The Beach in Anglophone Literatures and Cultures Reading Littoral Space

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Chapter 1. Visions of the Beach in Victorian Britain /

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The beach played an important role in nineteenth-century British art. In the early part of the century, Turner and Constable made repeated studies of waves crashing on beaches, in Margate and Brighton respectively. The resulting exhibition pictures showed contrasting facets of the beach: Constable focused on seaside visitors seeking health and fresh air, Turner on the darker subject-matter of shipwrecks, death and destruction. Other artists depicted the fishermen and women at work, or studied rock formations, or celebrated the exploits of heroic lifeboatmen. All these subjects were part of the larger category of seascapes and coastal scenes, which acquired particular resonance in British culture because of their associations with the navy, and hence with the national character, and its assumed propensities for bravery, scientific enquiry, even democracy. This essay will examine four key paintings from the mid-Victorian years which exemplify these associations: William Powell Frith's *Ramsgate Sands* (1854, fig. 1); William Dyce's *Pegwell Bay* (1859-60, fig. 2); John Brett's *Morning amongst the Granite Boulders* (1873, fig. 3); and Winslow Homer's *Four Fishwives* (1881, fig. 4).

The beach was also a significant topos in English literature, and there was a close relationship between visual and verbal imaginings of it in this period. Artists were well aware of the poetic symbolism which saw the beach as the boundary

between life and death, as expressed by Wordsworth in *Intimations of Immortality*:

> Hence in a season of calm weather
> Though inland far we be
> Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
> Which brought us hither,
> Can in a moment travel thither,
> And see the children sport upon the shore,
> And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore.

In equally well-known lines, Byron had described the ocean as 'boundless, endless, and sublime,/ The image of Eternity, the throne/ Of the Invisible'. Later in the century, Tennyson used the same idea, of the sea representing the eternal life from which the human soul came, and to which it would return, in *Crossing the Bar*:

> Sunset and evening star,
> And one clear call for me!
> And may there be no moaning of the bar,
> When I put out to sea,
>
> But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
> Too full for sound and foam,
> When that which draws from out the boundless deep
> Turns again home.

For Christian believers, the sea was a reminder of the promise of immortality. But in an age of religious doubt, it also offered a bleak vision of a world without faith, in which the waves went on beating remorselessly against the coast, death was final, and the individual was of little account. Tennyson's *Break, break, break* suggests this chilling prospect:

> Break, break, break,
> At the foot of thy crags, O Sea!
> But the tender grace of a day that is dead
> Will never come back to me.[i]

And the melancholy of the seashore is explicitly linked with the loss of faith in Arnold's *Dover Beach*:

> Listen! You hear the grating roar
> Of pebbles which the waves draw back, and fling,
> At their return, up the high strand,
> Begin, and cease, and then again begin,
> With tremulous cadence slow, and bring
> The eternal note of sadness in.
>
> …
>
> The Sea of Faith
> Was once, too, at the full, and round earth's shore
> Lay like the folds of a bright girdle furl'd.
> But now I only hear
> Its melancholy, long, withdrawing roar,
> Retreating, to the breath
> Of the night-wind, down the vast edges drear
> And naked shingles of the world.[ii]

Artists were avid readers of poetry, often using lines from poems to accompany the titles of their paintings in the catalogues of Royal Academy exhibitions, and the sea habitually evoked a meditative and poetic response, both from the artists themselves and from contemporary viewers of their paintings.

The artistic interest in the sea and coast, and hence the beach, in nineteenth-century Britain was intensified by the growing popularity of the seaside holiday. Across the western world, visiting a coastal resort to bathe in the sea and enjoy the fresh air gradually changed from being the preserve of the wealthy, and of invalids, to become a pleasurable experience for the middle class, and eventually for most of the population.[iii] The mingling of men and women from different classes on the beach gave rise to social embarrassment and sexual excitement, providing a rich field for satirical humour in both visual and verbal media. Sea-bathing was a particular focus of interest: in many places, men insisted on their

right to bathe naked, while women wore long shifts which were perhaps even more thrilling than nudity as they clung revealingly to wet bodies. Despite the bathing machines, and the segregation of men's and women's bathing areas, it was evidently quite possible to get more than a glimpse of bare flesh on the Victorian beach. The 'respectable' visitors constantly complained about breaches of decorum, as men and even women used binoculars and telescopes to get a better look.[iv]

