233.7 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>To a Hunter, A Nose in Hand is Worth Two Birds in the Bush</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 106 in.; Width 109 in. / Height 269.3 cm.; Width 276.9 cm.	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Searching for Fossils at Night</i>		artnet; MFALondon	artnet dims: Height 111.1 in.; Width 102 in. / Height 282.3 cm.; Width 259 cm.	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Untitled [man stumbling holding head / study for floured head?]</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 20 in.; Width 15 in. / Height 50.8 cm.; Width 38 cm.	gouache
1984	<i>Twas once an architect's office in Wee Nook</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; Viewpoints; artnet	POSC 292.1 x 243.8cm; 115H x 95W in; Artnet dims: 292 x 241.3 cm. (115 x 95 in.)	oil on canvas

1984	<i>Two Humeans Preaching Causality to Nature</i>		POSC Macmillan & A Gibbon Williams & NP Fruitmarket cat; WAC website; Viewpoints	292.1 x 238.8cm; WAC website: unframed 115 x 93.875 x 1.125 inches; Viewpoints: 115H x 94W in	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Building accusing it's architect of bad design</i>		POSC Macmillan & NP Fruitmarket cat; Your Paintings	289.6 x 289.6cm; your paintings: 302.9 x 312.7 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>The Fern's Revenge - pool</i>		POSC Macmillan; Godfrey <i>New Image</i>	271.8 x 248.9cm; NI: 272 x 246cm (107 x 97 in.)	india ink on paper
1984	<i>The Fern's Revenge - pool</i>		Viewpoints; artnet	Viewpoints: 114H x 109W in.; artnet dims: Height 114 in.; Width 109 in. / Height 289.6 cm.; Width 276.9 cm	oil on canvas
1984	<i>The Fern's Revenge - pool</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat	c.80 x 80"	acrylic on paper
1984	<i>cover Artscribe</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1984	<i>Bearded hiker and a marsh / Bearded Hiker in Marsh</i>		Bonhams 23 Jun 2013 10:00 PDT Los Angeles Modern & Contemporary Art Auction 20980; Artnet	Bonhams catalogue notes: 101 x 79in. ; artnet dims: 246.4 x 198.1 cm. (97 x 78 in.)	ink on paper
1984	<i>Two Men Gesturing in a Landscape Each with the Chin of Joan Sutherland</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat; artnet; MFALondon	115 x 94"; artnet dims: 285 x 285 cm. (112.2 x 112.2 in.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Untitled (Through the Ceiling...)</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat	c.110 x 95"	india ink on paper
1984	<i>Untitled</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat; Fruitmarket LOW;	c.99 x 94"	india ink on paper
1984	<i>Footballing scientist</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat	c.95 x 80"	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Two Naturalist Philosophers Debating in a Garden</i>		NP Fruitmarket cat; POSC Macmillan	c.113 x 113"	oil on canvas

1984	<i>Attraction of Repulsion: Natural Force</i>		Hirschorn website; WAC archive materials letter from DART Gallery	Hirschorn: 113 1/8 X 109 IN. (287.2 X 276.8 CM.); WAC archive letter: 113 x 109 in.	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Untitled</i>		New Image Glasgow catalogue; POSC Macmillan	AIC: 2892 x 2489mm	ink on mulberry paper
1984	<i>Two Gardeners in an Impromptu Carnival Atmosphere</i>		YCBA website; (GR site visit Yale Center Brit Art 12 Aug 2014)	YCBA: 112 x 112 inches (284.5 x 284.5 cm)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Two Hikers in a Landscape symbolizing Time, Death & Distance</i>		WAC archive materials	postcard dims: 247W x 296Hcm	Öl auf Leinwand (?oil on canvas?)
1984	<i>Two men between a rookery and a worm</i>		Bonhams 23 Jun 2013 10:00 PDT Los Angeles Modern & Contemporary Art Auction 20980; Artnet	Bonhams catalogue notes: 113 x 92in. Unframed; artnet dims: 289.6 x 233.7 cm. (114 x 92 in.)	oil on canvas
1984	<i>Plane Disaster</i>		Artnet	artnet dims: 293 x 267 cm. (115.4 x 105.1 in.)	Brush and Ink
1984	<i>Static Game</i>		Artnet	artnet dims: 301 x 275 cm. (118.5 x 108.3 in.)	Brush and Ink
[1984]	<i>Drawing for Cover of Artscribe No. 48 [falling man]</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1984	<i>A Man Jumped/ Jumps out of an Airplane No. 1</i>		POSC Macmillan; Fruitmarket LOW;		Gouache on paper
1984	<i>A Man Jumps out of an Airplane No. 2</i>		Fruitmarket LOW;		Gouache on paper
	<i>NEW PAINTINGS _ FRUITMARKET RIVERSIDE</i>				

1984	<i>Cockerel [Cockerels] in the Wild</i>		Fruitmarket LOW;		Gouache on paper (5 panels)
1984	<i>The Inventor's Garden</i>		Alba; POSC Macmillan	109x113in.	Oil on Canvas
1985	<i>Men who Climb through Attics / Men who climb trees through attics</i>		POSC Macmillan; Viewpoints; artnet	Viewpoints: 111H x 110W in.; artnet dims: Height 111.5 in.; Width 110.5 in. / Height 283.2 cm.; Width 280.6 cm.	oil on canvas
[1985]	<i>The Gargoylic Hiker</i>		POSC Macmillan		
[1985]	<i>Shy Scots in National Dress</i>		interview notes & camera shots 18 March 2018		gouache or watercolour on paper
1985	<i>A man perceived by a flea</i>				oil on canvas?
1985	<i>The Re-Illustrated Highland Diaries of Queen Victoria</i>		POSC Macmillan	255.3 x 121.9cm; MFA stock list Nov 2007 dims: 266.7x254cm / 105x100 in.	gouache on paper
1985	<i>A Man with a Floured Head Impersonating a Burning Dovecot / A Man with a Floured Head Impersonating a Dovecot</i>		POSC Macmillan; Art & Public website; artnet; MFALondon	279.4 x 231.2cm; A&P website: 280 x 231; artnet dims: Height 110 in.; Width 90.9 in. / Height 279.4 cm.; Width 231 cm.	oil on canvas
1985	<i>Hunter in (a) Camouflage Decoy (/Docey) Landscape</i>		Sotheby's Contemporary Art sale NY 10 September 2008 Lot 371; New Image Glasgow catalogue; Viewpoints	Sotheby's catalogue notes 110 by 98 in./ 279.5 by 249 cm; Viewpoints: 110H x 98W in.	oil on canvas
1985	<i>Nasal and Facial Hair Reactions to Various Disasters</i>		New Image Glasgow catalogue	NIG: 108 x 107 in.	oil on canvas
1985	<i>The Rogue's Progress</i>		Sale 2542 — Christie's Interiors 3 - 4 April 2012 New York, Rockefeller Plaza; mutualart.com	Christie's catalogue notes: 109 x 109 in. (276.8 x 276.8 cm.), unframed	oil on canvas
[1985]	<i>Man in Stocks</i>		Bonhams 22 Apr 2010 14:00 BST Edinburgh 19th and 20th Century Pictures and Prints Auction 17985; mutualart.com; artnet	Bonhams catalogue notes: 50.5 x 40.5cm (19 7/8 x 15 15/16in).	oil on canvas

1985	<i>Gardening Barbers debating in a small airplane Garden</i>		Your Paintings	278.5 x 279.9 cm	oil on canvas
1985	<i>Natural Follies at Bee Junction [edition 50]</i>		V&A online catalogue	V&A dims: 97.8 cm, Width: 69.4 cm	Aquatint, sugar lift and soft ground etching; print
1985 / 2004	<i>Natural Follies at Bee Junction [edition 50]</i>			GPS dims: Image Size: 98.5 x 90 cms Paper Size: 125 x 94.5 cms	
1985	<i>Natural Follies at Bee Junction 15/50 signed</i>		mutualart.com	mutualart.com: 27.5 X 38.5 in.	etching with aquatint
1985	<i>The Dangerous Early Life of Lytton Strachey</i>		Your Paintings; Tate	your paintings: 261.8 x 274.5 cm	oil on canvas
1985	<i>The Entrance Exam for the Mesmer Club</i>		mutualart.com	mutualart.com: 96 X 107 in.	[oil on canvas]
1985	<i>A New Hunting Rifle</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1985	<i>Discovering Insects in a Herbaceous Border</i>		Godfrey New Image; Viewpoints	NI: 300 x 226cm (118 x 89 in.); Viewpoints: 111.25H x 89W in	oil and gouach on paper
1985	<i>Topiary Gardeners in the Forest at Pulsinane</i>		Artnet; Artprice.com	artnet dims: 274.3 x 266.7 cm. (108 x 105 in.)	Oil on canvas
1985	<i>A Man with a Shy Elephant</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 16 in.; Width 12 in. / Height 40.6 cm.; Width 30.5 cm	oil on paper
1985	<i>The Fisherman</i>		Christies	Christies dims: 81 ¼ x 66 ½ in. (206.4 x 169.2 cm.)	oil on paper collage mounted on canvas
1985	<i>Age of Reason</i>		The Print Collector's Newsletter, 16:2 1985	PCN dims: 36 x 24 in	aquatint with photogravure

