1.4 Visual Images as Text: The Sketches, Drawings and Paintings of Lucy Gray

I look now at some of the sketches and drawings from Lucy Gray’s journal and journal fragments, and explore ways in which such artworks might be treated as useful texts for historical purposes. I also comment on some of Lucy’s watercolour paintings and sketches obtained from various other sources, which are, in most cases, independent of the journal. I note how, by studying the juxtaposition of visual art with written text, the dual representations can emphasise matters of cultural significance, while revealing also Lucy’s growing empathy with her new surroundings. Some drawings by men are also discussed, as I explore ways in which some men and women represent their colonial surroundings through visual art.

Drawing, painting and nature studies were seen as an important part of a Victorian woman’s education. As a background to this I refer in particular to a recent publication by Caroline Jordan entitled Picturesque Pursuits: Colonial Women Artists and the Amateur Tradition (2005). Although the education of the women discussed by Jordan took place slightly before the Victorian era began, many of the earlier ideals that governed it flowed over into the later period, affecting people like Lucy Gray, who was born in Ireland in 1840.

1 Sketch by Lucy Gray of shipboard life, courtesy Robin Ormerod, New Zealand.
Griselda Pollack and Sue Rowley note that prominent artists (almost exclusively male) from the nineteenth century tended to use art as ‘a kind of vehicle for ideology, … history, or psychology’. In any case, most were obliged to paint according to demand if they hoped to sell their work. Female artists, on the other hand, whose art was usually seen as a hobby rather than a profession, were less constrained by the expectations imposed upon their professional male counterparts by patrons and the public in general. Most women could, up to a point, paint what and how they wished, secure in the knowledge that their work would be seen only by family and close friends. As such, female artists were able to break away from male stereotypes concerning subject matter and theme, as they captured subjects not deemed worthy of attention by their male counterparts. While the painting techniques used by men and women were often similar, watercolour was preferred by women. Taking up very little space in their luggage and drying quickly, watercolours were suitable for quick, on the spot representations, much as photography is today. As a result, women produced sketches, drawings and paintings that provide today’s historians with unique representations of otherwise neglected aspects of colonial life.

In spite of what they have to offer, in Australia many of the drawings and paintings by women from the colonial period have gone relatively unnoticed. Jordan notes that ‘in many public art galleries … one could still be forgiven for thinking that colonial women artists did not exist’. She says that colonial women’s art is more often found in library archives than in public art collections because it was previously valued more for its biographical, geographical or historical interest than for any perceived artistic merit. Even there, however, a practice that is now seen as a catastrophe for historians was the cutting out of pictures adjacent to poems and captions in women’s sketchbooks. The text was removed so that the pictures could be framed individually, and put on display, resulting in the loss of written reference that might have increased the value of the pictures for historical purposes.

Following on from standards set in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in England, a Victorian middle- and upper-class girl’s education usually included music, drawing and painting, dancing, fancy work, recitation, Romance languages and taste in dress. Their male counterparts received a more ‘manly’

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4 Jordan, Picturesque Pursuits 6–9.
education to prepare them for public life. After about the age of ten boys were sent on to a preparatory school or educated by a private tutor, some going on to university. (See Chapter 2.3 for details of the education of Lucy and husband Charles.) For most lessons, girls usually remained at home with, if they were lucky, a live-in governess. However, in Parsonstown where Lucy grew up, there were a number of separate boys and girls schools, one of which she may have attended. Drawing was commonly taught to both boys and girls, usually by external masters (or mistresses). Lucy appears to have had access to art tutors, but girls in the colonies were often instructed in such skills by their mothers who, in turn, may have received art instruction before leaving Britain. However, there were some, like Addy Bowler, who did not appear to have received any education in the visual arts at all.

Jordan points out that drawing lessons designed for girls were different to those for boys. For girls, the teaching of the accomplishments was deeply imbued with gender-specific moral prescriptions, the main purpose being to prepare them to become ‘good daughters, good wives, good mistresses, good members of society, and good Christians’. It was recommended girls not develop their accomplishments too much before marriage, so they could tailor their skills to match their husbands’ interests.

The light-hearted nature of some of Lucy’s sketches may appear to reflect this lack of development. However, the care and skill shown in her more sophisticated drawings and watercolours suggest that she took her art very seriously indeed. Life at Glendower could be lonely, but Lucy was determined to make the most of her spare time. On 27 April 1870 she wrote in her diary: ‘made up my mind to read a great deal more than I have done. Likewise to sketch’. It is doubtful whether, in the Australian bush, she felt the need to ‘tailor’ her activities to her ‘husband’s interests’. In any case, Charles was much too busy retrieving cattle from the tablelands to feel threatened by his wife’s activities.

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6 See Elizabeth Lawson, *The Natural Art of Louisa Atkinson* (Sydney: State Library of New South Wales, 1995) 38–42, concerning Louisa Atkinson, an accomplished artist from New South Wales, who received instruction in drawing and painting from her artist mother.


Other women did not have such freedom. The following comment, made in 1862 by Helena Scott from New South Wales, suggests that some women artists could expect to be controlled by their fathers where their art was concerned.

Oh, you cannot think how thankful I am that my dear father allows me to place my name to the drawings! It makes me feel twice as much pleasure while painting them.⁹

While Scott’s comments suggest parental control in other areas, her artistic achievements point to a certain amount of freedom. Helena was the daughter of entomologist Alexander Walker Scott. Her mother’s father had been an emancipated convict and, after her parents’ marriage, Helena and sister Harriet went to live with them at Ash Island in the Hunter River, near Newcastle. There they had the space and time for study and art, unhampered by social obligations and the stigma of convict connections. Encouraged by their father in their studies, the permission granted for Helena’s signature on her artwork may point to the degree of proficiency Scott expected of his daughters before he allowed them to identify themselves with their work, rather than indicating strict patriarchal control over their work in general. In any case, the sisters went on to become professional natural history artists in their own right. Ultimately their father was proud to acknowledge their talent, allowing their names to be placed above his own in his scientific publication *Australian Lepidoptera and their Transformations*, for which they provided the illustrations. Nevertheless, in accordance with the Victorian middle-class ideal, even the Scott sisters thought it wrong for women to ‘hunt after notoriety’, and did so only with the approval of their father, and later their professional male friends. In their letters the sisters express regret at the lack of opportunities afforded them as women artists.¹⁰

Anne Allingham, citing Gray family letters, says that all the daughters of the Waters family took formal art lessons, Lucy and her youngest sister Georgina keeping up their interest in later life. Lucy was most likely encouraged in her art and education by her father, although her mother may also have played a part. She obviously took pride in her drawings and paintings and was confident in sharing them with others. In her list of letters sent home from Queensland she makes several notes that sketches

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have been enclosed. Lucy may have had ambitions to become a professional artist, although her plans before coming to Australia are not known. However, she seems to have been an independent and confident woman, marrying relatively late at twenty-seven. Numerous paintings and drawings are still held by descendants of the children of her husband’s second marriage (see Appendix 2), and an original of a camp scene at night (Fig. 1, Appendix 2) is held in the State Library of Queensland.

