THE PANORAMIC JOURNEY:

NORTH ATLANTIC STEAMSHIP TRAVEL AT THE *FIN DE SIECLE*

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis concerns the production of the ocean journey at the *fin de siecle* juncture of modernity, capitalism and industrialization. The steamship as a key component of the North Atlantic mediascape interacted with new modes of communication to produce a certain passenger experience. This is traced through contemporary travel literature and journalism, drawing for interpretation on critical theories of industrial society and informed by both structuralism and historical materialism.

How did the steam-powered acceleration of travel affect the Atlantic crossing between Britain and North America, as it was transposed and constructed in its representations? Central issues are: the subjective alteration in dimension and distance through accelerated travel; the visual and spatial biases associated with the media forms which served to both represent and steer a dynamic "world in transit"; and the way in which the decontextualization of markets, people and information inflected the incorporation of the passenger into the industrial environment.

With the increased scope of mechanical reproduction in communication and in transportation, the nineteenth-century journey became "panoramic": like a painted panorama it refracted correspondences between geographic, social and representational space. Expectations of technology mingled with expectations of economic and social order; the values of industrial progress underwriting the steamship journey were challenged in the shipwreck of the Titanic in 1912.

DEDICATION

To Ramona:

True north, gypsy soul

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La chair est triste, helas! et j'ai lu tous les livres...
Je partirai! Steamer balancant ta mature
Leve l'ancre pour une exotique nature!
Un Ennui, desole par les cruels espoirs,
Croit encore a l'adieu supreme des mouchoirs!
Stephane Mallarme, Brise Marine

During the nineteenth century, with the development of the steamship and other new instruments of communication, the western world experienced a profound shift in its experience of space and time. In capitalist society, technology and cultural production supported a system of power based in the control of exchange. The years between 1850-1912 represent a zenith in the North Atlantic shipping industry and in the tourist industry of Europe and North America. In other areas of western culture, the results of long slow revolutions in production had already had a powerful impact upon everyday experience.[1]

A common side effect of accelerated production was the sense of an "annihilation of space and time," or the perceived blurring of conceptual, explanatory, and geographical frameworks. Marshall McLuhan outlines the implications of change in transport media, stating that the

annihilation of space permits easy annihilation of travellers as well. This principle applies to all media study...Speed accentuates problems of form and structure...people begin to

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1(See Kern 1983, 2.) Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams and many others also cite this period, and more especially the years between around 1880-1914 (to which I will refer as the fin de siecle) as a watershed mark in western cultural history. It coincides with the era of high capitalism and technical advances. Bourgeois society refers to the period of late 18th to early 20th centuries in Britain and France.
In the present discussion the bourgeois are those with major investments in the existing cultural order.

sense a draining-away of life values as they try to make the old physical forms adjust to the new and speedier movement.[2]

Progress on many fronts was linked to forms of energy and communication. The modernization of modes and relations of production involved the extension over the globe of commodity markets, related expansion of cultural production and consumption, and social disruptions. The dimensions annihilated, for many, were those of traditional work and dwelling. Mass migration became a definitive characteristic of modernity as monopoly capitalism transformed "place" into "territory" or simply an abstract concept of "space." The tourism and information industries both developed in the context of mass production. Concurrent was the perception of loss, depth and immediacy in many areas of life.

Perception, which orders experience, is bounded by communication media, the senses and the cultural schemata ordering the content of the perceived. But accounts of contemporary perceptual connections, agency and subjectivity must also be related to concrete developments. In the process of reality construction, perception is an intermediary link between the content of thought and the structure of society and institutions. Bourgeois society was an epistemic order founded on rules of linear development in time, or progress, and on the primacy of typographic/visual communication.(Lowe 1982, 17)

Through cultural production in the age of high imperialism, people attempted "to make sense of, represent...navigate or

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2 McLuhan 1984, 95. Marx put it, "the annihilation of space by time."

escape the worlds of modernization and modernity."(Grossberg, Nelson and Treichler 1992, 16) At the intersection of capitalism, industrialisation and democracy, travel literature and imagery in part mediated the rearticulation of norms, experience and identity. As nineteenth century railway travellers were converted from private individuals to consumers, they became industrial subjects encountering new conditions of life within structures of regulation and need.(Trachtenberg 1977, xv)

In the passenger's experience of mechanized transit at sea I trace the extension of a complex of certain modes of industrial production including that of culture. The steamship as a vehicle of communication was both the media and the message of the journey across the North Atlantic. As it carried passengers and information, it also provided a context which helped to shape audiences and texts, which

> cannot be conceived outside of the production of diverse and exacting spaces...we are not simply listeners to sound, or watchers of images, but occupants of spaces...who, by being there, help to produce definite meanings and effects.(Berland, 1992, 39)

Travel as a culture industry, through its vehicles and newspapers, books and images, brought the journey to a mass audience whether they ever boarded a train or ship.