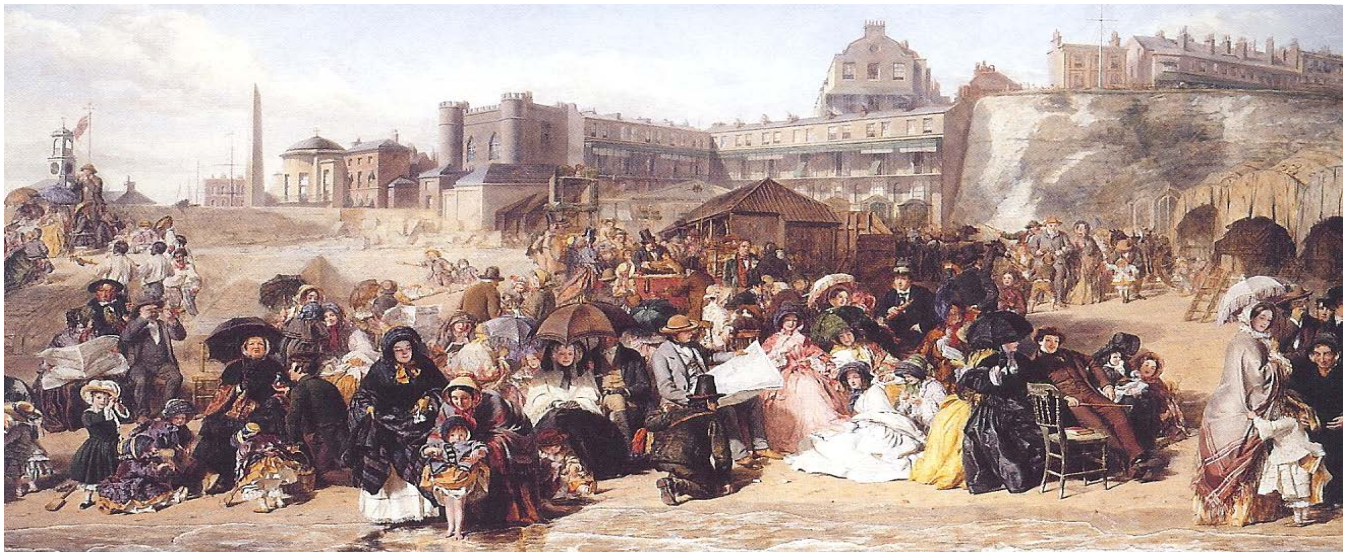
The beach was also a place of potentially embarrassing social encounters. The beach was an unregulated space, open to all, and this was the cause of some distress in the strictly hierarchical society of mid-Victorian Britain. Impecunious bachelors went to the beach to find heiresses, and a gentleman might find himself bathing in the sea next to his tailor.[v] Charles Dickens was one of the first to exploit the comic potential of seaside social climbing in his short story, *The Tuggses at Ramsgate*, published in 1836. Mr Tuggs is a grocer who comes into money, so the family decides to give up their business and go to Ramsgate, where they try to pass themselves off as upper-class. They are set up by confidence-tricksters who flatter them by remarking on the similarities in their appearance to that of various titled personages – and eventually manage to swindle them out of a considerable part of their new-found fortune. The Tuggses find crowds of people on the beach, and Dickens describes it as a place of constant activity, where human foibles are revealed:

> The sun was shining brightly; the sea, dancing to its own music, rolled merrily in; crowds of people promenaded to and fro; young ladies tittered; old ladies talked; nursemaids displayed their charms to the greatest possible advantage, and their little charges ran up and down, and to and fro, and in and out, under the feet, and between the legs, of the

> assembled concourse, in the most playful and exhilarating manner. There were old gentlemen, trying to make out objects through long telescopes; and young ones, making objects of themselves in open shirtcollars; […] and nothing was to be heard but talking, laughing, welcoming, and merriment. […] The ladies were employed in needlework, or watch guard making, or knitting, or reading novels; the gentlemen were reading newspapers and magazines; the children were digging holes in the sand with wooden spades, and collecting water therein …[vi]

The Tuggses are initially embarrassed as they watch the bathers in the sea, but this does not stop them from using their telescopes.[vii]