Judith Farr notes that most Victorian painters, like many literary figures of the age, were botanists, gardeners, and students of nature, following the precepts of John Ruskin (1819–1900). Ruskin was an English ‘artist-critic’ whose essays on nature and art ‘shaped the aesthetic of the nineteenth century’. In the careful study of all kinds of plants and animals, both men and women attempted to find a link between the scientific concept of creation and the Creator. Lucy Gray makes no mention of God or the Bible in her writings, apart from referring in her diary to prayers being read on the Glendower verandah by Mac, one of the workmen. This suggests an unusually secular upbringing, with less emphasis on the Christian religion and more on the worship of nature and the sciences, a matter I explore further in Section 2. If Lucy was a follower of Ruskin it is reflected in her love of prose and art, rather than poetry. Although there are no sketches or drawings of flowers in her journal, she may have been sending such artworks home to her family. She mentions searching for flowers in the bush around the house and on the tablelands in both her diary and her journal. Other women in the colonies had similar interests, in particular the well-known collector of native plants in Western Australia, Georgiana Malloy.

On 20 February 1970 Lucy wrote in her diary: ‘Rode up on the tablelands in the afternoon – found a climber with a large pink flower ... got a plant for the veranda’. As it was difficult to plant directly into the stony ground around their

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11 I.G., ‘Fragment’. See also Fig. 1, Chapter 1.3 of this thesis.
12 Judith Farr, The Gardens of Emily Dickinson (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004) 28–29. See also Hugh Miller, Testimony of the Rocks: Geology in Its Bearings on the Two Theologies, Natural and Revealed (Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co., 1857), in particular, ‘Lecture Fourth: The Mosiac Vision of Creation’ 157–191. I mention elsewhere that Addy Bowler had read this chapter, and it is possible when Lucy Gray refers in her journal to reading ‘Six Lectures’ she is also referring to the first half of Miller’s book. Along with other popular works, Miller’s book of twelve lectures attempted to provide evidence of God’s design in nature. His detailed drawings of fauna and flora would have been of special interest to Lucy.
14 I.G., ‘Diary’.  

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house, Lucy had plants in containers along the veranda. Her brother-in-law, Robert Gray, recalling a visit to Glendower towards the end of 1869, describes Lucy’s plants:

His [Charles’] wife had formed a small garden; a few flowers were in bloom, and geraniums in boxes. The verandah being also covered with creepers, which the constant rain had caused to grow luxuriantly, we spent the evening very pleasantly on the little gravel plateau in front of the flowers, overlooking the river and stock-yard, the moon lighting up the valley in front of us … 15

Fig. 1 Allan Vivers with Clive Poole, present owner of Glendower, examining the remains of the old homestead on the little gravel plateau. (Photographer: M. Vivers, August 2005.)

Although drawings of flowers are not included in the journal, Lucy’s training in art and her interest in nature are obvious. Her sketches, drawings and watercolour paintings of the natural environment provide today’s reader with a better understanding of how she, and other women with a European background, managed to achieve a sense of place and a certain empathy with their new surroundings.

Training in landscape art is evident in Lucy Gray’s attempt to draw a scene she observed on her first sea-voyage up the coast to Townsville. (See Fig. 3). Perspective and degrees of distance are skilfully depicted in the receding lines and shapes, and in the foreground/distance contrast, which she emphasises with dark and thick lines for the two islands, and light and thin lines for distant hills. It is interesting to note, however, that her trees and the general appearance of the landscape still reflect, to some extent, the artist’s British heritage. This can be explained, perhaps, by the drawing having been completed at a date somewhat later than the visual experience, calling partly on memory and partly upon past instruction in Britain. The drawing was also more than likely prompted by a quick sketch done at the time, on a rocking steamer. Lucy writes that the ‘lovely islands [were covered with] clumps of pines & smooth grassy slopes coming down to the white lines of the beach’, an attractive scene that would have appealed to her English sensibilities. For paintings by Lucy of English scenes see Figs 9, 10, 11, 12, Appendix 2.\textsuperscript{16}

![Image](image.png)

Fig. 2  This drawing of a group of islands north of Gladstone shows the result of tuition in perspective and landscape drawing and painting in Britain. At this early stage, Lucy has had trouble depicting Australian cypress pines, using minimal lines to suggest their form. (LG, ‘Journal’ 4.)

\textsuperscript{16} These islands also receive special attention from Mary Bennett in a book about her father’s life in colonial Queensland. Describing a trip up the Queensland coast she says: ‘They entered a maze of islands covered with cypress pines; islands of porphyry and granite, or copper perhaps and gold; that looked like dragons petrified, like lions and lizards. A mirage made the distant ones appear to be resting on a line of light.’, Mary Bennett, \textit{Chhrisison of Lommermoor} (London: Alston Rivers, 1928) 248.
In Fig. 13, Appendix 2, Lucy has attempted to capture in watercolours what appears to be the same scene, adjusting the island shapes slightly for an even more pleasing effect. Although Lucy’s keen powers of observation and her ability to adapt her artistic skills to new landscapes are already becoming obvious, there is something in this drawing and painting reminiscent of the picturesque style popular in Europe at the time, a style that ‘tastefully’ combined the best elements of aesthetically ‘good’ art with direct observations of nature. The islands are arranged so as to achieve a pleasing contrast with the backdrop of distant hills while, at the same time, the artist attempts a ‘true’ representation of an unfamiliar scene.

Jordan notes that artistically inclined immigrants to Australia at first found the features of the bush ‘not easily sublimated into the picturesque’s aesthetic frame’.17 In much the same context Whitlock says that for women arriving in a new country the familiar self is estranged, and the social, cultural and ethical formations of the self are cast into relief at the boundary between the old and the new. This should be kept in mind as we examine the ways in which settler subjectivities emerge in autobiographical writing from the colonies.18 Similarly, Jane Mattisson has examined the writings of Mary O’Brien and Anne Langon, early settlers in Canada. She sees their journals as part of a negotiation process between the community of their respective imaginations and the physical community they found themselves in on arriving in Canada. They adapted to this alien community on a physical and practical level, but subsequently reformed it, through their writing, as their own. The journals of both O’Brien and Langon ‘bear witness to, and are part of, a process of mental and emotional adjustment’.19

Lucy Gray’s first drawings, and also her journal writing, show signs of this ‘mental and emotional adjustment’, as she refers back to past experience while attempting to represent unfamiliar surroundings. However, once off the ship, a growing empathy with the countryside is reflected in her description of a moonlight ride at Townsville. She observes that the ‘delicious yellow light and deep purple brown shadows, [are] not like the cold blue and silver of English moonlight’.20 This is truly

17 Jordan, Picturesque Pursuits 44–45, 158.
an artist's interpretation of the landscape, pointing to careful observation and training in colour variations, using the popular medium of watercolour.