[1985]	<i>J. Harper with snake and rabbit</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 90 in.; Width 106 in. / Height 228.6 cm.; Width 269.2 cm.	ink wash
[1985]	<i>Bees</i>		Flowers Gallery website/ Mutual Art alert	FG: 195.6 x 162.6 cm / 77 x 64 in	Acrylic on paper
1985	<i>A Man Possessed by a Demon of the Retina</i>		Flash Art; Two Painters Amazed doc; photo CC collection;	Flash Art dims: 275 x 240cm	oil on canvas
1985	<i>Falling Man</i>		Phillips cat 1990;	Phillips dims: 50.5x40.5cm	gouach on paper
1985	<i>Lytton Strachey Surveys the Queen Bee</i>		Glasgow Life collections page	GL dims: unframed 508 mm x 383 mm	watercolour; gouache
	VIGOUROUS IMAGINATION				
1985	<i>Two men with a carriage royale to catch a queen bee</i>		VI cat; Bridgeman; artnet	artnet dims: Height 111.8 in.; Width 107.9 in. / Height 284 cm.; Width 274 cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Elegant gestures of the drowned after Max Ernst</i>		VI cat; CC correspondence	NGS dims: 262.00 x 238.40 cm	oil on canvas?
1986	<i>Anamorphic Tail [Tale] of a Flea who Spent the Night at the Portrait Gallery</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	272.5 x 255.3cm	oil on wood
1986	<i>Study for a portrait of an agrophobic portraying a claustrophobic</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; artnet	203.3 x 246.4cm; artnet dims: Height 80 in.; Width 97 in. / Height 203.3 cm.; Width 246.4 cm	oil on canvas
1985	<i>The Young James Mason as Egon Samer, the Metamorphosist</i>		POSC Macmillan; Art & Public website	A&P website: 275 x 225 cm	oil on canvas
1985	<i>Young Man Frozen by a Waterfall</i>		Maslow Collection PA	Maslow dims: 103 x 95	oil on canvas

	1985	<i>A Salty Tale In a Drought a Man Saves a Whale by his Perspiration and Tears</i>		The New British Painting		
[1986]		<i>In a Landscape a Painting is a Radio, a Sculpture, a Battery</i>		POSC Macmillan	275 x 225 cm	
[1986]					ref. 00192	
	1986	<i>Men Insulting Nature and the Notion of Travel</i>			RISD dims: 212.1 x 252.7 cm (83 x 99 inches)	oil on canvas
		RECENT PAINTINGS: MARLBOROUGH LONDON				
	1986	<i>The Mouse trap : A Play Based on the Inability of Animals to Breed in Zoos</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L cat	RPML cat: 86 x 97 in. / 218.5 x 246.5 cm; N. Noda email: 247.7 x 246.4 cm	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>The mousetrap: A Play Based on the Inability of Animals to Breed in Zoos</i>		MFALondon	218.5 x 246.5cm	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>Down near the Railway A Man's Possessions are Carried Away by Termites</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L cat; MFALondon	RPML cat: 72 x 110.5 in. / 183.0 x 280.7cm	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>A Life in Letters: Disembarking from the Ship of Fools</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 49 x 42 in. / 124.5 x 106.7 cm	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>A Life in Letters: Only the English Kill Themselves in the Lap of Happiness</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; Artnet	RPML cat: 34 x 29 in. / 86.4 x 73.6 cm; artnet dims: Height 33.9 in.; Width 28.7 in. / Height 86 cm.; Width 73 cm.	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>A life in letters: recognition by mirrors</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L catalogue: POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 26.25 x 21.5 in. / 66.7 x 54.6cm	oil on canvas
	1986	<i>Men who Love Fleas</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 27 x 20 in. / 6805 x 50.8 cm	oil on board

1986	<i>Exhibiting the Evidence of Three Fleas, the Death of Pansy Potter</i>		Godfrey Burlington 1986	BM: 210.8x259.2cm	
1986	<i>A Life in Letters: Vanished</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 19 x 15 in. / 48.2 x 38.1 cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Man in a Dilema</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; MFA London; POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 9 x 9 in. / 22.8 x 22.8cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Watercress Growing</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 9 x 9 in. / 22.8 x 22.8cm	acrylic on canvas
1986	<i>A Boy is half a man 1/2 a fathom</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L catalogue; MFA London	RPML cat: 9 x 9 in. / 22.8 x 22.8cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Man Drowned Between Fathom and a 1/2</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007 dims: 115.5x217cm/ 45 1/2x85 3/8in	acrylic on paper
1986	<i>[untitled] MAN + ? + CASTEL ET MOONLIGHT</i>		Art & Public website	A&P website: 51 x 40.5 cm	paint on card/ peinture sur carton
1986	<i>Usher: Study for a Prison Escape</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007 dims: 207x172.2cm / 81 1/2x68 in.	
1987	<i>English Landscape with a Disruptive Gene</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L catalogue; POSC Macmillan & VI cat; CC correspondence	RPML cat: 98.5 x 93 in. / 250 x 236cm	oil on canvas
1987	<i>By order no Rhinos</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 85 x 93 in. / 216 x 236cm	oil on canvas
1987	<i>Untitled litho [Rhino]</i>				
1987	<i>The Man who Gave his Legs to God and God did not want them</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 94 x 82.5 in. / 239 x 209.5 cm	oil on canvas

1987	<i>Study for an Eagle</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 48 x 39 in. / 122 x 91.5 cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Portrait of Rorschach testing himself and finding himself guilty</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 81.5 x 67 in. / 207 x 170cm	acrylic on paper
1986	<i>Image from a Film</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 20 x 16 in. / 50.8 x 40.6 cm	acrylic on paper
1986	<i>Role Reversal</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 20 x 16 in. / 50.8 x 40.6 cm	acrylic on paper
1986	<i>Allegory on the Banks of the Nile</i>				
1986	<i>Study for an Allegory/ Study for Allegory</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; MFALondon; artnet	RPML cat: 12 x 16 in. / 30.5 x 40.6 cm; from Christie's catalogue notes: 14 x 21 in. (35.6 x 53.3 cm.), shaped	acrylic on paper / from Christie's catalogue notes: acrylic on board
1987	<i>Cows D.Own N.Ear a Wood/ Cows Down Near a Wood</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; Christie's catalogue; mutualart.com; artnet; CC correspondence	RPML cat: 45.5 x 108 in. / 115.5 x 274.3 cm; from Christie's catalogue notes: 44¾ x 107½ in. (113.7 x 273 cm.)	watercolour and acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Accidental Intrusion Judged by Nature's Law Guilty</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 79 x 64 in. / 200.6 x 162.5 cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Portrait of an Island Splitting</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; Sotheby's Scottish Pictures sale 29 April 2009; artnet	RPML cat: 74 x 65 in. / 188 x 165 cm; from Bonhams catalogue notes: 185.6 x 162.8 cm. (73 x 64 1/4in.); from sotheby's catalogue notes: 183 by 163cm.; 72 by 64 in.; artnet dims:	acrylic on paper (9 sheets)
1987	<i>Travelling silhouette collector</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 75 x 55 in. / 190.5 x 139.7cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Study for a Disruptive Gene</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; POSC Macmillan	RMPL cat: 18 x 24 in. / 45.7 x 61 cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Whispering to a Wall</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; CC correspondence	RPML cat: 20 x 16 in. / 50.8 x 40.6 cm	acrylic on paper

1987	<i>Plagiarist Park</i>		CC correspondence	238.8x269.2cm / 94x106 in.	oil on canvas
1987	<i>Study for a Large Painting</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 20 x 16 in. / 50.8 x 40.6 cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Noughts but no Crosses</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	RPML cat: 20 x 16 in. / 50.8 x 40.6 cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Study for the Judges</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; POSC Macmillan	RPML cat: 12 x 9.5 in. / 30.5 x 24cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>1 1/2 Fathoms out Walking</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; CC correspondence	RPML cat: 11 x 9 in. / 28 x 22 cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>Study for a Fire/ Study of a Fire</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; MFALondon; CC correspondence	RPML cat: 11 x 9 in. / 28 x 22 cm; MFA dims: 28.0 x 22.8cm	acrylic
1987	<i>Portrait of Michel Foucault</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L	"lifesize"	Crystal Glass
1985/ 1987	<i>The Chinese Clam</i>		The Vigorous Imagination: Then & Now Fine Art Society Edinburgh.	FAS dims: 90.5 x 53.25 inches (230 x 135 cm)	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Unlucky at cards, no heart for hunting</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	209.5 x 213.3cm	oil on canvas
1986	<i>Bonjour, M. [Monsieur] Foucault [Tate of the North / Tate Liverpool]</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	RWMNY: 120 x 240 in. / 304.8 x 609.6 cm; POSC: 304.8 x 609.6cm	oil on marine grade plywood
[1986]	<i>Darwin [diptych]</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1986	<i>A Life in Letters: idealised portrait of the wig'ed Foucault</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L catalogue; POSC Macmillan & VI cat	RPML cat: 72 x 59 in. / 183 x 150 cm; POSC: 183 x 150cm	oil on canvas