The pretensions, vanity and hypocrisy of seaside visitors were satirised in the graphic arts by Dickens' friend John Leech, whose cartoons in *Punch* mined a rich vein of comic imagery throughout the 1850s and early 1860s, familiarizing the public with stock characters: the hideous bathing woman, the long-suffering *paterfamilias*, the beautiful young lady who inadvertently reveals her charms in the wind, the ugly older woman who likes to think that the young men are looking at her, the overdressed 'swell' whose one aim is to flirt. His cartoons gave visual form to some of the characters and incidents noted by Dickens. Leech also made fun of seaside fashions, such as the bonnets which came so far over women's faces (to protect them from sunburn) that they looked like the hoods of bathing machines. Both Dickens and Leech took holidays at the seaside, where they had plenty of opportunity to observe amusing behaviour. In 1849 they rented nearby houses in the Isle of Wight, and one can imagine them sitting on the beach together and pointing out particular types to one another.[viii]



Leech was also a friend – and seaside holiday companion - of the artist William Powell Frith, whose painting, *Ramsgate Sands, Life at the Sea-side* (fig. 1), was one of the sensations of the Royal Academy exhibition of 1854. It was based on Frith's own summer holiday in Ramsgate in 1851, where he said 'the variety of character on Ramsgate Sands attracted me – all sorts and conditions of men and women were there.'[ix] To eyes accustomed to the modern beach, the painting is extraordinary. The figures crowd together, rather than seeking out their own spaces; they wear an enormous amount of clothing, the faces of the women shaded from the sun by large bonnets and umbrellas; and many of them stand or sit stiffly, as if they are attending a formal social event rather than relaxing in the open air. The crowd dominates the picture space, and their surroundings are those of town rather than country, with the natural elements confined to a narrow strip of sea in the foreground and a rock face in the right background. The viewpoint is contrived and not entirely logical. As observers, we feel very close to the figures, as if we are standing in the shallow waves; but at the same time, we can see over their heads, giving a panoramic effect which is usually

associated with map-making and with a sense of knowledge and control. The holidaymakers are presented to our gaze like specimens in one of the aquaria that were the popular craze of the time.[x]

This painting was probably the most influential visual image of the beach produced in nineteenth-century England. It was reproduced as an engraving, and the original painting was bought by Queen Victoria and hung in her seaside home, Osborne House on the Isle of Wight. Ironically, she herself had retreated to the Isle of Wight to escape the crowds on the beach in Brighton. In 1845 she had found them 'very indiscreet and troublesome.'[xi] Possession of Frith's painting enabled her to study her 'people' in detail without any risk of being jostled or pestered by them – or worse. After the 'year of revolutions' in 1848 had toppled monarchs across Europe, the Queen was well aware of the importance of popular support in maintaining the constitution, and also of the dangers of the mob. Frith's painting focuses on families and children, and shows people from different social classes coexisting happily, two further characteristics that would have appealed to Victoria. The figures are shown sandwiched between symbols of Britain's military and naval strength – the crescents named after Nelson and Wellington in the background, and the sea in the foreground. The obelisk commemorates George IV's departure from Ramsgate on his visit to Scotland in 1821. In 1851, in his dedication to his first book of poems as Poet Laureate, Tennyson had praised Queen Victoria's wise rule, which kept her throne unshaken, unlike those of so many of her European counterparts, because it was 'Broad-based upon the people's will,/ And compassed by the inviolate sea'. Frith's painting can be seen as an illustration of that declaration. Ramsgate is a port that looks

across to France, and the thin strip of sea functions as a defensive barrier, a symbol of the Channel that had saved Britain from invasion during the Napoleonic Wars.

The critical response to the painting indicates some of the ways in which contemporary reviewers would have interpreted it. They looked closely at the figures and wove stories around them, surmising that the widow on the right was proposing to 'the young man with an apologetic moustache' seated behind the chair, or that the four sisters to right of centre were worrying their father for the list of marriages in the newspaper.[xii] In front of this group there is an itinerant entertainer who has let out his performing mice onto the sand, but the young ladies behave with commendable restraint and he kneels deferentially, suggesting a stable social hierarchy. One critic thought that this family (the most prosperous-looking on the beach) had carved out a space for themselves, despite their proximity to their neighbours:

> That family at the centre are remarkable for their exclusiveness; at Peckham, their garden wall is higher than that of everybody else; and here they turn their backs upon everybody, living as it were within a ring-fence […] There is another 'Happy Family' behind, but they are not so well fed; it is therefore in a social point of view an interesting fact, that they do not dine on each other.[xiii]