Expertise in watercolour wash can be detected in Lucy’s drawing of an Aboriginal woman on the beach at Townsville. The accompanying text states:

In the afternoon I saw an interesting figure in a flowing white dress sailing along the wet sands. I watched, curious to see who it could be out at that time of the day without even an umbrella. As she came nearer I saw that it was a gin arrayed in thin white muslin marching along with a queenly air, her head thrown back, a long yam stick in her hand, her dress blowing out in a long train, her slender black figure showing through.\textsuperscript{21}

Fig. 3 Lucy Gray's drawing of an Aboriginal woman on the beach at Townsville. Her experience in the use of watercolour wash is obvious in this drawing, where reflections on the wet sand are beautifully depicted by dragging ink across the page with the back of a pen or with a soft brush. Inset shows a preliminary sketch, or another version to be sent home. (L.G, 'Journal' 11, L.G, 'Fragment'.)

\textsuperscript{21} \textit{Ibid.} 11–12.
In these drawings, Lucy has used her skill as a watercolour artist to smudge and wash the ink into a nice imitation of fluid reflections. On a fragment found with the *Lucy Gray Papers* there is a request to ‘Lottie’ for ‘more watercolours’, indicating Lucy’s preference for that medium.\(^2\) Her sister-in-law, Charlotte Gray was visiting Goulburn, in New South Wales at the time, where she often spent the summer with her parents. Painting materials could be more easily obtained on the way through Sydney than in far north Queensland.

In Fig. 4, the well-executed lines depicting a flowing garment and a proud ‘queenly’ stance, are accentuated by the profile view Lucy has chosen. There is a suggestion in this drawing of the ‘noble savage’ concept that still prevailed to some extent in Britain. Some eighteenth century French writers, such as Jean Jacques Rousseau, had contested an abhorrent view of ‘natives’ when they found it convenient to contrast the decadent living of the monarchy to the supposedly idyllic life of ‘men of nature’, whom they consequently promoted as ‘noble savages’. This romantic view spilled over into the nineteenth century.\(^3\)

Interestingly, the face of Lucy’s woman has a distinctly African flavour, suggesting the artist had not yet become sufficiently familiar with Australian Aboriginal features at close range to be able to produce a reasonable likeness, depending instead upon remembered images of African ‘natives’. Describing an exhibition at Manchester Art Gallery in 2005, entitled ‘Black Victorians: Black People in British Art 1800–1900’, Diran Adebayo suggests that the number of paintings on show depicting black subjects is evidence of the very visible presence of dark-skinned people in Britain during the nineteenth century, and of their popularity as art subjects. Celebrated artists like sculptor Pietro Calvi, and painters such as Gabriel Rossetti, James Whistler and John Lewis, were represented at the exhibition – artists who welcomed the opportunity black figures provided as a contrast to traditional representations of white Europeans. British artists like Lewis were beginning to travel to closer colonies such as Africa, thus enabling them to define, at first hand, racial peculiarities through their art – peculiarities that defied the homogeneous concept of otherness existing at home.\(^4\)

\(^2\) I.G., ‘Fragment’.
The abolitionist and missionary movements played a large part in bringing the racial features of the African people to the attention of the British public during the nineteenth century, and newspapers and other periodicals printed photographs and drawings to support their stories. Kathryn Castle notes that ‘by the mid-Victorian era children were seeing images of the African in advertising, in popular entertainments and, if one lived in a seaport town, occasionally in the flesh’. The photographs below (Fig. 4) demonstrate the fascination with African people in Britain. The first picture is of Queen Victoria’s ‘adopted’ daughter, a gift from the king of Dahomey. She is posing dressed in full Victorian regalia, suggesting the Queen’s attempt to assimilate her (or be seen to assimilate her) into the British royal household in spite of, or perhaps because of, her colour.

Fig. 4 On the left, Sally Bonetta Forbes, Queen Victoria’s adopted daughter, who was presented to the Queen as a ‘gift’ in 1850 from the king of Dahomey, Africa. This gift introduced an extraordinary, if little known, chapter in British relations with African-heritage people. On the right is an illustration of an African child from the weekly children’s Christian magazine Chatterbox, 30 March 1867.

In the second image, a drawing, an African boy is depicted very much as ‘one of us’ with his European clothes and friendly smile. In this way, English children reading the magazine Chatterbox, in which the drawing was published, were encouraged to see ‘coloured’ people as brothers, worthy of inclusion within the

Christian family. This edition of Chatterbox was published the year before Lucy left for Australia, and the photograph of the African girl appeared probably some time in the 1850s. Both demonstrate the high profile given to African people during Lucy’s formative years.

Freed slaves were becoming a common sight in England around the middle of the century, especially in the major trading ports.26 This was the period when Lucy was growing up in Ireland, and later spending time between London, Dorking and Brighton in England. After the death of Lucy’s father in 1856 the family lived at Dorking just south of London, near enough to regularly visit Oliver Robinson, Mrs Waters’ brother, in Paddington. By 1862 Mrs Waters had moved to the seaside town of Brighton, still within easy reach by train of London.27 Lucy must have had numerous opportunities to observe and even sketch and paint African people, either in the flesh or from illustrations and photographs. She was, however, less likely to have seen realistic images of Australian Aborigines prior to coming to Australia, and would almost certainly have never viewed an Aboriginal person at close range. Australia was a long way off, and even artists like Joseph Conrads, John Glover, Joseph Lycett, John Skinner, Eugene von Guérard and Philip King who did venture there to paint, struggled with the alien landscape and with the physiognomy of Indigenous Australians. For example, Tim Bonyhady sees the Aborigines in Glover’s paintings and sketches as ‘awkwardly defined and crudely drawn’. Colonial artists struggled to find a market for their work in Australia, and much art that went back to England depicted Aboriginal people as small figures in the distance living an Arcadian existence within a somewhat idealistic landscape28 – figures not conducive to duplication by an amateur artist.

Lucy attempted again to describe and draw an Aboriginal woman after she settled at Glendower. Charles was away at the time and a lady friend was visiting.

27 The 1861 England census shows Lucy and sister Elizabeth living with Oliver Robertson in London, while her mother was at Dorking with Ernest, Adelaide, Georgenia [sic] and Amy. Information from the Brighton History Centre has Mrs Waters living at Brighton from 1862 to 1868. The marriage certificate of Charles and Lucy shows both living in Brighton at the time of the wedding on 27 May, 1868. (Brighton and Hove Register Office, Brighton, UK.)
We rode down to Mokunna last week & while we were there went over to ‘the gorge’ for a night – part of the ride up the gorge was very pretty – beautifully green & shady.