1986	<i>The Dream of every Ostrich is to own it's own home</i>		Sotheby's 20th C British Art sale London Lot 110; artnet	sotheby's catalogue notes 198x184cm; 78x72½in.	oil on canvas
1986/87	<i>Scottish Bestiary</i>		Adrian Wiszniewski - The Studio Sale - Sale 294	McTears catalogue notes for Lobster dims: signed 55cm x 37cm	Woodcut
1986/87	<i>Frontispiece' Scottish Bestiary</i>		British Council website	56 X 75.5 CM	Woodcut
1986	<i>Frontispiece' Scottish Bestiary 8/50</i>		Ro Gallery website; mutualart.com	From Ro Gallery website: Image Size: 22 x 15 inches; Size: 30 in. x 22 in. (76.2 cm x 55.88 cm)	woodcut
1986/87	<i>Lobster' Scottish Bestiary</i>		British Council website	BC: 56 X 75.5 CM;	Woodcut
1986/87	<i>Man' Scottish Bestiary</i>		Aberdeen Art Gallery website; artnet	varying dims; artnet dims for 8/50: Height 22.2 in.; Width 15.1 in. / Height 56.5 cm.; Width 38.4 cm.	woodcut
1986-1987	<i>Napoleonic Silhouettist Cutting the Progress of the War</i>		ACC; Your Paintings; Bridgeman; CC correspondence	ACC catalogue: 240 x 281cm	oil on canvas
[1987]	<i>The Alligator</i>		mutualart.com; artnet		oil on paper
1987	<i>Quelle heure est-il?</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon; POSC Macmillan	SCMT: 83.875 x 105.875 in. / 213.3 x 269.2cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Wisdom Torn Apart by Mirrors</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; POSC Macmillan	RWMNY: 44.75 x 22 in. / 113.7 x 55.9cm	acrylic on paper
	<i>RECENT WORK MARLBOROUGH NEW YORK</i>				
1987	<i>[Three] Men of Exactly the Same Size in An Unequal Room</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; Your Paintings; Bridgeman	RWMNY: 98 x 109 in. / 249 x 277cm; your paintings: 249 x 277 cm	oil on canvas

1987	<i>The Aggressiveness of Red and the Passivity of Yellow</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFALondon; POSC Macmillan	RWMNY: 98 x 103 in. / 249.0 x 261.6cm	oil on canvas
1987	<i>Portrait of a Victorian Entomologist</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007 dims: 45.7x35.6cm / 18x14in.	acrylic on canvas
1987	<i>Portrait of a Jealous Victorian Entomologist</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007 dims: 50.8x40.6cm/ 20x16in.	acrylic on canvas
c.1987	<i>Work for Fete du Lin/ Festival of Linen</i>				
1988	<i>What Happens When a Hallway Becomes a Tunnel No. 1</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007 dims: 109.9x166.3cm / 43 1/4x65 1/2 in.	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>Portrait of Robert Urquhart taking the R. U. Neurotic Test</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFALondon; artnet; CC correspondence	RWMNY: 70 x 126 in. / 188.8 x 320cm; MFAL: 177.8 x 320.0cm; artnet dims: Height 73.2 in.; Width 129.1 in. / Height 186 cm.; Width 328 cm.	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Architectural Arctic</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY	RWMNY: 89 x 109 in. / 226 x 277cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>This is The Final Warning These Sentences are Not The Same</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFALondon; artnet	RWMNY: 95 x 88 in. / 241.3 x 223.5cm; 241.3 x 223.5cm; from Ro Gallery website: Size: 95 x 88 inches (241.3 x 223.52 cm)	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Down There Between a Rock and a Hard Place</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFALondon; An American Passion	RWMNY: 93 x 105 in. / 236.2 266.2cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Portrait of 3 Murders - On This Hangs a Tail</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	SCMT: 89.125 x 88.25 in. / RWMNY: 89 x 88 in. / 226 x 223.5cm; 226.0 x 223.5cm (226.4 x 224.3cm Macm)	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Collagist in the Drama - Mort De Pierrot / Tres Moderne</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; POSC Macmillan; MFALondon	RWMNY: 87 x 93 in. / 221 x 236.2cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Drinks will be Served over Africa</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; POSC Macmillan	RWMNY: 92 x 85 in. / 233.7 x 216.cm	oil on canvas

1988	<i>Painting Influenced by the Foot of a Chair and the Top of a Building</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFA London	RWMNY: 96 x 96 in. / 243.8 x 243.8cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Murder through an abstraction</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFA London; Your Paintings; Tate catalogue	RWMNY: 84 x 95 in. / 213.3 x 241.3cm; from Tate catalogue: support: 2139 x 2420 x 35 mm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>If the Premise is Murder Through Abstraction then Abstain from Action</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFA London & POSC Macmillan	RWMNY: 81 x 94 in. / 205.8 x 274.3cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>In Pursuit of Mediocrity / We Present the Dream Home</i>		Recent Work Marlborough NY; MFA London; Artnet	89 x 94 in. / 226.0 x 238.8cm; artnet dims: 226.1 x 238.8 cm. (89 x 94 in.)	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Building Built by a Philosopher who was an Architect for his Sister who was Not</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; Recent Work Marlborough NY; POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	SCMT: 59.375 x 76.625 in.; RWMNY: 59.4 x 76.5 in. / 151.2 x 194.3cm	acrylic on paper
1987	<i>The line belonging to Wallace</i>		POSC Macmillan	134.6 x 216cm	oil on canvas
1987	<i>Painting on a Darwinian theme</i>		Recent Paintings Marlborough L; POSC Macmillan; Your Paintings; Bridgeman	RPML cat: 89 x 80 in.; POSC: 183 x 150cm; BC catalogue: 226 X 203 CM	oil on canvas
1987	<i>Portrait of Adrian Wiszniewski</i>		Bonhams 19 Apr 2012 14:00 BST Edinburgh Scottish Art	each 89 x 59 cm. (35 7/16 x 23 5/8 in.)	oil on canvas
[1988]	<i>The Rabbit on the Wall</i>		POSC Macmillan		
1988	<i>4 ways to view a wrongdoer</i>		MFA London	152.4 x 165.7cm	oil on canvas

1988	<i>Anatomy of a plane crash</i>		MFALondon	166.1 x 151.1cm	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>Architectural Critic</i>		MFALondon	226.0 x 227.0cm	oil on canvas
1988	<i>Cubist Bridge</i>		MFALondon	149.2 x 139.4cm	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>False Travelog/ The Tower</i>		Recent Works Marlborough NY; MFALondon; CC correspondence	RWMNY: 66 x 76.56 in. / 167.6 x 195.4cm	acrylic on paper
1988/ 1989	<i>Portrait of May Milton Between the Studio and the Toilet</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence; An American Passion	213.4 x 269.2cm	oil & collage
1988	<i>The Ship that Died of Shame off the Coast of Africa</i>		MFALondon; POSC Macmillan	119.0 x 138.8cm	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>The Tyranny of Maths</i>		Recent Works Marlborough NY; MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	62.25 x 56 in. / 158.1 x 142.2cm; 159.1 x 143.5cm (158.1 x 142.2cm Macm)	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>Two Architects Reduced to their Geometric Stereotypes / Murder'n the Cathedral</i>		Recent Works Marlborough NY; MFALondon	RWMNY: 53 x 75 in. / 134.6 x 190.5cm 125.8 x 181.0cm	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>Painting with a Sponsor / Removed Pending</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo	SCMT: 63.5 x 64.125 in.	acrylic on paper
1988	<i>English Palette with Feet of Clay</i>		Love catalogue	231.1 x 129.5 cm	collage on canvas
1988	<i>Study for Frottage of the Void</i>		Love catalogue	Love dims: 132 x 110.5 cm	collage on canvas
1989	<i>Can Abstraction be Taken as Evidence in a Murder Scene</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; POSC Macmillan; MFALondon	92.5 x 68 in.; MFA dims: 246.3 x 170.2 cm	oil on canvas