This last remark is rather cryptic, but the critic seems to be suggesting that the painting shows how rich and poor can share the same space peacefully – that human society is different to the aquarium, where the more powerful creatures literally 'dine on' those lower down the food chain. The reviews do not mention bathing, which is alluded to in a very subtle way. The only bare flesh revealed is in the legs of the little girl who stands in the waves in the left foreground, but, as Caroline Arscott has shown, Frith incorporates discreet references to the voyeurism of the seaside. The man and child with telescopes on the left, and the two men on the extreme right, are

both looking towards the part of the beach that was reserved for bathers, while the women avert their eyes.[xiv]

Middle-class tourists also walk on the beach in William Dyce's *Pegwell Bay, Kent – a Recollection of October 5th 1858* (fig. 2). Unlike Frith's *Ramsgate Sands,* this painting aroused little comment when it was shown at the Royal Academy in 1860, but it has become very famous in modern times, as it seems to sum up perfectly the mood of the decade that saw the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. It was recently shown in an exhibition that marked the bicentenary of Darwin's birth, and 150 years since the publication of the *Origin*: in the catalogue, Rebecca Bedell related it to the 'new geological vision of an ancient, dynamic, constantly evolving earth' that was the foundation for Darwin's theory

of evolution.[xv] Following Marcia Pointon's classic account of the painting, Bedell suggested that Dyce was troubled by the threats to religious belief represented by the new discoveries.[xvi] The painting dates from the same decade as Arnold's *Dover Beach*, and matches its mood of melancholy contemplation at sunset.

It is a very personal painting. The figures in the foreground are Dyce's wife Jane, her sisters Isabella and Grace, and Dyce's son William, who was about seven at the time. In the middle distance, on the extreme right, Dyce represents himself, with his painting equipment, looking up at the sky, where Donati's comet is just visible. The painting was bought by the artist's father-in-law, James Brand.[xvii] Dyce was an artist with strong interest in both science and religion, who studied medicine and theology before deciding to become an artist. Pegwell Bay was a resort just down the coast from Ramsgate, where Dickens' Tuggs family went for donkey rides, but in Dyce's painting the emphasis is on the elements rather than the holidaymakers. The pebbles and rocks on the beach, the crumbling chalk cliffs, and the beauty of the luminous sky dominate the composition, and the human beings seem relatively insignificant, like ants crawling over the surface of a planet surrounded by millions of miles of interstellar space.

Many modern observers have noted a sense of dissociation between the figures and the landscape, particularly evident in the foreground figures, none of whom look at or interact with one another. This effect may be partly due to Dyce's use of photography. [xviii] But it also reflects the fact that the activity they are engaged in, collecting shells and other natural history specimens, was meant to evoke religious contemplation. Many handbooks for collectors of seaside specimens

were published in the 1850s, and most of them saw the beauty and intricacy of marine creatures and shells as proof of the existence of a benevolent Creator.[xix] The small boy and the woman in the striped cloak particularly express this effect, as they look out of the picture towards something that the viewer cannot see, the open sea with all its symbolic connotations. The gaze of the little boy is uncannily reminiscent of Sir Isaac Newton's description of himself as being 'like a boy playing on the seashore, and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble or a prettier shell than ordinary, while the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered before me'. Newton meant that his scientific discoveries were relatively insignificant, when compared with the greater truths of religion. The anecdote had been published in 1855, in a book by Sir David Brewster, a good friend of Dyce's.[xx] Recently, Jennifer Melville has supported this interpretation of the painting, adding that for Dyce 'the great "ocean of truth" was an understanding of the wonder of Nature, not as a denial of religious truth but as physical proof of it'.[xxi] The association of the painting with religious doubt may well be a modern misreading of a painting that actually affirms Dyce's religious faith. Nevertheless, the painting eloquently conveys some of the aspects of the beach that could encourage religious doubt amongst contemporary or modern observers. On this beach, we are reminded of the vastness of time and space, the processes of erosion that are gradually destroying the cliffs, and the isolation of the individual human being – themes which resonate both in Victorian writing and in recent fiction, as Anne-Julia Zwierlein demonstrates in her contribution to this volume.[xxii]

The relationship between science and religion is also an issue raised by the coastal scenes of John Brett. Brett, like Dyce, was an artist who was deeply interested in both science and religion – but in Brett's case the conflict between them led to him abandoning conventional religious practices in the 1860s or 1870s. *A Morning amongst the Granite Boulders* (fig. 3) is one of the many large seascapes and coastal scenes he exhibited at the Royal Academy in the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. It is based on sketches he made at Whitesand Bay, north of Land's End in Cornwall. Brett was regarded as the leader of the Pre-Raphaelite school of landscape painting, and painting on the spot was an important part of his practice.[xxiii] However, by this stage in his career he was painting small sketches out of doors and executing his exhibition pictures – which were usually seven feet wide, like this one – in his studio in London. Nevertheless, his coastal scenes faithfully represent the character of each location, and he paid particular attention to the movements of the waves, the cloud formations in the sky, and the textures of the rocks.