The journey itself is approached in the thesis as a cultural product, a complex of patterns, operations, cooperative work and artifacts. Modern industrial space was articulated by its traffic buildings. Dating from mid-century, these structures designed for articulation and exchange include the

steel and glass railway stations, seaport warehouses, arcades (with their panorama entertainments), factories, museums and exhibition palaces.(Schivelbusch 1977, 172) Such places, like castles, churches and prisons, are in effect machines for the industrial production of social and political order.(Williams 1977, 92)

Places dedicated to circulation, as "housing for the dreaming collective" were termed "dreamspaces" by Walter Benjamin.(Buck-Morss 1987, 232) They are ambiguous sites where visions of the natural and the cultural, the organic and mechanic, the new world and the old were all blended in the "phantasmagoric" experience of those who passed through them. Voyagers became passengers, suspended between the appearances of objects and their function in production. The bourgeois flaneur, the growing urban crowds and the refugees of the Industrial Revolution all flowed with the commodity in circulation through the networks of mechanized transport.

A dreamspace in the following discussion refers to any representation of the world which seems parallel or analogic to an aspect of reality and which then inflects an audience's experience of the original. In my notion of the dreamspace I include passenger steamships and liners, and the narratives produced in the context of travel. Traffic buildings, vehicles and literature all to some extent reflect patterns of material exchange, but also the interchange of material structures and abstract meaning. For instance, travel literature provided a "dreamspace" of freedom from urban social constraints but was

produced and marketed in contexts which reinforced the metropolitan ideology of progress and modernization. Travelogues, vehicles of public transport and panoramas in this sense all functioned as types of "machines" for seeing and imagining a changing social landscape.

Ocean liners, as new figures on a ground where mobility produced meaning, pointed to powerful notions of emancipation coexisting with the industrialization of cultural frameworks. The ship moved between at least two realities for the passenger (a voyage structured here on the model of the crossing from industrial Britain to colonial North America), the "dead hand of the past" meeting the grip of future bureaucracy. The ocean liners of the Victorian and Edwardian eras were the instruments of a world measured, ordered and controlled over distance. They are among "the monumental forms left high and dry by the ebb tide of the modern moment," objects imbued for us with a sense of loss of the promise of that time.(Jameson 1988) The modern world is inscribed in their lines of passage.

Overall, this thesis takes a materialist approach, viewing particular experiences of passage, space and time as produced in historical contexts of modes of production. Immersed in our inherited technological environment, based as it is on mobility, we rarely consider the quality of spatial passage itself as a constitutive feature of experience. My major concerns in the following discussion are:

How did the steam-powered acceleration of the ocean voyage affect the passenger's experience of space? How did the

representation of this experience serve to transpose and construct the encounter with nature and technology? The journey into the "unknown," at least since the Renaissance, relied strongly on its representations; this reliance intensified as writing and typographic communication became dominant media in western society. The effect on patterns of thought, observation and description on the journey are discussed in terms of the relationship of recessive to dominant media during the energy shift from sail to steam on the oceans.

I argue that the steamship, as a key product of industrial society (and a site of significant intersection in the development of transportation and communication systems) is a machine encouraging a certain kind of knowledge as well as physical mobility. Our world has inherited the fundamentals of European "dreamspaces" in the global systems of transport and communication which have extended the industrial era's bias toward control of space.

The first chapter below introduces the panorama as a model for encountering the new in primarily visual terms, and as an index or metaphor of qualitative change in spatial experience. It considers the concept of transportation as communication, and the literature discussing the interaction between power, technics and knowledge in a mass information society. The next section outlines the "mediascape" of transportation and communication in the nineteenth century. The structural organization of passenger travel, shipping and the mass press

were more or less contemporaneous.

The central chapter reviews the transatlantic journey through its messages, as circulated in the published and unpublished accounts of travellers and journalists who follow the transit of the ship through time (history) as well as through space (the North Atlantic.) The conventions of representation appear to become progressively more aligned with imperial cultural production. The concluding chapter discusses shipwreck which has potential to interrupt this sense of acceleration and unification of space. The loss of the Titanic is read as a literary event abstracted out of an information blackout which in itself could have challenged the closure of the epoch's "dreamspace." The journey as measured against its representations becomes itself more abstractly conceived as the steamship seems to sail unhindered by the vagaries of the sea.

It is not my intent to chronicle the technical details of ocean liners nor to enumerate the number of passengers who can dance on a tilting deck. Rather I attempt to transport the imagination into an essentially vanished but curiously familiar environment--the deck of a steamship in mid-Atlantic a century ago. Though not literally part of everyone's everyday experience, the awareness of ships imbued western culture and their passengers continue to haunt today's mediascape.

I do not doubt that interiors have their interiors
And exteriors have their exteriors, and
that the eyesight has another eyesight, and
....the voice another voice...
I do not doubt that wrecks at sea...
Are provided for, to the minutest points
Walt Whitman, "Assurances"

Dreamspace I: the panorama

It is the summer of 1830. You are on the rocking deck of a wooden warship in a harbour, gripping the rail as you gaze over a grey sea luminous with touches of sunset. Behind the busy harbour town slowly fading into twilight, lights begin to flicker in the mist and smoke against the distant hills. You daydream among the silhouettes of the mighty fleet around you.