1988	<i>If a Column Could see it Would see Thus</i>		CC correspondance		acrylic on paper
1989	<i>Looking for gold in a forest</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	239.0 x 203.2cm	oil & collage
1989	<i>Picnic Attacked by a Strand of the Void Symbolizing Autumn</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon	SCMT: 80 x 108.875 in.; MFAL: 211.0 x 284.5cm	oil on canvas
1989	<i>Siegfried Alla Prima</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	231.1 x 287.0cm	oil on canvas
1989	<i>Study for "The thief of perspective"</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>The detective</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>Untitled</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>Untitled</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>Untitled</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>Untitled</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>Untitled</i>		MFALondon	100.0 x 100.0cm	ink drawing
1989	<i>An Incident on the Other Side of Mont St Victoire</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	POSC: 188.5 x 187.5cm	acrylic on paper
1989	<i>The balcony lecture of Kata Phusin</i>		POSC Macmillan	239 x 236cm	oil on canvas

1989?	<i>Sad Dirty Little Angel</i>		On Form & Fiction		oil on canvas?
1989?	<i>[pastoral - fruit basket]</i>		On Form & Fiction		oil on canvas?
1989	<i>Thoughts of a Vegetarian</i>		Love catalogue	love dims: 227.3 x 216 cm	collage on canvas
1989	<i>Sadness of Swiss Peasants</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list Nov 2007 dims: 231.3x227.4cm / 91x89 1/2 in.	collage
1989	<i>The Sadness of Swiss Peasants on the Rhine</i>		MFA London	MFA dims: 226.1 x 251.5 cm	oil on canvas
1989	<i>Debating the Agenda Between a Romantic and a Neo-Classicalist</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007: 221x262/ 87x103 1/8in	oil on canvas
1989	<i>The Bridges</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007: 211x282cm/ 83 1/8x111in.	oil on canvas
1989	<i>The Dream of Kata Phusin</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007: 212x193cm/ 83 1/2x76in	acrylic and paper on canvas
1989	<i>The Drunken Poet/ Red Stripe</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list 2007: 188x170.2cm / 74x67in.	oil and collage
	<i>ON FORM AND FICTION - THIRD EYE CENTRE</i>				
1990	<i>Leaf from a Book by Ruskin</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan	OF&F: 171.8 x 155cm	acrylic on paper
1989	<i>Underneath the Arches She Dreams Her Dreams Away</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 194.4 x 198.2cm	acrylic on paper

1989	<i>The Thief of Perspective</i>		On Form & Fiction; Artnet	OF&F: 194.4 x 187cm; Artnet dims: Height 80.7 in.; Width 79.5 in. / Height 205 cm.; Width 202 cm.	acrylic on paper
1989	<i>Study for The Insubstantialists</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 100 x 100cm	ink on paper
1989	<i>You! You Little Basket You!</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 197.5 x 196cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>Crash Cubism (The Neo-Classical Period)</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan	OF&F: 182.9 x 162.6cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Here's some Fruit As You Wave Me Goodbye</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 169.5 x 155.2cm	oil on canvas
1989	<i>A Leap From the Bridge at Lucca</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 202 x 196.2cm	acrylic on paper
1989	<i>Portrait of a Nude Encouraging Significant Form</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 186 x 188.5cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>Portrait of a nude encouraging significant form</i>		POSC Macmillan	186 x 188.5cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>Portrait of the Insubstantialists</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 179 x 172.8cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>The Branch Secretaries/ Secretary</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan	OF&F: 181.6 x 170.2cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Cottage Orne / Drip from the Moon</i>		On Form & Fiction	OF&F: 200.8 x 182.9cm	oil on canvas
[1990] 1989	<i>Two Men in Pursuit Of Simplicity / Young Men in Search of Simplicity / Men in pursuit of simplicity</i>		On Form & Fiction; Macmillan Scottish Art; MFALondon; POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	MFALondon: 195.5 x 191.0cm	acrylic on paper

1990	<i>Bespectacled Head</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA: 63.5 x 61.3 cm 25 x 24 1/8 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Arcadian Scene</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon	SCMT: 46.125 x 58 in.; MFAL: 117.2 x 147.3cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Cottage Orne / Drip from the Moon</i>		MFALondon	200.8 x 182.9cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Hunter Looking for his Glasses</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	SCMT: 62.875 x 46 in.; 159.7 x 116.8cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Italian family</i>		MFALondon	91.4 x 60.9cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Playing tennis with a subordinate</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon	SCMT: 61 x 47.125 in. / 154.9 x 119.7cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Son of the postman</i>		MFALondon	91.4 x 60.9cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Peasantscape with Interfering Nude</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 56.2 x 50.8 cm / 22 1/8 x 20 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Hunt for the Minotaur</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 56.2 x 50.8 cm 22 1/8 x 20 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Folly with Camouflage Men and Plane</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 58.7 x 89.2 cm 23 1/8 x 35 1/8 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>The Despair of Heidi</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	59.7 x 91.4cm/ MFA website: 62.5 x 91.4 cm / 24 5/8 x 36 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Mum and Dad were born from the Tracks</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 93.9 x 71.1 cm 37 x 28 in (p)	oil on canvas

1990	<i>Thomas Doubting a Chair</i>		Steven Campbell Marlborough Tokyo; MFALondon	46.125 x 61.128 in.; MFAL: 117.2 x 155.3cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Untitled [digging through wall and floor boards]</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	81.3 x 66.0cm	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Young Men Doing Art in Dangerous Places</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	87.9 x 63.5cm/ MFA website: 87.9 x 63.5 cm / 34 5/8 x 25 in	oil on canvas
1990	<i>Escape</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	100 x 100cm; Framed size: 118.5 x 121.5 cm	ink drawing
1990	<i>Study for Cottage Orne</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	100 x 100cm	ink drawing
1990	<i>Study for You Little Basket You!</i>		OFF catalogue	TBC	ink drawing
1990	<i>The Artist</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	79 x 101cm; Framed size: 102.5 x 121 cm	ink drawing
1990	<i>The eagle</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	100 x 100cm; Framed size: 125 x 120.5 cm	ink drawing
1990	<i>The hunter</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	100 x 100cm	ink drawing
1990	<i>The towers</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	100 x 100cm; Papiermaße/Dimensi on: 100 x 100 cm (39 3/8 x 39 3/8 in.) Rahmenmaße/Frame : 122 x 115 cm (48 1/16 x 45 1/4 in.)	ink drawing
1990	<i>Twins</i>		MFALondon	100 x 100cm; framed dims: Framed size: 121 x 115.5 cm	ink drawing
	<i>Untitled (Explorers in a Boat)</i>			L&T dims: 99cm x 101cm (39in x 40in)	Watercolour

1990	<i>Portrait of a Classical Nude Nervously Sitting</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan	198 x 198.5cm; OF&F: 198 x 198.4cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>Nude leaning into a hedge</i>		POSC Macmillan	100 x 100cm	ink on paper
1989	<i>Study for Not You as Well Snowy</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list Nov 2007 dims: 94x99cm / 37x39 in.	wash
1989	<i>Not You as Well Snowy</i>		POSC Macmillan; CC correspondence	MFA stock list Nov 2007 dims: 186x197cm / 73 1/4x77 1/2 in.	acrylic on paper
[1990]	<i>Portrait of a Lyrical French Abstractionist</i>		CC correspondance		
1989	<i>Sad Dirty Little Angel</i>		On Form & Fiction; POSC Macmillan	OF&F: 191.1 x 190.8cm	acrylic on paper
1990	<i>Painting Symbolising Autumn</i>		POSC Macmillan/ Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 60.9 x 91.4 cm 24 x 36 in (l)	oil on canvas
1990-91	<i>The Artist's Chair</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue	152.4 x 109.2cm	collage on canvas
1990	<i>No Room on the Bed</i>		CC correspondence	MFA stock list Nov 2007 dims: 62.5x91.4cm / 24 5/8x36 in.	oil on canvas
1991	<i>A small death in the family</i>		MFA London & POSC Macmillan	152.0 x 115.0cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>After a Large Man a Woman Dreams of a Small Man</i>		MFA London	47 x 68.5 in. / 119.4 x 174.0cm	oil, collage on canvas
1991	<i>Fake Ophelia</i>		MFA London & POSC Macmillan	173.5 x 119.5cm	collage