A Morning amongst the Granite Boulders was widely praised for its accuracy, but one reviewer, F. G. Stephens, also described it as 'a noble painting, replete with sadness'.[xxiv] Here, in contrast to the paintings by Frith and Dyce, the viewpoint is low: this reflects Brett's actual viewpoint as he sat and sketched on the sands, but it also means that the observer imagines him or herself as situated right down on the beach, vulnerable to the incoming waves. The human element has been cut to a minimum, and at first sight it looks as if it is entirely absent, a vision of the earth before (or after) mankind; but then the viewer sees tiny distant boats, battling against the waves, and footprints in the sand, destined to be obliterated by the incoming tide. It must be for this reason that Stephens found it full of sadness, thinking, perhaps, of poems like Tennyson's *Break, break, break*.

This is not the kind of beach, one would think, that would accommodate many visitors or provide safe sea-bathing. The rocks dominate the composition, and they are made of uncompromising granite, at the opposite extreme from the chalk in *Pegwell Bay*. Brett had a particular interest in geology. As a young man he had read and admired Volume Four of John Ruskin's *Modern Painters* (1856) which argued that God deliberately made the hardest rocks the most beautiful because they are exposed to mankind's view on the high mountains – and also, of course, on the sea coast. Ruskin had written that granite decomposes into the purest sand or clay 'the sand often of the purest white, always lustrous and bright in its particles', while 'the sea which washes a granite coast is as unsullied as a flawless emerald'.[xxv] The name of the beach, Whitesand Bay, evidently refers to this effect. In the 1850s Brett had been devoutly religious, and his later work retains a sense of the allegorical meaning of features of the natural landscape, when the specific beliefs that underlay this meaning have

vanished. In this he may be compared with Swinburne, whose poetry repeatedly uses the sea as a symbol of death, even when his themes are explicitly anti-Christian, as in the *Hymn to Proserpine*:

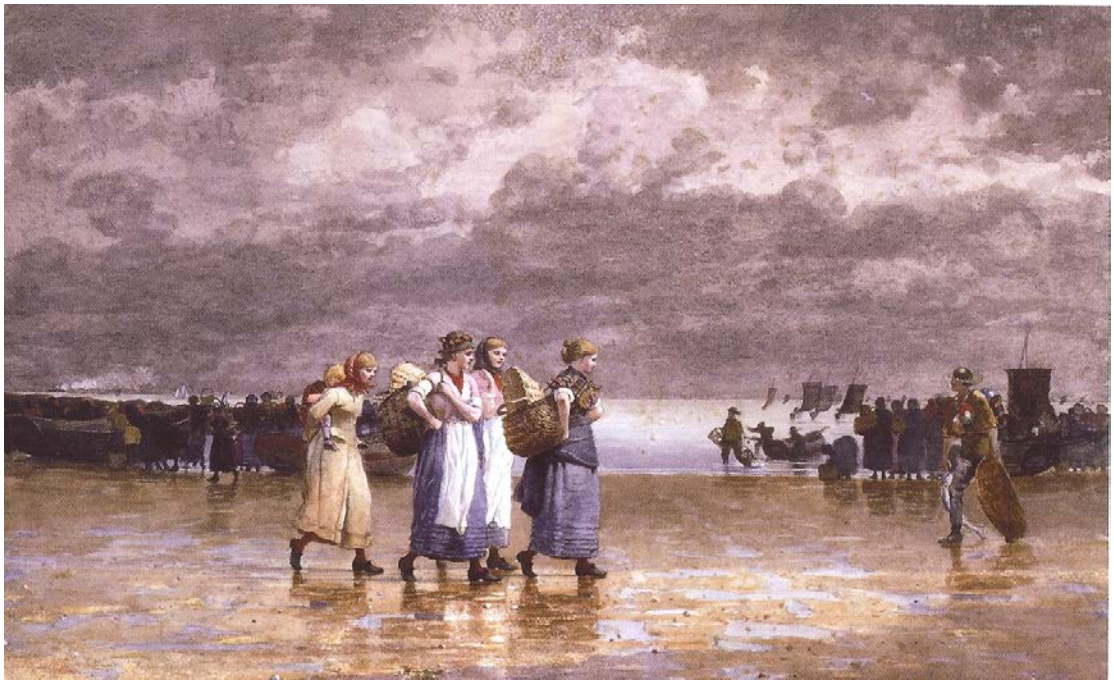
> Fate is a sea without shore, and the soul is a rock which abides;
> But her ears are vexed with the roar and her face with the foam of the tides
> […]
> All delicate days and pleasant, all spirits and sorrows are cast
> Far out with the foam of the present that sweeps to the surf of the past:

Swinburne's imagery is of the rugged coastline of Northumbria, and the cold, grey North Sea, while Brett's usually draws on the intense blue seas of the south-west.

Cornwall had become popular as a location for discerning seaside visitors who wanted to escape the crowds and social mixing of the beaches of south-east England. Once the railway was connected to Penzance in 1859, it was easier to access, though still relatively remote and unspoilt. John Brett regularly spent summer holidays on the coasts of Cornwall, south Wales and the west of Scotland, throughout the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. With his common-law wife Mary and his growing family (he eventually had seven children) he would take a house for three or four months, from July through to early October, spending each day sketching, bathing and boating. For a short period in the 1880s the family took their annual holiday on their own yacht, the *Viking*, which served as a floating studio for the artist. In 1880 he was thinking of buying land near Land's End on which to build a bungalow, regarding it as a good investment since 'we have […] done a great deal to make Cornwall known and popular in our own world'.[xxvi] He was successful in selling his paintings to private collectors in London and Birmingham, where the broad horizons and fresh air of Cornish beaches must have seemed particularly appealing in the later years of the nineteenth century.

By 1896, when he wrote a long letter to his brother Arthur about the different characteristics of various parts of the British coast, Brett was less enthusiastic about the unspoilt nature of Cornwall, at least as a place to settle for good. 'Cornwall has fine places but they are too remote except for excursions, and generally there are no houses and no grub.' Like many of his contemporaries, Brett was disparaging about the crowded beaches of the south-east coast: 'all the scum of the earth gravitate to the sea coast, so that, on the whole, none of it is fit for decent people … Margate and Ramsgate are out of the question although healthy. A pig could not survive for a month by reason of the human swine.' He was equally unimpressed by the fishing villages that other artists found picturesque: 'The west of Scotland is crowded with lovely coast places but the natives so defile them that you cant walk near the sea (sic).'[xxvii]

The emptiness of Brett's coastal scenes appealed to those who were horrified by the kind of scene depicted by Frith, and to scientists who could admire his conquest of the difficulties involved in painting moving waves and atmospheric effects. They also provided a space onto which exhibition visitors and picture buyers could project their own thoughts, like the sea itself.



However, other artists were going to the coast with the explicit aim of studying the 'natives' of the fishing villages – that is, the fishermen and women who saw the beach as a place of work rather than pleasure or contemplation. The American artist Winslow Homer spent some eighteen months living and working in the village of Cullercoats, near Newcastle on the north-east coast, between March 1881 and November 1882. His watercolour, *The Four Fishwives* (fig. 4) is typical of the work he produced there. Fisherfolk were greatly admired in nineteenth-century Britain. Both in non-fiction, and in novels such as Sir Walter Scott's *Antiquary* (1816) and Charles Reade's *Christie Johnstone* (1853), the strong women of the self-sufficient, independent-minded fishing communities were celebrated for their beauty and for their stoicism in the face of the constant dangers involved in fishing from small boats. The bare arms, relatively short skirts, and healthy complexions of Homer's four 'fisherlasses' made them picturesque subjects for painting. Their woollen skirts were of a pattern that was distinctive of the village. Three of them have on their backs the 'creels' they used to carry the fish when they went into the local town – in this case,

Newcastle – to sell the catch. Fisherwomen were notoriously strong, carrying many hundredweight of fish on their backs and walking many miles, in all weathers, to sell them. In some villages, they even carried their menfolk out to the boats so that they would not get wet.[xxviii] In *The Antiquary,* Sir Walter Scott famously described the 'gynecocracy' of the Scottish fishing villages, whereby the women managed the households, their husbands being away at sea for long periods of time.[xxix]