We saw there such a funny little black baby. The mother who for the time was shepherdess came up to the station with her flock at sundown. She was dressed in a short cotton shirt & carried her baby slung over her shoulders, strapped up in a piece of bark. We asked her to show us her piccaniny. She took it off her shoulder, laid it on a large stone, & without any other reply began to undo the fastenings. Inside the bark which made the cradle there was a piece of opossum skin, the fur side next to the baby. In this it was covered completely & bound with strips of bark head and feet without other clothes – it seemed to like it for it began to cry immediately she uncovered it.²⁹

Lucy records details of the domestic arrangements of Aboriginal mothers, forced to carry their babies for long periods over rough country – details not found recorded in most in male discourse. Not only does Lucy give a good description of the bark cradle and the wrapping of the baby, she also humanises the account by mentioning that the baby was crying. Below are visual representations of the event.

Fig. 5 Two attempts by Lucy to draw the young Aboriginal shepherdness described above. Note the sheep hurrying through the gateway in a cloud of dust.

²⁹ L.G. ‘Journal’ 3c–4c.
In these drawings any suggestion of the idealised ‘Noble Savage’, evident in Lucy’s earlier depiction of the woman on the beach at Townsville, has disappeared, as the artist begins to come to terms with the complexities of racial interaction and interracial conflict. It is interesting to note that, in the first drawing in Fig. 5, Lucy has encountered trouble with the young woman’s legs, which are too thick and heavy. This suggests a lack of understanding of the general physiognomy of the Aboriginal people of north Queensland who tend, even today, to be tall and slim. There is a stiffness, too, that is at odds with the loose-limbed movement one associates with a young woman accustomed to walking long distances. At the time, Lucy had an Aboriginal servant, Moggie, so had the opportunity to observe an Indigenous girl at close range. Therefore, failure to arrive at a realistic likeness is more likely to be due to lack of practice, rather than lack of opportunity to observe a similar subject.

The second picture is an improvement. It demonstrates an increased awareness of the girl’s stance and general appearance. The legs are longer and thinner, and there is a sense of lightness and suppleness that indicates the artist is now gaining a better understanding of her subject. Note also the suggestion of sheep being herded through a gateway in a cloud of dust, again more realistic than in the first picture. However, the facial features of the woman in both pictures are still slightly African, suggesting the artist’s failure to divorce herself entirely from the popular images of her past.

Although these two drawings do not succeed entirely as recognisable images of Aboriginality, I suggest they, together with the drawing of the woman on the beach, have significance in an historical and cultural sense. They demonstrate how a Victorian middle-class woman, newly arrived in Australia, was making a concerted effort to better understand the behaviour and appearance of people whose culture and physiognomy were very different from her own. This works side by side with a growing understanding of the colonial situation as a whole. These processes were translated, through both written and pictorial texts, for an immediate readership. However, they are also of benefit to readers today as they reveal multilayered facets of early encounters, including an evolving familiarity with alien environments. Lucy may have chosen to persevere with these drawings for several reasons. Aboriginal people were increasingly employed by the Grays after their ‘Kanaka’ servants were
sent home or back to the coast in the late 1860s. Lucy then had the opportunity to observe individuals more closely, as their work brought them in and around the homesteads. Impressed by her meeting with this particular shepherd girl, Lucy felt the need for more than one medium as she attempted to record this ‘unusual’ event.

Alison Byerly is interested in the representational play afforded by the Victorian use of multiple arts. Although she is more concerned with the metaphors of art used in Victorian novels and poetry, some of her work has relevance here. Interplay between art, music and written texts, she says, was instigated by Romantic explorations of painting and music as alternative models for poetry. Throughout her book, *Realism, Representation, and the Arts in Nineteenth-Century Literature* (1997), Byerly searches for cultural influences behind the production of art, and behind the use of painting metaphors. She sees art metaphors, which depend upon association of ideas and a knowledge of art, as functioning as a kind of shorthand in literary texts. I suggest that actual art works embedded in written texts are even more powerful, as they highlight the cultural, material and psychological forces that informed the discourse as a whole. By representing an event or scene through different media a cultural authority can be achieved which neither art-form could attain on its own.

Certainly, the unusual figure of the Aboriginal girl, with her even ‘stranger’ arrangements for carrying her baby, left a strong impression on Lucy, an impression that she wished to convey to those even less experienced with colonial life and colonial customs than herself. Through Lucy’s written description of the domestic arrangements for the baby, and the associated drawings, we detect a growing recognition of shared womanhood between herself and the girl – although Lucy’s tendency towards amateurish ethnographic observation is never far from the surface. By the juxtaposition of these two different kinds of text, we are presented with a play of representations that provides, among other things, a deeper insight into developing racial relations, as accommodation and acculturation became an important part of frontier life, and as Lucy became part of that milieu.

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30 See Gray, *Reminiscences* 117.
Lucy may have struggled to adequately represent Aboriginal people in her drawings. However, even as she and husband Charles first entered the Queensland bush on their way inland to their property near Hughenden, Lucy’s landscape drawings quickly grew to mirror more closely her new surroundings, a reflection of her increasing understanding of the bush and the bush lifestyle. On a fragment page found with the journal, Lucy wrote preliminary notes about the Alice Hotel, where members of the party stopped to refresh themselves before continuing on their journey. She also made a quick sketch of the scene.

Outside the scene was peculiarly Australian. A low spreading wooden building – with a wide verandah. A group of shaggy way worn horses – & dusty bearded travellers in broad brimmed hats – some large gum trees with smooth bare stems & scanty foliage behind the broad yellow moon coming up – up side down.

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Fig. 6 Lucy made quick preliminary sketches and rough notes in preparation for later, more careful entries in her journal. The up-side-down face on the moon suggests a sense of girlish humour, and excitement at having arrived safely at the other side of the world – the Antipodes. (L.G. ‘Fragment’.)

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33 L.G. ‘Fragment’.
There is humour in these representations, as Lucy draws attention to the upside-down nature of the moon in the Antipodes, suggesting a light-hearted side to her character. The humour is perhaps part of the spontaneous excitement she felt as they rode out into the strange wilderness. Lucy appears to have recorded this experience more or less as thoughts occurred to her, without too much care and deliberation. The rough first sketch of the hotel and surrounds echoes the informality of the written notes, with the moon acquiring a face – also upsidedown.