1991	<i>Penelope at home waiting for dad's return</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue	114 x 158cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>Love</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue	177 x 121cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>Birth of Eurithia with drowned family</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue; MFALondon	150 x 120cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>I dreamt I shot Mussolini at Cowes week</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue; MFALondon	144 x 115.5cm	collage on paper laid on canvas
1991	<i>Portrait of two cousin with the same mother who left them alone when she was seventeen</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue; MFALondon	149 x 121cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>Dream of the Hunter's Muse</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue	146.5 x 111cm	collage on canvas
1991	<i>The family of the accidental angel</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue; MFALondon	174 x 121.5cm	collage on canvas
[1988]	<i>Goat Skull in Italy</i>		POSC Macmillan; Love catalogue	Love dims: 224.7 x 227.4 cm	collage on canvas
	<i>BILL HARDIE SHOW</i>				
1992	<i>Pinocchio in exile, alone</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; Your Paintings	162.5 x 66.3cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Spider on the window, monster in the land</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	220.4 x 232.7cm	oil on canvas

1992	<i>Two women and an otter</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan	216.2 x 199.4cm	oil on canvas
1992	<i>The family as memory</i>		POSC Macmillan	193 x 147.3cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>The family as memory II</i>		POSC Macmillan	91.4 x 195cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>The Croatian Blouse</i>		POSC Macmillan	210.8 x 226.7cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Two years of my life [time]</i>		POSC Macmillan	185.5 x 144.2cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>The Drowned</i>		POSC Macmillan	208.5 x 175.5cm	oil on canvas
1992	<i>The dream of St Sebastian</i>		POSC Macmillan	218.7 x 244.5cm	oil on canvas
1992	<i>St Sebastian - curtain</i>		POSC Macmillan	220 x 193cm	oil on canvas
1992	<i>Pinocchio, the habit of the shriek</i>		POSC Macmillan	178 x 149.2cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Pinocchio in chains</i>		POSC Macmillan	175.2 x 106cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Ethnic event</i>		POSC Macmillan	188 x 144.5cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Dolls 'R' us</i>		POSC Macmillan	182.3 x 144.4cm	acrylic on paper

1992	<i>Heroic [Horoic] emblems</i>		POSC Macmillan	183.5 x 147cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Young offenders</i>		POSC Macmillan	144.5 x 194.6cm	acrylic on paper
1992-93	<i>The family as motorbike road sign</i>		POSC Macmillan	179.4 x 138.8cm	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Alice in the Ruins / Alice in Ruins</i>		POSC Macmillan; MFALondon	269.9 x 263.7cm	oil on canvas
1992-93	<i>Dead man's cocktail party</i>		POSC Macmillan	283.5 x 269.2cm	oil on canvas
1992-93	<i>The Spider</i>		POSC Macmillan; MFALondon	221.5 x 234.3cm	oil on canvas
1992-93	<i>The devil's eye</i>		POSC Macmillan	218.7 x 211.4cm	oil on canvas
1992-93	<i>The poetess</i>		POSC Macmillan	211.1 x 199.7cm	oil on canvas
1992-93	<i>Penelope rescued from her suitors</i>		POSC Macmillan	218.7 x 194.6cm	oil on canvas
1992	<i>Pinocchio, The Habit of the Schrike</i>		MFALondon; CC correspondence	MFA dims: 178 x 149.2 cm	oil on paper
[1992]	<i>The Conception of Pinocchio</i>			invaluable dims: 43cm x 33cm	oil on board
[1992]	<i>[pinocchio painted tiles]</i>		CC correspondance		

1992	<i>Composed Painting with Emotional Elements</i>		CC correspondance	MFA Stock list 2007 dims: 182.9x162.6cm / 72x64in	acrylic on paper
1992	<i>Young Boy Imagines His Mother's Hair Like a River in a Storm</i>		CC correspondance	MFA Stock list 2007 dims: 182.9x121.9cm / 72x48 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Angel and Rat</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	34.3 x 25.4cm; ORASG catalogue: 13.5 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Beachy Milky Net</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	MFA: 22.8 x 30.5cm; ORASG catalogue: 9 x 12 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Blue Witch</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue; Artnet	31.8 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 12.5 x 9 in.; artnet dims: Height 11.8 in.; Width 8.3 in. / Height 30 cm.; Width 21 cm.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Bone Phone</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	29.2 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 11.5 x 9 in (p)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Children of the Mermaid</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	22.8 x 30.5cm; ORASG catalogue: 9 x 12 in. (l)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Exhaltation of Pinocchio</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	31.8 x 21.5cm; ORASG catalogue: 12.5 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Garden 2</i>		MFALondon	35.6 x 25.4cm	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Garden 1</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	35.5 x 25.4cm; ORASG catalogue: 14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Girl on the Phone</i>		MFALondon / CC Collection; ORASG catalogue	29.2 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 11.5 x 9 in (p)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Girl who loves milk</i>		MFALondon / CC Collection; ORASG catalogue	MFA: 30.5 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 12 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper

1993	<i>Head over in love</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	30.5 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Mad boy</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	29.2 x 22.9cm; ORASG catalogue: 11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Outside right at the Sunset Gate</i>		MFALondon / CC Collection; ORASG catalogue	106.7 x 94.0cm	oil on canvas
1993	<i>Painting in defence of migrants</i>		MFALondon & POSC Macmillan; Your Paintings	272.4 x 256.5cm; GM dims: Size/ Weight: unframed: 2715 mm x 2560 mm	oil on canvas
1993	<i>Portrait of Mr Mesmer</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	MFA: 39.4 x 30.5cm; ORASG catalogue: 15.5 x 12 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Rising and friend</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	29.2 x 21.5cm; ORASG catalogue: 11.5 x 8.5 in.; L&T dims: 29cm x 20cm (11.5in x 8in)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Devil and boat</i>		Hunterian catalogue	Hunterian catalogue: 26.5 x 29.0 Frame: 33.0 x 35.7	gouache on board
1994	<i>The Light from the Grounds</i>		Your Paintings; ORASG catalogue	your paintings: 50.7 x 40.5 cm; ORASG catalogue: 20 x 16 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Rising at 7.01</i>		MFALondon; Your Paintings; ORASG catalogue	45.7 x 36.8cm; your paintings: 37.8 x 45.2 cm; ORASG catalogue: 18 x 14.5 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Shower and electricity</i>		MFALondon; Your Paintings; Hunterian catalogue; ORASG catalogue	30.5 x 22.8cm; Hunterian cat: 22.0 x 29.0, Frame: 29.2 x 36.2; ORASG catalogue 12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Soccer</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	MFA: 28.0 x 21.6cm; ORASG catalogue: 11 x 8.2 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Sunset gate 1</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	30.5 x 39.4cm; ORASG catalogue: 20 x 15.5 in.	acrylic on paper

1993	<i>Swan in love</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	30.5 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>The bull's leg</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	29.2 x 22.9cm; ORASG catalogue: 11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Un homme et une femme</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	30.5 x 22.8cm; ORASG catalogue: 12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
[1993]	<i>Un homme et une femme</i>		McTears Contemporary Art Evening: 06/12/2011; Sotheby's Scottish Pictures sale London 1 May 2008 Lot 229; mutualart.com	McTears catalogue notes: 114cm x 88cm ; Sotheby's catalogue notes: 108 by 90.5cm; 42½ by 35½ in.	oil on canvas
1993	<i>Voodoo</i>		MFALondon; ORASG catalogue	31.8 x 22.9cm; ORASG catalogue: 12.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1993	<i>Me in the studio</i>		POSC Macmillan	198.3 x 122cm	collage on canvas
1993	<i>Murder running through the woods</i>		POSC Macmillan; MFALondon	249.2 x 243.9cm; MFA dims: 249.2 x 243.9 cm	oil on canvas
1993	<i>Born under a cloud</i>		POSC Macmillan	215 x 181.6cm	collage / oil on canvas
1994	<i>Being Human - Portrait of Bill Forsyth</i>		MFALondon	183.0 x 122.0cm	oil on canvas
1994	<i>Milkman</i>		Your Paintings; ORASG catalogue	22.5 x 30 cm; ORASG catalogue: 9 x 12 in. (I)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Smoker's Family</i>		ORASG catalogue	15.5 x 12 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Cheese Mite</i>		ORASG catalogue	10 x 14 in.	acrylic on paper

1994	<i>Oeuvre 2</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 15 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Family that Irons Together [naked girls ironing board - red socks - brown wood frame]</i>		ORASG catalogue	ORASG catalogue: 8.25 x 12 in.; GR measurements: framed dims: 32 x 43cm	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Alarm</i>		ORASG catalogue	20 x 13 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>After Manet</i>		ORASG catalogue	20 x 16 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Head as an Embroidery</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Cezanne's Bathers, Campbell's Bathers</i>		ORASG catalogue	9 x 11 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Breeding Young Pinocchios</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Pinocchio The Liar Artist</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>I Hate Berg</i>		ORASG catalogue; Heart Fine Art dims: 30 x 21cm	12 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Garden 3</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Puppet Family</i>		ORASG catalogue	10 x 14 in. (l)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Sap Chap</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper

1994	<i>The Shock Comes</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Picture to Keep Milk Warm</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Kangaroo At Birth</i>		ORASG catalogue; mutualart.com	13 x 10 in. (p); mutualart.com: 33cm x 25cm (13in x 9.75)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Kangaroo Girl</i>		ORASG catalogue	9 x 11 in. (l)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Girl of the Dawn</i>		ORASG catalogue	15.5 x 12 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Sap Balloon</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Putto on the Turf</i>		ORASG catalogue	19 x 16 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Cloud</i>		ORASG catalogue	12.5 x 9 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Garden At The End</i>		ORASG catalogue	8.5 x 11.5 in. (l)	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Woman in a Mirror</i>		ORASG catalogue; artnet	12 x 9 in.; mutualart.com: 8.5 X 12 in. ; artnet dims: Height 12 in.; Width 8.3 in. / Height 30.5 cm.; Width 21 cm.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Pinocchio Island</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Roof Falling Nude</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper

1994	<i>Sunday Painter</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Bee</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Puppet and Mother</i>		ORASG catalogue	12.5 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Target</i>		ORASG catalogue	9 x 12.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>By Bad Right Arm</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Big Cheese</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Love amongst the Bonsai</i>		ORASG catalogue	15.5 x 12 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>St. Sebastian</i>		ORASG catalogue	20 x 16 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Hank of Hair</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Swan Hunter</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Jar Girl</i>		ORASG catalogue	14.5 x 13.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Ironing Family</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper

1994	<i>Target and Boy</i>		ORASG catalogue	12.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Figments of My</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Lovers</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Putto in a Pond</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Venice Face</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Head III</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Very Good</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 8 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Bone Phone II</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Head I</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Head III</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Sap 4</i>		ORASG catalogue	12.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Pinocchio Painter</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper

1994	<i>Musical Drowning</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Desert</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 8.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Defence of small curious people</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>The Husk</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Hall Wall and Mirror</i>		ORASG catalogue	11.5 x 9 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Garden 2</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Vapor</i>		ORASG catalogue	13 x 19.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>Sap Balloon 2</i>		ORASG catalogue	14 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>An Oeuvre</i>		ORASG catalogue	12 x 15.5 in.	acrylic on paper
1994	<i>In Defence of Girls who Love Milk</i>		ORASG catalogue	33 x 43.5 in.	oil on canvas
1994	<i>The Milkman</i>		ORASG catalogue	44 x 40 in.	oil on canvas
1994	<i>Kangaroo Girls</i>		ORASG catalogue	44.5 x 35 in.	oil on canvas

1994	<i>Outside Right</i>		ORASG catalogue; artnet	42 x 37 in. ; artnet dims: Height 37 in.; Width 41.7 in. / Height 94 cm.; Width 106 cm	oil on canvas
1994	<i>The Sunset Gate/ 7 on the Right Wing</i>		ORASG catalogue	42.5 x 35.5 in; Roseberys dims: 106x88.5cm	oil on canvas/Roseberys cat: oil on canvas laid on panel
1994	<i>The Girl on the Phone</i>		ORASG catalogue	38 x 22 in.	oil on canvas
1994	<i>Boiling all over</i>		ORASG catalogue	44 x 36 in.	oil on canvas
[1994]	<i>Boy in Target</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 13 in.; Width 9.4 in. / Height 33 cm.; Width 24 cm.	watercolor and gouache on paper
1994	<i>Outside Right at the Sunset Gate, No. 18, Garden 3</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	mutualart.com: 35cm x 25cm; artnet dims: Height 13.4 in.; Width 9.8 in. / Height 34 cm.; Width 25 cm.	acrylic on paper
[1994/95]	<i>Untitled [footballers in a wood]</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	from mutualart.com: 16 X 20 in. ; artnet dims: Height 20.1 in.; Width 16.1 in. / Height 51 cm.; Width 41 cm.	oil on paper
1995	<i>The Golden City [Glasgow Airport mural]</i>		Your Paintings; Paisley Daily Express: 'Campbell mural donated' Feb 1 2010 by Kenneth Speirs;	your paintings: 248.2 x 949.1 cm (estimated)	oil on canvas [?panels]
1996	<i>The emotional detectives</i>		MFA London; Your Paintings; Chesterfield Dreams catalogue; CC correspondence	183.0 x 122.0cm; your paintings: 183 x 122 cm; CDC: 72 x 48 in. / 183 x 122 cm	mixed media; Acrylic, oil & ceramic on canvas; mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam"
1997	<i>Portrait of the Poet</i>		Your Paintings	Your paintings: 70.5 x 57 cm	oil on board
1995	<i>Pillow of Dreams [Joan Sutherland]/ In this place of dreams Portrait of the Chin of Joan Sutherland</i>				collage / oil on canvas
	<i>CHESTERFIELD DREAMS</i>				

1995-1996	<i>Harry to Heaven</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 48 in. / 122 x 122 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>In the Park</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 40.5 x 46.25 in. / 103 x 143 cm (l)	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>Young Ulysses and his Father</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 37.375 in. / 122 x 95 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>A New Shovel</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 39.375 in. / 122 x 100 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>Harry in Nature</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 41.75 in. / 122 x 106 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>Star Crossed Lovers</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 37.75 in. / 122 x 96 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>Drowning between 3 fathoms</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 48 in. / 122 x 122 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>Salome</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 37 in. / 122 x 94 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>The Code</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	[no dims; varying]	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1995-1996	<i>The Birds</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48 x 96.5 in. / 122 x 245 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1996	<i>Lightning</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 74.5 x 48 in. / 183.5 x 122 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1996	<i>Birth and sex</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 70.75 x 48.5 in. / 179.6 x 123.2 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is

1996	<i>The Spider</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48.25 x 22.25 in / 122.5 x 56.5 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1997	<i>Canal Story</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue; CC correspondence	CDC: 67.25 x 48.5 in. / 170.8 x 123.2 cm; Heart Fine Art dims: 170.8 x 125.2 x 65cm (approx)	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1997	<i>The Polder Man</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48.25 x 29.25 in. / 122.5 x 74.2 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1997	<i>Young Harry in Nature at Night</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 36.25 x 27.25 in. / 92 x 69.2 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1997	<i>Diary with Harry</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 22.5 x 18.75 in. / 57 x 47.5 cm	mixed media; acrylic and oil on canvas "the padding is foam and brass metal pins are used. The cast plaster is
1996	<i>In the Canal on the Park</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 29.875 x 28.875 in. / 76 x 73 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>Walking by Nature's Freaks</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 48.125 x 41.5 in. / 117.2 x 105.5 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>Her Back Drove Men Wild but her Mad</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 52.25 x 43.75 in. / 132.5 x 111 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>Men High On Ice</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 55.375 x 45.25 in. / 140.5 x 115 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>My Theory of Migration on the 10th Floor</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 57.875 x 44.625 in. / 147 x 113.5 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>The Cousins Hiding in Hair</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 54.125 x 45.25 in. / 137.5 x 115.8 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>Anchorage</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 44.875 x 35.25 in. / 114 x 89.6 cm	acrylic on paper

1996	<i>Napoleon as an Owl</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 51.875 x 44.75 in. / 130.7 x 113.6 cm	acrylic on paper
1996	<i>The Cousins on the Telly</i>		Chesterfield Dreams catalogue	CDC: 40.5 x 52.375 in. / 103 x 133.2 cm	acrylic on paper
[1996]	<i>Yves Saint Laurent Mixed Media Piece</i>		CC correspondence		
1997	<i>As the Red Train Hurtles By</i>		CC correspondence	MFA Stock list 2007 dims: 117 x 210cm/ 46x82 5/8in	oil on paper
1998	<i>Tom Normand</i>		Your Paintings	your paintings: 182 x 97 cm	Oil, watercolour, pencil & collage on board
	<i>WORKS ON PAPER IN STUDIO</i>				
	<i>[painted heads]</i>		CC Collection		
2000-2001	<i>A TRIBUTE TO EDWIN MORGAN - SNPG</i>				
c. 2000	<i>one pencil sketch, one b/w layout drawing and eight small painted sketches</i>		SNPG uncatalogued exhibition file	dims vary	pencil, pen, acrylic on paper and scrap paper
2001	<i>Eating with her feet</i>		MFA London; Caravan Club catalogue	106.7 x 170.2cm; CC cat: 42 x 67 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2002	<i>CARAVAN CLUB - TALBOT RICE SHOW</i>				
2001-2002	<i>Four Feet with Two Things in Common... Gardening and Killing</i>		Caravan Club cat; CC correspondence	73.5 x 87 in. (p)	oil on canvas