It has been suggested that it was Homer's reading of Reade's novel, *Christie Johnstone*, which encouraged Homer to come and settle in Cullercoats – an episode in his life which has never been satisfactorily explained.[xxx] The heroine of the novel is a fisherwoman from Newhaven, near Edinburgh, another village where the fisherfolk wore distinctive regional costume. She is described as naturally healthy and beautiful, and she falls in love with an artist, Charles Gatty, an Englishman who believes in painting out of doors. Christie is a strong character, a fine singer and storyteller, who has saved up a considerable sum of money as a result of her work in selling fish. She is skilled in operating boats, and brave enough to rescue her lover from drowning. Before going to Cullercoats, Homer had produced many paintings and illustrations of fashionable women, and he seems to have relished the chance to depict the contrasting characteristics of the sturdy women of Cullercoats. At least one reviewer, seeing his Cullercoats watercolours in the United States, felt the same:

> Look from these women of Homer's, sturdy, fearless, fit wives and mothers of men, to the dolls which flaunt their millinery all around the walls and you are no man yourself if you do not find rising within you a sentiment of personal regard and admiration for the artist who can honor woman so by his art.[xxxi]

In the watercolour of *The Four Fishwives*, the surroundings, however, suggest another type of subject – those which dealt with the devastation of shipwrecks and the bravery of those who went out in lifeboats. The threatening sky and the groups of women waiting on the shore for the boats to come in are echoed in other watercolours by Homer which specifically address this theme, such as his series entitled 'the perils of the sea'. Another likely reason for his stay at Cullercoats was the village's association with new forms of lifesaving.[xxxii] The little boats, seen in silhouette on the right-hand side of the painting, look frail and insubstantial as they are tossed about by the wind. It is very likely that Homer would have known Charles Kingsley's poem, *The Three Fishers*, which was very popular in the later nineteenth century, and was often quoted by artists in exhibition catalogues. This describes three fishermen who go out fishing in the evening, and the three wives who sit up waiting for them to return, with a tragic denouement:

> Three corpses lay out on the shining sands
> In the morning gleam as the tide went down.
> And the women are weeping and wringing their hands
> For those who will never come home to the town;
> For men must work, and women must weep,
> And the sooner it's over, the sooner to sleep;
> And good-bye to the bar and its moaning.

Homer's painting is not an illustration to the poem – he depicts four fishwives rather than three – but it clearly reflects its spirit, with the wives expressing a sense of camaraderie as they walk across the wet sands towards the men returning from the sea, grateful that on this occasion, at least, they are safe.

As this essay has shown, literary sources were very important to the artists, and to their viewers, both in suggesting subjects and in determining the response to the paintings. I would also like to suggest that the converse is true: that writers of novels

and poetry would have been affected, often unconsciously, by the images they had seen, especially when particular themes were repeated from Royal Academy paintings in prints and journal illustrations. Ideas of the beach as a place for social interaction, for scientific and religious contemplation, for a consciousnesss of the sadness of death and separation, would all have been intensified by the exploration of such themes in the visual arts. The four paintings discussed here were typical of their period. Frith's *Ramsgate Sands* was the prototype for many paintings and illustrations that focus on the humorous embarrassments associated with the holiday beach. Dyce's *Pegwell Bay* shows a more serious side to the experience of visiting the beach, when the rocks and sea-creatures would remind visitors of the current debates over religion and evolution, and inspire thoughtful contemplation. Brett's *Morning amongst the Granite Boulders* responds to a new demand for unspoilt beaches, while Homer's *Four Fishwives* avoids the tourist beach in favour of an even more serious acknowledgement of the stoicism and bravery of those who made their living from the sea.

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i This poem is discussed in Hubert Zapf's essay in this volume, p. xx.
ii See Katharina Rennhak's essay in this volume.
iii See Alain Corbin, *The Lure of the Sea: the Discovery of the Seaside in the Western World 1750-1840*, translated by Jocelyn Phelps (London: Penguin Books, 1995), and John K. Walton, *The English Seaside Resort: A Social History 1750-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1983).
iv See Christiana Payne, *Where the Sea meets the Land: Artists on the Coast in Nineteenth-century Britain* (Bristol: Sansom and Company, 2007), pp. 97-102.
v Bernard H. Becker, *Holiday Haunts by Cliffside and Riverside* (London: Remington & Co, 1884), pp. 47-8; and Payne, *Where the Sea meets the Land*, p. 96.
vi C. Dickens, 'The Tuggses at Ramsgate', in M. Slater, ed., *The Dent Uniform Edition of Dickens' Journalism: Sketches by Boz, and other early papers, 1833-39* (London: J. M. Dent, 1994), Vol. I, pp. 333-5.
vii Ibid., p.p. 336-7.