The spontaneity of Lucy’s upsidedown moon is lost, however, in the final journal entry and drawing. Perhaps, on reflection, Lucy decided this kind of drawing was just too flippant for a journal (come newsletter) that was intended for a wider audience of both men and women who might be expecting a more serious and exact account. In the final version Lucy writes:

About 15 miles on our way we stopped at the “Alice Hotel” (all the inns are hotels) a rough wooden house with the usual wide verandah [sic] where travellers arriving deposit their baggage, saddles, packs, bags, etc. A very rough looking woman came out & after inspection, welcomed me like a sister & took me into the house and this funny little box of a room nearly filled up with a large four post bed. We had ridden fast & fifteen miles seemed a long way in the dust & heat. I was glad to have a rest & a bath. My hostess brought me an [enormous] iron tub & bucket after bucket of water. This was an expression of great hospitality, as it was all brought up a steep bank from the creek.34

In the accompanying drawing Lucy has produced a very good likeness of eucalyptus trees, both in the foreground and the distance – a distinct improvement on her earlier landscape (or rather seascape) depicting the islands off-shore. Her depiction of the Hotel is a good example of early colonial buildings, and experience with perspective is obvious in her drawing of the building and the road. There is an air of immediacy in her depiction of the comings and goings of visitors – one on horseback. Two cows can just be made out on the far left, beautifully evoked with minimal lines.

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34 L.G. ‘Journal’ 15–16.
Fig. 7 Lucy Gray’s journal drawing of the Alice Hotel near Townsville. Note the use of perspective as shapes narrow off into the distance. A rider in a wide-brimmed hat moves away along the bush track. The artist has obviously had experience with figure drawing, using just enough lines to depict a sense of movement in the horse and rider, and in the casual stance of the figures around the house. On the far left is the suggestion of two cows. (LG, ‘Journal’ 16.)

It is interesting to note that, in the final journal entry, Lucy’s fragment description of the ‘way worn’ horses and the ‘dusty bearded travellers’ has been transferred to the more detailed drawing, as has the description of the gum trees. Meanwhile, in the more carefully crafted written text, she concentrates on the hostess and conditions at the hotel, familiar domestic matters that were easy to recall and thus required fewer notes beforehand. With a male and female audience in mind, Lucy has recorded both domestic and out-of-doors activity, along with depictions of the surrounding bush. The effect is enhanced by a pictorial representation.

With the above examples in mind I now look more carefully at some more of Lucy’s sketches and drawings. Although the boundary between the two genres is often blurred, the Alice Hotel examples demonstrate a clear distinction between a sketch carried out for the artist’s own benefit and a drawing which attempts a more comprehensive representations of an event or scene for the benefit of others. As Byerly suggests, an artist’s sketch was an immediate ‘material replacement for the
scene itself’ and was part of a ‘larger Victorian movement towards integrating real life into art’. However, sketches could only ever be an incomplete replacement for the scene at hand. In other words they were ‘a static simplification of reality’.

As Byerly says, and as I have shown with the upside-down moon, a quick sketch can be more ‘spirited’ than a more carefully crafted drawing executed at a later date. On the other hand, a careful drawing gives a more complete and visually ‘realistic’ depiction, which demonstrates (together with the written text) the artist’s subject preference with a particular audience in mind. This is culturally determined, as the artist attempts to translate human activity into a form familiar and acceptable. Lucy was acutely aware of an eager and concerned audience waiting to receive news of their safe progress. Daily human activity and living conditions were something to which those back home could easily relate – albeit in circumstances almost beyond their imagination. I should emphasise, however, that most of the illustrations in Lucy’s journal, and on fragments filed with her journal, do not show such a clear distinction between the genres of sketching and drawing. There is a far greater distinction between the embedded journal illustrations and Lucy’s more carefully crafted independent art works, which have been gathered together in Appendix 2.

Jordan says that after 1800 a spate of drawing manuals appeared to suit limited amateur and female talents while, at the same time, ‘capitalising on popular moral messages about femininity and woman’s place in the home’. The dominant genres that emerged were miniature portrait painting, flower painting, and the fashionable picturesque landscape genre. I have already discussed Lucy’s obvious training in landscape painting and her interest in the flora of the region. However, specialised training in portraiture can also be detected in her drawings of people and their clothing, in particular her drawing of the hats worn by squatters and a policeman that she noted on her voyage up the Queensland coast (see Fig. 8). In this drawing, the eye of the squatter at the top of the larger picture suggests much practice in the depiction of facial features, a basic skill necessary for the painting of miniature portraits. Experience is also shown in the positioning of the hats and the shapes of the various beards and collars. The inset, taken from a fragment, appears to be a practice sketch, made in preparation for the final drawing.

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36 Jordan, Picturesque Pursuits 19.
Fig. 8 Lucy Gray’s training in miniature portraiture is evident in this detailed pen and ink drawing of men’s hats. The practice sketch on the left is from a fragment. (LG, ‘Journal’ 2, ‘Fragment’.)

In Fig 9 is a sketch/drawing by Lucy of shipboard life, again detailing headware, this time women’s hats. This is an amusing representation of the discomforts experienced when travelling at sea. Three ladies huddle together beneath a blanket on deck, their chairs placed between what appear to be animal cages, but are more likely to be storage boxes. One of the ship’s masts (or its funnel) is at the centre of the picture. Several sailors appear faintly on the left hand side. Sketched lines show that Lucy has practised getting a satisfactory angle for the right arm of one of the sailors. Perhaps sketched when the ship was travelling around the southern tip of Africa or Australia, the women are so cold that two are covering their noses for extra warmth. This is a good example of how women overcame hardship by dwelling on the amusing side – and in this case sketching it. However, in spite of hardships, for some women there was an exciting taste of freedom and adventure in shipboard life that was lacking elsewhere in their lives. When on board much ‘correct’ behaviour necessarily went ‘by the board’.
Fig. 9 Three women huddle in their hats under a blanket on board ship. Adventurous women like Lucy tended to record the amusing side of shipboard and colonial life, while leaving real discomforts out of the discourse. (Copy of this sketch courtesy Bryony Hollinrake, Canada. The original is on a flimsy pale green piece of what appears to be wrapping paper, measuring approximately 5 inches by 8 inches.)

The artistic skill shown in her sketches and drawings, especially the detail in facial features and clothing, and the perspective she achieves in her landscapes, leads us to assume that Lucy Gray received expert tuition in a variety of drawing and painting genres. This may have begun when she was a girl in Ireland, but almost certainly continued later on in England. Through Lucy’s small but cleverly executed pictorial representations we can better comprehend not only the life-style, physiognomy and clothing of some of the early European settlers, but also something of how a particular woman’s understanding of the colonial environment grew as she observed and recorded events and scenes. The drawings and written text provide multi-dimensional representations of an important period in Australia’s past — a unique record for historians intent on reconstructing the past from various perspectives.
It is useful for the purpose of comparison to look briefly at two drawings that appear to have been done by Robert Gray. Lucy’s brother-in-law, when he and wife Charlotte were living at Hughenden Station. (See Figs 10 and 11.) These drawings are taken from Robert’s *Reminiscences of India and North Queensland* (1913). There is no mention in the book of who the artist actually was. However, Robert himself was an artist, some of his watercolours being held by family members, while others were presented to the Hughenden municipal authority (though later lost in a fire).\(^{37}\) It is more than likely then that the drawings in the book are Robert’s own work.