But you can't smell the sea or smoke, hear the clatter on the docks or feel the wind from the hills beyond. You are at the still point of the turning world, a viewer in a panorama. A public entertainment existing in various forms and venues through the nineteenth century, the panorama was an illuminated painting stretched on vertical canvas around the inside of a rotunda, three-dimensional objects in the foreground blending imperceptibly into the illusory distance behind it. The panorama is also a metaphor for the fusion of nature and artifice in contemporary experience.(Sternberger 1977, 186) It was in effect a machine for visual experience and vicarious travel.

Scenes of aestheticized and illuminated nature based on real scenery, battles and historical events were constructed which effectively transported a viewer, providing an "eyewitness" view. In "striving to produce deceptively lifelike changes in their presentation of nature..." the panoramas, writes Benjamin,

define a revolution in the relationship of art to technology.(Benjamin 1978, 150) The viewer's imagination insinuated into these visual spaces projected wish-journeys which were later in the century made possible in reality. The European travel industry (beginning around 1830) was fused with the patterns of commodity circulation laid down and consolidated during the nineteenth century. The passenger of a train or steamship could in effect view the world itself as an expanded, airier version of the "frameless" panorama.

The panorama observer within the enclosing machine relied for the exhilarating, almost physical sensation of transport upon maintaining a static observation point

> au centre de l'edifice...pouvait parcourier de l'oeil toute la ligne de l'horizon que ne se trouvait interrompue en aucun point de ce tableau circulaire (Dumur 1965, 912)

Other devices popular with nineteenth century audiences (including the stereoscope, zootrope and kaleidoscope) also involved a spectator "aligned with and operating assemblages for seeing.(Crary 1991, 112) It is an experience of hyper-real space dependent on the "machinic aggregate" of viewer, landscape and machine. The viewer feels, Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote, as though flying in

> a dream-like exaltation in which we seem to leave the body behind and sail away into one strange sphere after another like disembodied spirits.(Batchen 1991, 5)

Lacking the "illusion-shattering boundary of a frame" the panorama, like the stereoscope, was particularly likely to "give rise to a belief in dematerialised form."(ibid) Analogues of reality, which these kinds of representations were, offer

partial resemblances in an indeterminate correspondence to the original. Texts and images which are apparently objective renditions of reality cannot be completely mimetic so that the viewer or reader must fill in the gaps to make meaning.

The panorama viewer travelled imaginatively and visually, in an ensemble of painted perspective, real objects and flat surfaces. Contributing to this journey was a prior knowledge of its original (or something similar) or of the historical event, if one was portrayed. Such prior knowledge was for urban viewers to large extent based on an increasing circulation of the texts, images and other information drawn from a range of published travels. Like the stereoscope, a combination of viewpoint, cultural knowledge and visual information in the panorama gave access to "the real" without making claim that it was "anything other than a mechanical production."(Crary in Batchen 1992, 5)

The entry into the constructed "illusion" conjured a dream-like sensation, which (rather than any particular view for itself) was the commodity. The profit involved in projection through space would be multiplied later when the age of mechanical reproduction began to centrally shape the daily experience of European-based cultures. Constructed experiences could be reproduced and the technologies of communication came

to be highly significant in economic and social exchange.[1] In the nineteenth century, telegraphy enabled communication processes to appear as a dematerialized network into which we could project ourselves through our voices and images.(See Beale 1988, 47) But the detachment of communication from transportation--the physical movement of people and things--was only apparently complete. Transportation and communication, both constitutive of social and economic relationships, are linked in cultural production. The steam-powered acceleration of vehicles represents an intervening stage between message carrying constrained by the limits of nature and the expression of thought made seemingly ephemeral and instantaneous by electricity.[2] The telegraph was the common link betwe n communication and transportation, facilitating production and distribution, but seeming to erase the bounds of track or route with messages from afar. The accelerated journey, a complex production of media, culture and society, was often experienced

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1 For the sake of simplicity "reality" will here refer generally to the objects, modes and relations of material production, to be discussed below. Representation generally means the abstract and anlogic referents to this production. Meaning is constructed out of the indeterminate interplay between the dynamic event or object and its abstract or analogic form. The abstract and the concrete are related as forms of each other and cannot be opposed in reality; the mode and reproduction of capitalist social form depends on its abstraction in exchange.

2 "Originally developed to regulate railroad traffic, the telegraph differentiated itself as an independent means of communication toward the middle of the nineteenth century. However, the railraod line and the telegraph usually continued to exist side by side...the telegraph wires `dancing' before the traveller's eyes."(Schivelbusch 1977, 39)

by the passenger in terms of disembodiment or disconnection.

The speeding train, which imitated but extended coach travel, filled in geographical gaps between stations with a blurred array of objects, given new visual order and thus meaning through acceleration. A certain kind of perception, then, associated with the panorama, was similar in effect to that experienced in mechanized travel. The panorama spectator (who was also a passenger), entered what Schivelbusch terms a "machine ensemble" of vehicle and track.