2001-2002	<i>I was there, the clothes were, no signs of anyone else</i>		Caravan Club cat	78 x 90.5 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>In the gutter the smells run across the way</i>		Caravan Club cat	72 x 86 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>Family Living in the Lining of the Wasp</i>		Caravan Club cat; CC correspondence	74 x 84.5 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>Little Nell of the line - The Bitch</i>		Caravan Club cat	80 x 89.5 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001	<i>Her Bower became a Bow to Twist, Tighten and Throw</i>		Caravan Club cat.; MFALondon	71.5 x 86 in. (p); MFA dims: 81.6 x 218.4 cm	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>This is a Poster / No! I reapeat No! Pick Pockets</i>		Caravan Club cat	74 x 83 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001	<i>Pulling the Pope pushing the kid</i>		Caravan Club cat; MFALondon	80 x 83 in. (p); MFA dims: 203.2 x 210.8 cm	oil on canvas
2001	<i>Autumn / No happy time if you have a heartbeat</i>		Caravan Club cat; MFALondon	88 x 90 in. (p); MFA dims: 223.5 x 228.6 cm	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>His insides became his outsides as the caravan game became erratic</i>		Caravan Club cat.; MFALondon	86.5 x 90.5 in. (p); MFA dims: 219.7 x 229.9 cm	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>No Bathroom evidence painting can explain the fact that there is no rug in Psycho 1</i>		Caravan Club cat	82.5 x 84.5 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>No Bathroom evidence painting can explain the fact that there is no rug in Psycho 2</i>		Caravan Club cat	82.5 x 84.5 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>From Ground to Roof Through Deserted Building Only to Submit to a Sad Bad God</i>		Caravan Club cat; CC correspondence	77.5 x 89 in. (p)	oil on canvas

2001-2002	<i>Edwin Morgan as Edvard Munch in his Web Between the Clock and the Wardrobe</i>		Caravan Club cat.; CC correspondance	77.5 x 90 in. (p)	oil on canvas
2001-2002	<i>Jane Avril by Toulouse Lautrec with Hippo Guts</i>		Caravan Club cat	41 x 63 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>A man with a big nose smells a woman at the station</i>		Caravan Club cat	41 x 63.5 in (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>Tyson / Boxing T shirt as landscape with my shirt as the sun</i>		Caravan Club cat	42.5 x 65 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>Picnic with a trick of the light</i>		Caravan Club cat	53.5 x 64.5 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>The life that lives under the skin of the red train</i>		Caravan Club cat	45.5 x 65 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>A Blind Man Would Have Great Difficulty with Cezanne</i>		Caravan Club cat.; CC correspondence	66.5 x 59.5 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
2001-2002	<i>A bag of dust mites goes by perspectively</i>		Caravan Club cat	65 x 74.5 in. (p)	acrylic on paper
[2001-2002]	<i>Sad Bastard Pushing Floral Chair Uphill</i>		Artworks BBC Scotland doc 2002		
2001-2002	<i>[cover image - cropped]</i>		Caravan Club cat		
[2002]	<i>Good Save Henry Frederick/ God Save Henry Frederick</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	from mutualart.com: 24 X 24 in. [irregular - damaged?]; artnet dims: Height 24 in.; Width 24 in. / Height 61 cm.; Width 61 cm.	oil on canvas
	<i>[pinocchio tiles]</i>		MFALondon		

	<i>[pinocchio tiles - sideboard]</i>		CC Collection		
2004	<i>GPS Jean Pierre Leaud [Truffaut's apprtice]</i>				
	<i>Apprentice piece</i>				
	<i>Great Day (sketch)</i>			open eye dims: 29 x 19.5 cm	Pen and ink drawing
	<i>Not Playing Well! (sketch)</i>			open eye dims: 29 x 19.5 cm	Pen and ink drawing
[2004]	<i>Master and Apprentice - The Green Man</i>		artnet	artnet dims: Height 35.8 in.; Width 24 in. / Height 91 cm.; Width 61 cm.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Siamese Boxing Triplets and the Tarantino Dash</i>		mutualart.com	from mutualart.com: 81 X 86.5 in.; artnet dims: Height 86.6 in.; Width 81.1 in. / Height 220 cm.; Width 206 cm.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>A Mussolini Moment</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft 4 x 6ft 10 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Butterfly's Birth-Day</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft 5 x 5ft 10 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Green Man at the Crossroads / Touch Wood</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 7ft 6 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Quarry Perspective Lost</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 7ft 3 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Rosslyn with the Chasm of the Green Man</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft 2 x 7ft 2 in.	oil on canvas

2004	<i>The Green Man's Twisted Eye at Rosslyn</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 7ft 6 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Broken Flies Revenge on the Bee Keeper</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft 3 x 6ft 6 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Fake Through Signature</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 6ft 1 x 4ft 6 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Abstract Puppet Theatre of the Absurd with Semi Naked Audience</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft 4 x 6ft 9 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Bela Lugosi's Breath</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft 7 x 6ft 9 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Bela Lugosi's Invitational to Friends</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft 1 x 7ft 1 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Stevenson Stoned with Bela Lugosi</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 7ft 5 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Mistress Wife Grandmother of Jekyll and Hyde</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft 1 x 7ft 3 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Jekyll and the Hydres</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 6ft 9 x 5ft 9 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Occular [Ocular] Circus of Cezanne</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft 7 x 7ft	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Prisoners Invitational Run or The Great Escape</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 6ft 3 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Common Blues Migrate at 200ft Shit Height over the Circus Tent</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 7ft x 7ft	oil on canvas

2004	<i>De Magier with Mona Lisa Hair Smile</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 6ft 7 x 4dt 6 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Hermit Moving North West</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft 4 x 6ft 9 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>Two Poets: David and Rambo</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 8ft 2 x 2ft	painted plaster relief in two parts
2004	<i>Study of a Kleptomaniac</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue; Lyon & Turnbull Scottish Contemporary - Sale 263; mutualart.com; artnet	JPL cat: 11 x 8 in.; L&T catalogue notes: 30cm x 22cm (12in x 8.75in)	Woodcut, artist's proof, signed
2004	<i>Being Born</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 11 x 8 in.	woodcut
2004	<i>Snail Circus: The Broken Shell Scam</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft x 2ft	woodcut
2004	<i>The Rosslyn [Roslyn] Experience</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 4ft x 2ft	woodcut
2004	<i>Battle of Myths! The Tree Man / The Green Man</i>		Jean-Pierre Leaud catalogue	JPL cat: 6ft 7 x 7ft 1 in.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Nursery of the Barber/ Ed Hatter - possible fake CC</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	artnet dims: Height 36 in.; Width 24 in. / Height 91.5 cm.; Width 61 cm.	oil on canvas
2004	<i>The Free Family, Figures at the base of an Aberration</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	artnet dims: Height 36 in.; Width 24 in. / Height 91.5 cm.; Width 61 cm.	oil on canvas
2005	<i>CAMPBELL'S SOUP GSA</i>				
2005	<i>Paisleycus Byrnicus - Waiting a Portrait of Mr Gray</i>		Campbell Soup exhibition archive		oil on canvas

[2005]	<i>The Striking Gardeners</i>		Bonhams19 Apr 2012 14:00 BST Edinburgh Scottish Art Auction 19863; mutualart.com; artnet	Bonhams catalogue notes: 134 x 99 cm. (52 3/4 x 39 in.)	oil on canvas
[2005]	<i>The Blind Magician</i>		Bonhams sale 19 Apr 2012 14:00 BST Edinburgh Scottish Art auction 19863; artnet	from Bonhams catalogue notes: 97 x 62 cm. (38 3/16 x 24 7/16 in.)	oil on canvas
c.2006	<i>Self Portrait: Scratched out, it's all in the wrist</i>				oil on canvas?
[2005-07]	<i>The Sphinx</i>		mutualart.com; Artnet	mutualart.com: 41 X 65 in.	gouache
2008	WRETCHED STARS INSATIABLE HEAVEN GSA & GPS				
[2006-07]	<i>Portrait of the Lost Travelogue Writer</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat/ Marlborough Fine Art website	WSIH cat: 220 x 183 cm	oil on canvas
2006	<i>The Childhood Bedroom of Captain Hook with Collapsible Bed</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat; CC correspondence	WSIH cat: 215 x 215 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Fantomas Series [arms on a frame, paisley pattern five figures]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 201 x 201 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Baby Faced Killer Series [with blue type writer]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 221 x 209 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Fantomas Series [well-mouth, two figures sitting astride a branch]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 218 x 217 cam	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled II from the Fantomas series [naked baby in top hat]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 201 x 201 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Baby Faced Killer Series [three invisible figures, paisley pattern]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat / Marlborough Fine Art website	WSIH cat: 186 x 142 cm	oil on canvas