[viii] Simon Houfe, *John Leech and the Victorian Scene* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1984), p. 83.
[ix] W. P. Frith, R. A., *My Autobiography and Reminiscences* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1887), Vol. I, p. 243. Frith and Leech holidayed together in Ramsgate in 1852 (Houfe, *John Leech*, p. 83).
[x] See Payne, *Where the Sea meets the Land*, pp. 117-19. Philip Henry Gosse's classic text, *The Aquarium*, came out in 1854.
[xi] Edmund W Gilbert, *Brighton: Old Ocean's Bauble* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1954; 2nd ed. Hassocks: Flare Books, 1975), p. 107.
[xii] *Art Journal*, I June, 1854, pp. 161-3.
[xiii] *Ibid*., p. 161.
[xiv] Caroline Arscott, '*Ramsgate Sands*, Modern Life, and the Shoring-up of Narrative', in B. Allen, ed., *Towards a Modern Art World* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 162.
[xv] Rebecca Bedell, 'The History of the Earth: Darwin, Geology and Landscape Art' in Diana Donald and Jane Munro, eds., *Endless Forms: Charles Darwin, Natural Science and the Visual Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 49 and pp. 62-4.
[xvi] Marcia Pointon, 'The Representation of Time in Painting: A Study of William Dyce's *Pegwell Bay: a Recollection of October 5th, 1858*', *Art History* vol. I no. 1, March 1978, pp. 99-103.
[xvii] Jennifer Melville, 'Faith, Fact, Family and Friends in the Art of William Dyce', in Jennifer Melville, ed., *William Dyce and the Pre-Raphaelite Vision* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen City Council, 2006), p. 44.
[xviii] Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce 1806-64, A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 171.
[xix] See Payne, *Where the Sea meets the Land*, pp. 117-121.
[xx] Sir D. Brewster, *Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Discoveries of Sir Isaac Newton* (London: Edinburgh and London, 1855), Vol. II, p. 407.
[xxi] Melville, 'Faith, Fact, Family and Friends', p. 44. See also Jonathan Smith, *Charles Darwin and Victorian Visual Culture* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 75-7.
[xxii] See Anne-Julia Zwierlein's essay, pp. xx-xx.
[xxiii] For Brett's career, see Christiana Payne, *John Brett, Pre-Raphaelite Landscape Painter* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010).
[xxiv] *Athenaeum*, no. 2377, 17 May 1874, p. 634.
[xxv] John Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Vol. IV (1856), E. T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, eds., *The Works of John Ruskin* (London: George Allen, 10903-12), Vol. VI, pp. 143-4.
[xxvi] John Brett, 'Memoranda of the Early Travels of our Children, written for them by John Brett and Mary Brett on alternate Sundays commencing in the autumn of 1879 at Penally' (private collection), typescript prepared by Charles Brett, p. 6, 10 October 1880. For John Brett's holidays in Cornwall, see Charles Brett, Michael Hickox and Christiana Payne, *John Brett: A Pre-Raphaelite in Cornwall* (Bristol: Sansom and Company, 2006).
[xxvii] John Brett, letter to Arthur Brett, dated 5 February 1896 (private collection),
[xxviii] Malcolm Gray, *The Fishing Industries of Scotland, 1790-1914. A Study in Regional Adaptation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 90.

[xxix] Sir Walter Scott, *The Antiquary* (Edinburgh:Robert Cadell, 1841; first published 1816), p. 208 (Chapter XXVI) and p. 346 (Note D. Fisherwomen).
[xxx] N. Cikovsky and F. Kelly, *Winslow Homer* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) p. 176.
[xxxi] Unsourced press cutting, 1883, in the collection at Bowdoin College Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, quoted in Elizabeth Johns, *Winslow Homer: The Nature of Observation* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), p. 105.
[xxxii] See Payne, *Where the Sea meets the Land*, pp. 164-5.