Panoramic travel by railroad involved a sense of dissolution, dispersal and trivialization of perception and communication. (Schivelbusch 1977, 71) A common experience today, "panoramic perception" in travel depends on the passenger in the vehicle watching a landscape seen through a moving window become a whirling montage of "objects and pieces of scenery that in their original spatiality belonged to separate realms."(Schivelbusch 1977, 63) As the landscape is set in motion the passenger feels detached from the world, speeded in a lensed projectile through a "vast succession of changing tableaux." The consequence is a perceptual shrinkage of space.[3]

Such technologies of the imagination as panoramas and stereoscopes have been termed "engines of visualization." (Maynard 1991, 76) Maynard extends this concept to the steam

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3 The train shows not the details but the "great outlines...the living whole..." The view "from the windows of Europe...become mere particles of one and the same panoramic world that stretches all around and is...merely a painted surface."(Jules Claretie, contemporary journalist, cited in Schivelbusch 63)

engine which, in amplifying our physical powers, filtered and shaped the experience of passage through space. The ocean steamship developed out of the context of steam travel on land, and on inland and coastal waters. As the railway became common and the travel and transport industries developed, accelerated travel extended to the sea. So the development of the industrial journey was possible through and demanded the rationalization of productive technologies of transportation and communication.

The operation of steam-powered transportation in the Victorian era involved and privileged specific kinds of knowledge which were of value in industrial life. A range of the qualitative dimensions of experience and information were also altered in the process of accelerating media.[4] As in the panorama, or in a dream which relies upon but re-organizes information about material reality, certain aspects of experience became effectively irrelevant because they were unnecessary to constructing the material journey. The panorama is a form of public preparation for the modern extension of power over space, which was enabled in part by scientific and technical access to distant scenes and the mode of their representation.

As it serves to link several themes, the motif of the panorama here refers mainly to the decontextualization of

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4 "Experience" in the present context refers to the everyday lived aspects of time and space, the intersection of subjective and objective reality. McLuhan: "The `common sense' was for many centuries held to be the peculiar human power of translating one kind of experience of one sense into all the senses, and presenting the result continuously as a unified image to the mind..." (McLuhan 1964, 67)

aspects of reality, translating a mobile vision and frameless diversity into the static analogues and bounded, constructed distances of a mechanized world. The "panoramic journey" in concept draws from the notions of the machine ensemble or machinic aggregate. It refers to the interaction not only of machine and track but also of the spectator/passenger and message (or the representations of the journey produced by passengers.) This message (which becomes a product) is often primarily the "view"--the world experienced as packaged visual object. The conventions of seeing through metropolitan notions of the picturesque are well known; I explore below the way in which these habits of seeing are related to the modes of transport and production in the machine age.

The journey as a central cultural performance has always been to varying extents constitutive of cultures and thus carries both historic and mythic import. Traditionally a journey garners information, profit, adventure and spiritual or social status. In the development of a literate mass society, the greater production and circulation (at all social levels) of pictures and stories of travel directly affected that performance and its profit. The metaphor of the journey as a life cycle was particularly potent in the religious popular culture of Victorian England. And the development of the steamship journey across the North Atlantic corresponds to the historical journey in that the nineteenth century was in a

period of accelerated transition to mass industrial production and a global information order. This shift required the adaptation of the public as "high capitalism" reached its apex in the late nineteenth century.

The transformation of voyagers to passengers (and the phenomenon of panoramic perception itself) implies a passivity, a link between the machine (vehicle) environment and the wider industrial one. Though not in a direct or causal way, "engines of visualization" may have predisposed the viewer to imagine nature and society in similar ways--in terms of a complete or linear progress toward a precise interlocked structure: society rather than "nature" as a machine for living. Horkheimer notes that it is not only accelerated vehicles which are determined by the mode of production but "the movements in the course of which they are perceived."(Horkheimer 1972, 201) In other words, perception, motion and instruments of observation are all inseparable from the social and historical character of objects.(Horkheimer 1972, 210) In this case the machines of transport were developed in a context of industrial commodity production.

The bourgeois society of this time was described by its critical theorists as establishing a conceptual and material unity. This was underwritten by the scientific tendency to recode reality by separating and rejoining pieces of it, concentrating on some elements "while failing to notice others." This of course is common to all art, as well as science, and to poetry as well as the panorama. But in bourgeois society,

suggests Horkheimer, the process of re-ordering is rationalized or mechanized, and autonomous individuals and discrete events are separated out from historical contexts.(Horkheimer 1972, 210) They are socially re-positioned and identified through the ideological unity of nation, family or normative order.

Production in such a society is, then, the "production of unity" establishing an exchange system or framework for material as well as mental production. Ideals of community are presented in terms of the existing system, accessible in various ways involving imagination and dreams rather than political action. Imaginary voyages in time or space can substitute for real discovery and change. Dreamworlds of mass consumerism align audiences with artificial spaces promising escape into new experience which in fact replicates and reinforces the original.(Horkheimer 1972, 13) Travel was one of these experiences. Critical theory suggests that bourgeois cultural production, as the medium of expression of a social totality, strives for reconciliation between the existing world and its representation.