Robert Gray’s time in the army would have given him ample opportunity to learn to draw. The chief military and naval academies, including the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst for officers going into the British army, and Addiscombe for those destined for the East India Company’s army, offered their recruits a thorough training in drawing. Recreational, or ‘civil’ drawing, was seen to reinforce ‘the gentlemanly status of its officer class’ and ‘practical military drawing and surveying were compulsory in the training of the technical branches of the army’.\(^{38}\) Robert served in India as an officer, and was to retain his military habits and dress right throughout his life – even to the wearing of a puggaree on his hat.\(^{39}\) This background could explain the professional and precise drawings that he chose to include in his *Reminiscences*.

The drawing of Hughenden station in Fig. 10 is, in some ways, similar to some of the drawings by Robert’s sister-in-law. However, Lucy often chooses to depict human activity and day-to-day domesticity in her artwork, and there is no sign of such activity in this homestead scene, where it could easily have been included. Instead, this more ‘manly’ picture represents British progress and achievement. On the other hand, Lucy was quite capable of drawing buildings with accurate architectural features. This is evident in a drawing entitled ‘Bakerswood’, done by Lucy in 1867, the year before she left England for Australia. (See Fig. 2, Appendix 2.)

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\(^{39}\) Extract from the *Flinders Crier*, date unknown, supplied by Gordon and Joan Flood of Hughenden.
Fig. 10 This drawing of the original Hughenden Station, taken from Robert Gray’s *Reminiscences*, shows careful attention to detail and scale. The expertise could be the result of tuition in the army, making it likely that this is Robert’s own work. The depiction of native trees is, I would argue, inferior to the more authentic representations of native flora normally achieved by Lucy. (Gray, *Reminiscences* n.p.)

Fig. 11 Glendower Valley viewed from the western tablelands. While beautifully depicted, there is a sense of the ideal, which conveniently marries with the ‘mastering gaze’ concept. (Gray, *Reminiscences* n.p.)
The drawing of the Glendower valley in Fig. 11, also from Robert Gray’s book, has been executed in much the same style as the Hughenden scene. Again, no human activity is evident, and careful attention to detail and topography point to an army education where the production of accurate drawings of the countryside was essential in preparation for well-planned military manoeuvres. Although it should be kept in mind that Lucy may have been the artist, especially as the view is from the western side of the Glendower valley near where her house was situated, there is a stilted aspect to the drawing of the native flora that is not normally found in Lucy’s more sensitive work. Even if Robert was not the artist, he presumably selected these drawings for inclusion in his Reminiscences himself – thereby expressing his preference for the prospects they afforded. The fertile Glendower valley in particular would have been seen as a prized possession.

When studying ways in which first impressions of the Australian coastline were recorded in diaries Andrew Hassam recognised a more commercial overview in some men’s accounts, as compared with diary accounts by women. Men were more likely to notice ‘barren rocks’ or the country’s ‘capability’, whereas women were more interested in translating the landscape into one that was ‘romantic and beautiful’, even reminiscent of the promised land in a biblical sense. This is not surprising when one considers that most men were concerned with succeeding financially, and their eyes ‘were quick to read into the landscape evidence of commercial activity’.  

In the careful depiction of the many well-constructed buildings at Hughenden, and a sense of the great expanse of grazing land in the Glendower picture, there is something of the ‘mastering gaze’ that Sara Mills suggests men adopted when viewing a landscape, depicting the ‘moment of confrontation between a solitary individual ego and a landscape where … problems of conflict and otherness are resolved’. There is a suggestion, too, of ‘the subject controlling the landscape through controlling their own visual sensations, thus consolidating their positions as a unified subject’. (I explore this concept further in Chapter 2.2.)

It is useful to compare the drawing in Fig. 11 with the photograph in Fig. 12. The latter was taken from the eastern side of the Glendower valley, but encompasses

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41 Sara Mills, Gender and Colonial Space (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005) 84.
much the same view as the drawing. Note the exaggerated perspective in the drawing when compared with the photograph, a perspective that tends to increase the sense of distance, and thus the apparent size of the land owned by the Grays. The Flinders River appears to be in flood in the drawing, emphasising a sense of 'ideal' abundance, while in the photograph the sandy bed is more indicative of the norm. The ruggedness of the foreground is somewhat exaggerated in the artwork, as the eye is drawn through it to an idyllic and fertile expanse of land. This was also perhaps an attempt to emphasise the difficulties that the men had to overcome when mustering cattle down from the tablelands.

Fig. 12 Photograph taken in August 2005 from the eastern side of the Glendower valley with the sandy bed of the Flinders River in the distance. (Photographer: M. Vivers, August 2005.)

It would seem from these examples that some men, like Robert Gray, tended to situate their own difficulties and triumphs at the centre of their texts, while female representations like Lucy's were more likely to be sensitive to the natural surroundings and to the feelings of others. Rather than viewing the landscape as a possible conquest, Mills suggests women tended to see the land in more relational ways than did men. She says that: 'Rather than seeking to subdue the landscape, in
their writings [and, I would also argue in their pictorial representations] they tend to see landscapes in relation to their domestic spaces and their networks of interaction’. Thus, women ‘rearticulate traditional space so that it ceases to function primarily as the space of sight for a mastering gaze, but becomes the locus of relationships’.\footnote{42} This is evident in many of Lucy Gray’s journal illustrations, which portray human relationships with, and activity within, the landscape. Although Mills is referring in the above to the work of other researchers, suggesting herself a more complex negotiation of women’s position in the colonial context, much of what she cites is relevant to the art-work and written texts of Lucy.\footnote{43} While marginalizing the part she played in the colonial endeavour, Lucy Cray’s involvement with her environment is often inclusive and empathic. I enlarge on this in Chapter 2.2.

Robert Gray has deliberately chosen a drawing for his book that depicts a particularly rich and valuable part of the Hughenden region. I was told by the present owner of Glendower that the countryside in the valley looks very much today as it would have in the 1800s, there having been no need for clearing or pasture improvement. It is little wonder that the original inhabitants resented being banished to the hills, away from the good water supply and abundant game of the fertile Glendower valley. Little wonder too that Robert Gray chose this particular picture to include in a book about his own life and achievements in north Queensland.