[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Skin Series [Lytton Strachey, bone ladder, eagles]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 187 x 141 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Baby Faced Killer Series [with Lytton Strachey]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat/ Marlborough Fine Art website	WSIH cat: 221 x 220 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Baby Faced Killer Series [with Wig]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat/ Marlborough Fine Art website	WSIH cat: 220 x 204 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Self-portrait as Lytton Strachey being both Thor and Madame Butterfly</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 122 x 180 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the Baby Faced Killer Series [yellow dismembered limbs]</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven cat	WSIH cat: 215 x 215 cm	oil on canvas
2007	<i>Attenti al Cane, al Padrone et tutti la Famiglia</i>		MFA London	MFA dims: 188 x 121.9 cm	oil on canvas
[2007]	<i>Dark Sisters Rosary Reliquary</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven list of works Mack Gallery		
[2007]	<i>He ran wrong-handed into a dream of the film Repulsion becoming Catherine Deneuve</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven list of works Mack Gallery		
[2007]	<i>Prometheus Unbound</i>		Wretched Stars, Insatiable Heaven list of works Mack Gallery		
[2007]	<i>Untitled from the Extreme Sports series [tiger and cage]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 223.5 x 193 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Blue Pinstripe Suit [Lytton Strachey]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 239 x 165 cm	oil on canvas
[2007]	<i>Gaviscon and Razor [Yellow boat]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 218.5 x 211 cm	oil on canvas

	<i>Coming through the window [Lytton Strachey as Hitler]/ Untitled</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 216 x 173 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Eagles and Skeletons [flayed skin]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 195.6 x 142 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>The Bowman [Extreme Sports series]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 234 x 226 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Ex Voto [Lytton Strachey]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 129.5 x 185.5 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled from the "Smoke Painters" Series [camp fire]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 211 x 195.5 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled III from the Extreme Sports Series [USSR 1 Algeria 0]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 168 x 140cm (p)	oil on canvas
[2007]	<i>Untitled III from the Fantomas Series [Gaviscon]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 228.5 x 218.5 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled IV from the Fantomas series [eye]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 185.5 x 109 cm	oil on canvas
[2006-07]	<i>Untitled V from the Fantomas Series [red handbag]</i>		Marlborough Fine Art website	MFA website: 190.5 x 142 cm	oil on canvas
n/d	<i>Fisherman in Scottish Landscape</i>		Artnet	artnet dims: Height 7.1 in.; Width 13.8 in. / Height 18 cm.; Width 35 cm.	watercolor and pastel
n/d	<i>Figure in the Woods</i>		Artnet	artnet dims: Height 18.1 in.; Width 18.9 in. / Height 46 cm.; Width 48 cm.	oil on wallpaper fragment

n/d	Untitled small painting of roof tops from Kingston Bridge		CC correspondance		
	24 June 2012 - photo documentation of studio items with Ron O'Donnell at ECA studio C5 - in order they were taken]				
2003-04	Lord Mammal Stone		Invite card CC Collection - ephemera		
	untitled (lawnmower) canvas			GR measurements: 105(w) x 145(h)cm	paint on canvas
	[reverse] line drawing unknown male figure in suit			GR measurements: 105(w) x 145(h)cm	paint on canvas
?2004	dr jekyll & the Hydes (greer dance back drop)		?GPS	GR measurements:198(w) x 220(h)cm	
n/d	Study for Man Possessed by a Demon of the Retina		Artnet	artnet dims: 203 x 163 cm. (79.9 x 64.2 in.)	oil on paper
2006	Two Abstract Paintings Exploded into a Landscape		CC correspondence		oil on canvas
	elderly painter ?cezanne (cut legs) reflections on New York			GR measurements: 110(w) x 170(h)cm	watercolour, charcoal & ?Gouache on paper
[1991]	collage (butterfly faces)			GR measurements: 112(w) x 125(h)cm	collage, paper, paint
	christening of Henry V (Mary Rose ship) chapel Stirling Castle badly damaged			GR measurements: 57 x 85cm	paint on paper

	christening of Henry V(Mary Rose ship) chapel Stirling Castle			GR measurements: 56 x 78cm	paint on paper
	Reservoir at Night (turquoise- peahen) [14 / 15 y/o Cathkin reservoir]			GR measurements: 106 x 165cm	paint on paper (two pieces, masking tape down centre)
	[underground new york, legs - rat on route to Bed Sty studio]			GR measurements: 112 x 165cm	paint on paper (odd dims)
	[psycho rug naked girl black dahlia 3 men in orange suits - blue]			GR measurements: 108 x 139cm	paint on paper
	[psycho rug naked girl head - green]			GR measurements: 103 x 128cm	paint on paper
	Mac saltenbacks [naked girl in tree - girl in diaphanous robe blue]			GR measurements: 130 x 180cm	paint on paper
	He Designed the Ducting for Lust not Air [red]			GR measurements: 114 x152cm	paint on paper
	After Cezanne [barleycane walking stick]			GR measurements: 108 x 162cm	
	[new york cut legs, butterflies, Bed Sty incident series]			GR measurements: 134 x 160cm	paint on paper
	[magic hand and apple - dark male figure]			GR measurements: 111 x 146cm	paint on paper
	[donuts - three heads, l-shape]			GR measurements: 36 x 112 x 109 x 39cm	paint on paper
	[severed legs donut box - brown paint tweed on rear]			GR measurements: 110 x 164cm	paint on paper

	[mars and venus]			GR measurements: 110 x 170cm	paint on paper
	stretched punchinella			GR measurements: 140 x 160cm (approx)	paint on paper
	girl in half - dark shadows psycho rug series]			GR measurements: 140 x 140cm	paint on paper
	[portrait miniatures dinosaur]			GR measurements: 113 x 166cm	collage, paper, paint
	[bathroom medallion]			GR measurements: 110 x 151cm	paint on paper
	Red train going left right up down - tearing apart			GR measurements: 115 x 150cm	paint on paper
	[louge teal green shirt - head]			GR measurements: 110 x 162cm	paint on paper
	[6 heads one man]			GR measurements: 148 x 140(h)cm	paint on paper
	traffic lights			GR measurements: 136 x 179cm	collage, paper, paint
	[st remy - catherine deneuve - violette noisere]			GR measurements: 110 x 135cm (approx)	paint on paper
	6 painted sock heads]			GR measurements: approx 15 x 30cm each	
	19 painted papier mache heads				

	13" painted red train two head on a bit of wood			GR measurements: 67 x 25 x 10cm	
	train one head			GR measurements: 20 x 25 x 12cm	
	donut box & donut (11cm diameter)			GR measurements: 22 x 22 x 11cm	
	[three figures challice - rosslyn apprentice, las meninas doorway - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[childs rug - psycho rug series - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[psycho rugs 01786 870 787 - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[head sktech scrap - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[man yellow, blue, green lamps naked girl, red swiss cheese - brown wood frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 29 x 37cm	
1994	Interior with Teddy [rug bear naked woman & man mirror - brown wooden frame]		ORASG catalogue	GR measurements: framed dims: 32 x 41cm; ORASG catalogue: 13.5 x 10 in.	acrylic on paper
	[two naked firls - brown wooden frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 29 x 38cm	
	[head sketch black face scrap - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	

	[two figure in woods facing]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[walt whitman portrait sketch - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[three figures at a table - colony club, green earrings - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[psycho rugs naked girl piano mucical notes stairs - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[psycho rugs Hosta! Shade naked girl lying - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[head reflected in mirror two faces scrap blue ink - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[bad guy chingustuck rug - veiled figure - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[drunk at the colony club - glasses behind the bar four figures - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	Walt Leaves [black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	[head 3/4 portrait - long hair beard - black ikea frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32.5 x 42.5cm	
	Murder in Flakirk no body knows [figure in woodland, blankets, well head in woodland]7			GR measurements: framed dims: 43 x 35cm	
	Murder in Falkirk no body knows [blankets only]			GR measurements: framed dims: 38 x 31cm	

1994	<i>Outside Right at the Sunset Gate</i>		Your Paintings	Your paintings: 114 x 92 cm	oil on canvas
	Outside Right at the Sunset Gates [football no 7, struck by lighening, japanese flag]			GR measurements: framed dims: 37 x 46cm	
	There's a Girl on the phone [naked girl draped on red phone - no glass in frame]			GR measurements: framed dims: 47.5 x 57cm	paint on paper
	tree sap [yellow tree night time]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32 x 42cm	
	[outside right at the sunset gate - sunrise naked girls conductor - brown woodn frame no glass in frame, frame damaged]			GR measurements: framed dims: 32 x 42cm	
	Steven's Lytton Strachey hat, navy and red circle stripes				
	heads				
	donut box				
nd	<i>[title TBC] Painting Backwards</i>				
nd	<i>[title TBC] Modelling Rings for Giants</i>				
nd	<i>[title TBC] Painter Tripping Over</i>				
nd	Untitled [nude yellow boat] sketch			open eye dims: 19.5 x 29 cm	pen and acrylic