Transportation as communication

Thought gained lightness.
Harold Innis, Empire and Communications

The term "communication" has had an extensive use in connection with roads and bridges, sea routes, rivers and canals, even before it became transformed into 'information movement' in the electric age.
Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media

The writers and theorists who inform my imagination of the journey are those concerned with the way in which culture and

consciousness is affected by technological change. They include Walter Benjamin and others of the Frankfurt School, Werner Schivelbusch and Dolf Sternberger. Harold Innis and Marshall McLuhan more specifically suggest the relevance of transportation to a study in communication history. While they do not provide conclusive theoretical frameworks, they anchor the present field of inquiry into the role of media forms in cultural history.

McLuhan sees the media which carry goods and information partly in terms of metaphor, a term which as he notes is from the Greek for "to carry across or transport." Each form of transport "not only carries, but translates and transforms, the sender, the receiver and the message."(McLuhan 1964, 91) Speed as it affects various levels of cultural production becomes "the cause of inattention and unawareness of the situation."(McLuhan 1964, 93). If the media is the message, however, and the message is acceleration, it is necessary to ask who is at the wheel.

Innis provides an account of the relation of power, knowledge and the technology of communication. His account of the bias of communication builds from a materialist theory of the staples economy in centre-margin relationships of power. Geography and transportation over water and land were important to the development of empires and nations; the transport of information was, for Innis, closely related to the transport of materials.(1986, 3) An argument for critical thought and intervention in an unstable course based primarily on efficient circulation is echoed by Mumford who sees a new barbarism in the

separation of the critical from mechanical faculties. Critical theory looks for intervention in the ideological stasis of one dominant rationality. Innis associates biases in rationalities with certain media.

According to Innis, media support monopolies of knowledge insofar as characteristics of form, materials and technology favor the conserving or distribution of certain kinds of information. Technology informs and encourages certain types of social organization, uses of science and operations of exchange. (Innis 1991, 22) Temporal biases privilege the past, history and continuity (e.g. an oral/scribal culture). Oral communication relies on concrete concepts, shared standards and a dependency on immediate context and somatic sense. Therefore encounters and information are open to dynamic, adaptive response and change. Though monopolies can evolve in any culture, the oral/chirographic mode according to Innis (followed by Ong) allows more readily for the dialectic capacity to oppose an entrenched, closed system of knowledge and power.

The print form preserves but petrifies dialectic and consensus as it is based on administrative and technological needs of the present and future rather than on conserving forms of the past. Western civilization is seen as effectively "atomized" by the application of machine industry to communication and mass production of literate forms.(Innis 1991, 187) Spatially-ordered cultures are concerned with progress, linear development and mastery over vast spaces (e.g. an industrial imperial order

based on long distance communication, such as Britain in the Victorian and Edwardian eras.) Monopoly capitalism tends to control space, through the creation and management of mass print and electronic networks as well as transportation links. Abstract symbol systems and visual communication become of central authority in such a culture as it moves from local trade to global commerce. Empires, according to Innis, remain in equilibrium only through maintaining a harmonious balance between values of time and space.(see Innis 1991, 129; 1986, 168)

The modern journey as a form of cultural production and communication exhibits a tension between modes of static and dynamic power and knowledge. Innis cautioned that time-biased values are present, though not authoritative, in a secular space-biased order. The pattern of the journey at the turn of the century is evoked in contemporary philosophy's concern with mobility: metaphors of origins, points of departure and utopian dreams inform a spatial passage with temporal anxieties. The cultural production of the ocean journey, involving a complex range of tasks, observations and skills involves not "just the conscious systems of ideas and beliefs but the whole lived social process."(Williams 1981, 109)

Raymond Williams demonstrates that residual elements of culture (in an industrial context, those of the previous agrarian, pre-literate society) become subordinate to dominant forms, such as the bourgeois European literary tradition, which reinterpret and dilute them(ibid., 123) Residual knowledge, like

a ship lost at sea, carries meaning muted in the present; the music, superstition and rituals of sailing ship culture persist but lose authority in the age of the steamship. Such "marginal" knowledge, however, is not objectively irrelevant but comes to appear so according to power relations. Culture is a constitutive process.

On a ship, for instance, to be responsive to the real conditions of a voyage, the somatic skills, folk memory and other knowledge gained by sailors through direct contact with nature and the machine, must be to some extent captured in maps and charts, the abstract systems of navigation. But the steamship "conquered" rather than adapted to the conditions of the ocean journey by standardizing and rationalizing motive power in the interests of a swift predictable trip. In this environment, the role of people at sea changed too. No longer did seafarers

> harness the power of wind and water with rope and canvas, collaborating with vast stores of energy...beyond their capacity to create or even to control. Now men drew energy from coal and steam, driving iron and steel through the resistance of wind and water.(Sager 1984, 245)

This tended to remove both sailors and passengers from a sense that direct knowledge of and response to the sea was still of consequence. Those who commanded the ships now employed advanced instruments which seemed to also eliminate contingency by making all aspects of the voyage visible. In the Victorian empire's drive for space, the performance of travel became increasingly mediated by the information networks and instruments of centralized authority which organized this energy in a global

market. For passengers the mechanical mediation of distance through steam-powered literature and images became enmeshed in the physical performance of travel.