There were other men, of course, who included drawings and sketches alongside their journal and diary writings, but who saw themselves as much a part of the land as master over it. However, if we take as an example the drawings and writings from the diary of Edward Snell, concerning his life in Australia between 1849 and 1859, we see a clear emphasis on conquest and progress. The combined texts promote a cynical, rather condescending attitude towards the Aboriginal people, while destruction of, rather than an interest in, wildlife is reflected in the numerous shooting expeditions, which are the subject of both the written text and pictorial texts. Note the drawing in Fig. 13, with the caption: ‘Shooting a hawk at the Barwon Heads, (rifle practice)’.\footnote{44}

\footnote{43} For example, see G. Rose, Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge (London: Polity Press, 1993) 112.
\footnote{44} Tom Griffiths, ed., The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell: The Illustrated Diary of an Artist, Engineer and Adventurer in the Australian Colonies 1849 to 1859 (Melbourne: Angus and Robertson and The Library Council of Victoria, 1988) 333.
Fig. 13 Edward Snell’s drawing of a shooting party. The caption reads: ‘Shooting a hawk at the Barwon Heads (rifle practice)’. (Griffiths, ed., The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell, 333.)

Tanne Arrito was really a very pretty girl, barring the colour, and she seemed to take a fancy to me ... I made her ladyship get in [to a tub of hot water] and scrub herself all over from top to toe, after which I took her into my service and she stuck to me like a brick... her skin was as soft as silk and shone like a bit of brown satin. She wasn’t marked with those confounded scores across her bosom like some of the rest of them.

Fig. 14 Drawing of an Aboriginal girl and accompanying text from the diary of Edward Snell. (Ibid. 131.)
This kind of senseless killing is not part of the discourse of either Lucy Gray or Addy Bowler, the former especially being interested in birds for themselves and their habits, rather than as objects of target practice. Addy does occasionally mention the shooting of wild horses, but this is not killing for the sake of it, rather the culling of animals that are destroying fences and eating sheep and cattle feed.\(^{35}\)

In Fig. 14 there is a description and drawing by Snell of an Aboriginal woman whom he ‘befriended’. Compared with Lucy Gray’s more sympathetic representations of the Aboriginal shepherdess, Snell’s self-interested account situates the woman as not only ‘other’ because of her black skin, but also as specifically of use to him. Snell, and others like him, displays a sense of pride in his control over the land, its animals and its people. However, while there were many men who thought and behaved like Snell, it would be irresponsible of me to suggest all men saw the colonial environment in such a way. Snell’s diary is used only as an extreme example.

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The journal and drawings of Eva Gray also provide a significant point of comparison for Lucy’s work. Eva married Mowbray Gray, Charles Gray’s younger brother, and they travelled to Hughenden in 1881, six years after Lucy and Charles had left the district. Eva’s drawings of their trip, as depicted in Figs 15 and 16, reflect perhaps even more than those of Lucy the domestic side of colonial life. Meanwhile, there is a certain humour in the drawings similar to that in Lucy’s sketch of shipboard life and her upsidedown moon.

A baby carried through a dangerous crossing, a break in a journey with horses feeding, and a man and woman (Eva and Mowbray) having lunch, are captured in a somewhat amateurish way by Eva. Nevertheless, they present today’s observer with a more intimate and personal ‘feel’ for colonial bush life. Eva does not appear to have had such a high standard of art training as Lucy, although she grew up in England. Her lack of perspective and her unprofessional depiction of faces, both European and Aboriginal, highlight this – or perhaps simply demonstrate a lack of artistic skill, or less practice and dedication to the production of visual art.

\(^{35}\) On 18 January 1869 Addy wrote from Borumbil in her diary: ‘Willie shot five or six wild horses today. It is difficult to know what to do with them, they are so numerous and break the fence so often’.
Written especially for her son, Norris, Eva’s journal was not produced with a larger audience in mind. Although not a physically strong woman, she appeared to be making the best of things as she supported her husband in his grazing enterprises. The Queensland properties were only a means to an end for Mowbray, as they were for Charles and Lucy. Eva’s drawings, like those of Lucy, provide us with a glimpse of that experience. In doing so, they fill in some of the gaps in the records left behind by their male counterparts.

John Berger suggests that ‘The way we see things [as artists] is affected by what we know or what we believe’.46 What Lucy knew and believed when she first arrived in the colonies appears at first to have been subsumed by what David Tacey sees as the archetypal nature of the Australian landscape, which for those new to the country could result in ‘a descent into the unconscious’. Unlike Mills, who prefers to concentrate on how material aspects of colonisation influenced the behaviour of the coloniser (see my Introduction), David Tacey suggests that transference to a colonial situation intensifies the unconscious responses of the newly arrived. One result, he says, can be representation of Australian landscape as a rural paradise, or Arcadia, where the ego ‘converts the land into an image of itself, or into an idyllic field that serves the ego’s growth, meets its needs, and reflects an image of stability, peace and security’.47 I already have noted something of this in the paintings of artists like John Glover, and in the art-work chosen by Robert Gray for his book.

This kind of conversion is noticeable too in the very early part of Lucy’s journal, when she strives to satisfy her family (and herself) that she has made the right choice in leaving England for foreign lands. Her early written and pictorial images represent her new surroundings in a positive and culturally familiar way, not only for Lucy’s own personal satisfaction and well-being, but also for the benefit of those back home who were unable to experience, or even easily comprehend, the colonial situation. Such translations are useful in themselves in that, through them, methods of mediation between artist/writer, landscape and audience can be traced. After an amazingly short time, however, a growing sense of self and of belonging and acceptance becomes evident in Lucy’s journal, and an increased awareness of her new surroundings shows that she is quickly moving away from retrospective influences.

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Through visual art Lucy Gray has produced for posterity a record of a lifestyle that is difficult to capture in words alone. As Berger says of pictorial images: ‘No other kind of relic or text from the past can offer such a direct testimony about the world which surrounded other people at other times’. In that sense, ‘images are more precise and richer than literature’.

This testimony, which brings with it both cultural and gender issues, can be seen, not only in the drawings of Lucy Gray, but also in those of Edward Snell, and even Eva Gray.

I have discussed how the style of Lucy’s journal artwork varies from quick pen and ink sketches, through to careful drawings. I now take a brief look at her independent works, in particular one of her watercolour paintings, a copy of which was supplied by Bryony Hollinrake of Canada, a descendant of Charles Gray (see Fig. 4, Appendix 2). But first it is important to note that the most obvious difference between Lucy Gray’s black and white illustrations in her journal and her independent paintings and drawings is in the actual presentation. The artwork in the journal is very much part of a discursive space which it shares with the written text. The pictures merge with the writing in both a figurative and literary sense, enabling an easy dialogue between the two. On the other hand, Lucy’s individual works occupy a rectangular frame, albeit only the edge of the paper, a frame which, although not part of the painting as such, determines its limits and defines the intentions and selective vision of the artist in relation to the scene to be painted and the picture itself.

Interestingly, Frank Ankersmit sees traditional historical discourse and traditional landscape painting as similarly constrained within a frame that isolates a ‘suitable’ subject from marginal, less seemingly appropriate, matters. Ankersmit says that for most paintings, ‘the frame [or designated shape] delimits the space of the work of art and the spectator’ making the transition from one space to another quite distinct and abrupt.

Most of Lucy’s paintings in Appendix 2 are similarly self-contained. But her embedded drawings have no such frames. They are accessible to the reader in their own right and, as I have said, they also merge with the writing.

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26 Berger, Ways of Seeing 10.
Fig. 15 Drawing by Eva Gray showing ‘Nurse’ carrying baby Norris over a creek during the journey of Eva and Mowbray from Tasmania to Hughenden. Dated 18 May 1881, it is one of several drawings in her diary, a copy of which is held by the John Oxley section of the Queensland State Library. (Helen Gregory and W. Ross Johnston, *Women of the West* (Brisbane: Central Queensland University Press, 2004) 7.)

Fig. 16 Dated 20 May 1881, this drawing by Eva Gray depicts domestic activity around a camp fire. Her drawings lack the sophistication of her sister-in-law Lucy, but nevertheless show a personal side to colonial travel that is often absent from traditional source material. Note the subtitles ‘Norris’, ‘Nurse’, ‘M’ (for Mowbray) and ‘Self’ which identify those in the picture. Never intended for publication, this journal was written specifically for her son Norris. (*Ibid.* 8.)
resulting in various lines of communication and complicity. The result is a play of representations that goes well beyond that found in traditional source materials dependent upon a single discursive style, and destined for use in discourse that disregards marginal matters.

While Ankersmit’s theory about stand-alone framed paintings applies to much of Lucy’s work in Appendix 2, the watercolour in Fig. 4 of the Appendix is different, having a distinct link with written and pictorial texts in the journal. Compare it with Fig. 17 below. The small sketch is obviously a section from a larger sketch from which the painting in the Appendix also eventuated. The original painting is inscribed faintly on the back with: ‘Land over Range on Townsville and Dalrymple Road Queensland. Drawn by Lucy Gray’. This shows that Lucy was inclined to sketch a particular scene in situ, and then later use part of that sketch to illustrate her journal – while sometimes the original sketch was used also as the basis for a watercolour painting. The relationship between this particular sketch and its associated text is discussed further in Chapter 2.3.

![Fig. 17 Drawing of the view towards Townsville from Lucy Gray’s journal. Taken from a larger sketch, this scene was also used as the basis for a watercolour painting, see Fig. 4, Appendix 2.

(LG, ‘Journal’ 21.)

The likeness of gum trees and grasses in the painting in Appendix 2, and even in the minimal sketch, is remarkable, considering that Lucy had only just arrived in Australia when she did the original sketch. Although there is a sense of the European picturesque, in that the scene is attractively framed between the foreground trees, with an idyllic feel evoked by the distant vista, there is still something uniquely Australian
in the foreground depiction of the Eucalypts and raw red earth. Lucy has also included a middle-distance, a slight departure from the more dramatic forms of landscape painting popular at the time. As such, the scene would be easily recognisable today and so is of historical interest, if only as a means of comparing the ‘before’ and ‘after’ of European settlement. Incidentally, the grain lines showing behind the brush strokes indicate that Lucy had access to good-quality watercolour paper, a luxury afforded only to those who were ‘comfortably off’.

A later independent painting by Lucy of the ‘Pink and White Terraces’ in New Zealand (Fig. 8, Appendix 2) is also of historical interest in that the terraces were completely wiped out in the late 1800s during an eruption of Mount Tarawera. Lucy’s colourful painting of Maori children swimming leaves a lasting impression of an irretrievable landscape, another reason why women’s art should be taken seriously.

Jordan has shown concern at how museums and libraries have, in the past, removed surrounding text when exhibiting the artwork of women, thus destroying any important correspondence that may have existed between the two. Similarly, Elizabeth Lawson notes that when Louisa Atkinson’s writings were published by the Sydney Morning Herald as ‘A Voice from the Country’, the Herald ‘never ventured to use the sketches she was clearly producing alongside her “Voice” articles’. This lack of recognition of the value of the intimate relationship between pictorial and written texts has been rectified somewhat lately in publications such as Lawson’s, where the life and work of one particular writer/artist are discussed. However, there is still a noticeable absence, in spite of improved technology, of the use of pictorial texts by women in historical discourse – texts which might, like anecdotes from memoirs, add a special energy and extra dimension to the way in which source material is interpreted and the past reconstructed.

The drawings, sketches and paintings left behind by Lucy Gray and other colonial women carry with them an authority that, if not exceeding the power of the written word, at least complement it. Visual art enables a powerful illusion of presence and immediacy which, when juxtaposed with written texts, can help prevent anachronistic judgements by later scholars about colonial life. The specialised education of women like Lucy Gray did little to prepare them for colonial conditions.

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50 Information supplied by Bryony Hollinrake, Canada.
51 Jordan, Picturesque Pursuits 6–9.
52 Lawson, The Natural Art of Louisa Atkinson 51.
However, through their education they gained skills with which to translate the colonial circumstance in ways that provide historians, and the readers of history, with a more complete picture of colonial life and attitudes. Considered together, written and pictorial texts generated by both men and women can provide a more comprehensive understanding of early European settlement in Australia.

In Section One I have discussed what I see as some of the special characteristics of the genres of memoir, diary and journal, and the various categories of visual art, focussing on the written and pictorial texts of Addy Bowler and Lucy Gray. I have also briefly explored some ways in which different kinds of life writing might be better utilised in historical discourse. In doing this, inspired by Elizabeth Cohen, I have focused on two individuals so as to create a ‘laboratory on a manageable scale in which to experiment with the problems of interpretation inherent in the relationship between text and its makers’. 53 Investigation of a wider variety of sources would, no doubt, reveal many variations on my findings. As such, this cannot be seen in any way as a definitive examination of the various genres that come under the heading of life writing. It is obvious that the ways in which text is produced, even within a particular genre, vary considerably from writer to writer, from artist to artist, from circumstance to circumstance, from culture to culture, and from context to context. However, by concentrating on only two principal sources I have been able to examine content, language and discursive styles in a tighter, more specific way, and I have articulated some of the special characteristics that I perceive to exist within certain genre categorisations. In doing so, I have brought to light some of the shortcomings and some of the advantages that appear to be genre and perhaps gender specific. With this established I now move on to Section Two, where I examine the texts of Addy Bowler and Lucy Gray in more depth, building upon the work already done in Section 1.

53 Cohen, ‘Court Testimony from the Past’ 83–93.