This paradoxical situation--a visual bias that encourages a kind of blindness to certain dimensions--raises the question of the depth of vision available as we look through a selected lens or instrument at the horizon. Our preference for that view is not determined by that lens in itself but influenced by our adaptation to and pleasure in the associated effect on our vision. The effort to control access to the view is essential to maintaining the appearance of a unified, complete system of order. The representations which a society constructs to shape a trajectory through time and space acquire power and abstract value "by shedding aspects of their real construction." (Williams, Raymond 1990, 80) As historical reality and struggle comes to be represented in the political interests of a dominant group, the present is "naturalized" as a modern myth, made into a static surface. The surface of the sea was "domesticated" by the power of steam, as were concepts of geographical or historical distance by the seductive but ultimately illusory distances of the panorama.

Geographic and cultural space in a primarily visual print and typographic culture relies for meaning on constructions of observation and visual data suitable to a transposition to text. Imbalance in power and knowledge does not occur because certain things are necessarily eliminated (annihilated) but because they are attentuated, made two dimensional in being transposed to

representation. It is the distance between theory and fact, or the calm, ordered surface and the turbulent depths of a voyage. In Innis' terms, the values of time (tradition) and those of space (progress) were in disequilibrium at the turn of the century.

Countless histories exist of the technology of steam, the economic and political organization of British and European maritime power and the narratives of disaster. Far fewer writers speak of the pervasive effects of industrial order upon cultural process at sea. Schivelbusch terms the railway journey the "industrialization of time and space," and (with Sternberger and Benjamin) provides the key notion of panoramic perception. Eric Sager observes that shipboard life did not so much escape or reproduce conditions on shore as constitute "industrialization as it occurred at sea." C.L.R. James also sees the ship as simultaneously an extension and an allegory of mass industrial society, partly in terms of the new technologies of communication influencing patterns of knowledge, narrative and social being.

Rosalind Williams examines the resonance between nineteenth century industrial technology and contemporary "imaginary journey" narratives. Stephen Kern sees the voyage of the Titanic as the consequence of certain technological values of speed and simultanaeity. It is Lewis Mumford who most consistently sees the steamship as significant in the history of technics, a complex of artifact, skill, social interaction, patterns of

energy and productive power. He charts this according to typologies of energy and techics, whereas Innis and Ong use those of literacy and orality.[5]

The transition from sail to steam on the oceans was slow and the two overlapped until the early twentieth century. Similarly, orders of pre-industrial and industrial knowledge overlapped; the question is one of the emerging dominance of one media in the struggle for social and economic power. Mumford noted that the categories of time and space underwent crucial change in the first century of the machine's existence. As the human imagination extended to the concept of control on the abstract level and to increasing dependence on the machine, there were consequences for habits of thought and discipline. As it rationalized space, motion and subjects, capitalist production tended to eliminate (or contain) all but what was necessary to power structures.(Mumford 1962, 31)[6] The mid-nineteenth century steamship passenger rides a new machine through a changing landscape while attempting to record the experience of accelerated space with the instruments of a slower chirographic culture. The changes in the conventions of observation and expression in the context of the steamship voyage were in many

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5 Though various typologies of energy and media are drawn further by their authors into the age of electricity and broadcasting, I confine myself here to the age of steam and the mass press.

6 Schivelbusch suggests implications of this order: "The conditioning of the individual in the military context can now be seen as the earliest model of all subsequent and similar conditioning in the civilian economic world."(Schivelbusch 1977, 160) Mumford makes a similar point about mass discipline in the military and monastic contexts in Technics and Civilization.

important ways those of daily life by the turn of the century. The journey (and the story of the journey) lost its aura as adventure and became valuable in so far as it was mechanically reproducible over time and space.

The "Floating World": Structures of Exchange

The industrial-era metropolitan world, imbued with an array of new commodities, travellers and media forms, appeared to many as a montage or mosaic; its transport systems, while "unifying" space in economic and political terms, on a cultural and social level meant a certain atomization. Capitalist spatiality, exhibiting the system's generalized reduction of everything to exchange values, is defined by Nicos Poulantzas as a dynamic of isolation and reunification, a drama of

> separation and division in order to unify...segmentation in order to totalize; individualization in order to obliterate differences and otherness."(Berland 1992, 44)

A structuralist approach to text and context examines the passage between appearances and underlying, invisible frameworks. Meaning derives from relationships between residual and dominant elements in a signifying system--the position, difference and identity of points within a network. In the cultural production of the journey, different ships, texts, ports and passengers establish the perameters of the journey, important to meaning not simply in themselves but in their relationships to each other.

However, the journey like a story or language does not simply move between poles of identity or dichotomy but admits

contingency and unforeseen developments based in materiality. Bourgeois travel accounts are potential sources of revealing tension between the imperial order and its official stories. The "floating life" of representations must be anchored back into the social realities of their production (Williams, Raymond 1990, 180) and incorporate unforeseen or contingent events. Historical materialism serves to ground inquiry into exchange relationships and concrete structures and experience. The mode of material production, as Marx suggested, determines the character of consciousness and social, political and intellectual processes in general. As the cultural "superstructure" is industrialized with the growth of monopoly capitalism, ideological and productive processes increasingly interact, as in the commercial enterprise of the mass media. (Garnham 131) The travel industry developed based on ideologies of freedom and circulation while contributing to increasing structural constraints on mobility.[7]

Critical theorists address the oppositions between individual rationality and freedom and the productive relations and constraints of society. The unity between these levels is illusory and critics aim at "gaps" or contradictions within the dynamics of exchange dominating bourgeois social reality. (Horkheimer 1972, 225) Through its institutions and symbolic systems a "social order is communicated, reproduced,

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7 As one effect, for instance, a transport monopoly meant the standardization of routes, services, directions and destinations to which the consumer must adapt and which must be shared with hundreds of others. These features were promoted, glamourized and naturalized by the rhetoric of the mass press.

experienced and explored."(Williams 1981, 13) Ship passengers as members of the public were producers of the journey in the sense that they were participants in the "construction of the social present."(Horkheimer 1972, 211) But the journey was linked to the standardization and commodification of social life and culture within mass systems of administration and production. As a "culture industry," travel transformed experience as well as products into commodities.

Most commentaries on industrial technology in the period "when old phantasmagorias were new" do not include ships in their views of productive machines. Ships were key vehicles of connection, transforming objects, journeys and people into commodities in circulation. But they tend to sail over the horizon into historical invisibility, or to rest as moored icons in our mediascape. Their function then becomes fetishized or mystified, open to romantic suggestion rather than historical analysis. Travel literature provides a more mobile viewpoint from the deck in mid-ocean.

The culture of travel, including its literature, is part of modernism's effort to provide a stable, fixed point of view in dialectic with the dynamic blur and flash of the world. We navigate not only with prospective media which "bind space" but with retrospective memory and cumulative experience. A mobile imagination articulated through advanced instruments is directed, ideally, with an eloquent hindsight recalling historical passages. Travel as it evolved in a period when "temporal displacement was projected as a standard" (Grossberg,

Nelson and Treichler 1992, 16) must be seen as a normative or constitutive area of modern cultural production rather than as an anomalous zone of diversion or transition.[8]

The Passenger as Industrial Subject

In the accelerated conditions of mass transit, Schivelbusch demonstrates, people came to feel like "human parcels...arriving as they left, untouched by the space traversed."(Schivelbusch 1977, 39) As geographical space itself became systematized the intervals between places were effectively "skipped over" (or slept through.) Being on the train seemed "really being nowhere."(Schivelbusch 1977, 58) On the steamship in mid-ocean, this effect was intensified: passengers were not only "really nowhere" but in the middle of visual nowhere as well, a double dreamspace. Industrial discipline involved what Langdon Winner has called "technological somnambulism" or a tendency to daydream through crucial processes in our lives.(Winner 1977, 10)

But even though we may recall these journeys as mass-produced experience, we must see the passenger as not simply cargo but as

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8 Different intellectual and political traditions responded to cultural change in industrial capitalist society, "coding it in terms of a vision of the modern or of the mass...In each case, the modern implied an alienation from some--imaginary--past (or future) which was, in fact, the projection of a position and measure of judgement." This is what is meant by displacement as cultural norm. Culture can refer to "the values that were, in a variety of ways, held up against the modern...natural growth, organic community, a particular class vison of the proper social standards of behaviour, the imaginative creativity of the romantic (individual or) artist" as well as to a privileged body of intellectual and imaginative work. Culture, as Williams perceived, is finally a "long revolution" of a whole way of life.(Grossberg et. al. 1992, 16)

people struggling to find a position amid shifting scenery. The nineteenth century audience learned to project into an industrial mediascape (panoramic ensemble) of environment, representation and technology. This experience of mechanized travel essentially was the "decisive mode of the initiation of people into their new status in the system of commodity production"(Trachtenberg 1977, xiv) and of the transposition of voyagers to a mass of passengers. The "panoramic journey" by steamship revolved around the passenger as the eye and voice of a rationalized ensemble, with the implicit problem of incorporating a direct critical awareness within an environment that favored the "gliding" or passive gaze.

The pressure to capture the journey for circulation in certain formats had for generations shaped a model of "authentic" traveller as aware, educated, observant writer. The spoils of knowledge or power brought back from the journey recall the gold or bride-wealth earned in more ancient western (and other) mythologies of the journey. In these stories, the point of departure (the community) is renewed and transformed by the knowledge produced in a cyclic quest.(Frye 1990, 213) But the modern global community is more directly transformed by the migrant labour of those on the social margins, including the colonist, exile or refugee.(Leed 1991, 32) This journey to the border (which the sea has traditionally been in relation to the shore) is rarely one of cyclic return or reconciliation like that of the business or leisure traveller. The potential of the

border to allow or model new insights and social forms was limited under "high capitalism" by, among other things, the new global communications networks whereby (economic) borders and their habitues became fulcrums or nodes of the centre (and eventually of new centres.)

Although most "bourgeois, scientific, commercial, aesthetic travellers" like others moved within highly determined circuits (Clifford 1992, 197) they had access to publication and the status of the author. Their textual organization of experience gained canonical form, "caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts...a node within a network" or discursive field.(Foucault 1972, 23). Even the elite actor on the maritime stage did not perform a voyage so much as enter an existing drama through fixed doors according to the scripts of map, schedule, guidebook or memoir. If those with less access to the system also had utopian visions on the water, any record they may have made would have been far less likely to be published.

The structure of passage entails the imposition of order on mobile experience through a sense of progress or sequence. The "mind of the traveller" constructs general pictures out of a variety of moving images. The literature of travel resolves evolving sequence into authoritative meaning through a formal, linear recitation of places, stations, cities and distances. Narration (the process) connects these into a whole (the narrative.)(see Leed 1992, 73-4) The world observed is changed by the perspective of a viewer in motion, who can grasp only

surfaces, exteriors and lines. This attenuated view of the world is useful to western art and science, both of which inform the canons of observation and narrative which shape nineteenth century travel literature.

Dreamspace II: the passage

The order offered by mobility is easy to miss "if viewed from the central values of rootedness and sessility."(Leed 1991, 58.) The space of the liner was, by the *fin de siecle*, not really a detached interval from shoreward reality. The pervasive onshore "dreamspaces" (public venues of leisure entertainments, visual spectacles, and the literature that induced imaginary journeys) extended to sea in the nineteenth century. The interval of passage was rehearsed in the daily experience which oiled the wheels of mass circulation.

Victor Turner's account of passage involves departure (the separation of people from a previous condition); passage (their transition as passengers in a state of limbo or detachment,)and arrival (their incorporation into a new state ritually mediated through primarily symbolic formal actions.)(Turner 1974, 232) In the ritual pre-literate context, the liminal state of passage releases some understanding of existing structural patterns as based on underlying visual and sensory modes of being. Where scope for leisure is limited, ritual allows going outside the everyday so that "passengers and crew" can contemplate the mysteries of life on "shore" as dramatized by those of the passage.(Turner 1974, 241) The force and relevance of this

depends on the context of passage as separate: the culturally-reinforced sense that this interval is special, set apart for insight and understanding. If the experience is seen as part of secular routine (as it was coming to be by the cabin class) it will lose this ritual potential.

Turner specifically states that the ritual context of passage cannot be extended to such secular events as "passengers at play on an ocean voyage."(Turner 1974, 241.)[9] Among the bourgeois class a condition of leisure actually is a pivot of (rather than a sacred interval in) daily life. The "mysteries of life," besides, have been effectively controlled by science, the "dream of reason." The industrial environment of the ship reproduces conditions on shore by extending them to sea. Everything conspires to maintain the panoramic dreamspace and shore need not mean waking.

McLuhan suggests that a jet passenger, like the Edwardian inhabitants of the floating hotels, "will begin to travel only after he lands."(McLuhan 1964, 95) However, this is a misleading division between everyday space and the mobile industrial environment. If we look at travel from the deck of the ship, or the view of the passenger, it is difficult to cite the moment of transition between states of departure, passage and arrival. We cannot generalize that the passage is a dead zone where nothing happens, any more than a hotel is only a rest zone. Both qualify as "dreamspaces" because there information is ordered in the

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[9] The "medium here is the message."

exchanges of imagination, vision and passage through space.

As connections over vast space were consolidated, the meaning and depth of human interaction changed. The audience remained suspended in historical transit between departure from tradition and arrival in a technological utopia. As the discourses of politics, ideology, science and aesthetics all intersected with technics travellers developed new modes of behaviour and perception. Conditions of travel, like those of mass entertainment, placed strangers in proximity while encouraging them to construct social distance. They stratified and separated while they apparently united, and decontextualized experience from traditional modes of expression. In the words of a contemporary, in

> the cheerful caravans of the trains and steamships, one's affections tend to go out to a greater number of objects and individuals and consequently become less intense or durable in each case...life and affections...lose in depth what they gain in range."(Schivelbusch 1977, 71)[10]

As the transport revolution broke open normal surroundings for a "lightning trip to dreamlands" one could "conjure away the trip

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10 Schivelbusch cites Constantin Pequeur, a contemporary writer, and goes on to describe how the experience of the railway journey brought to the everyday world what was for decades attempted by illusionistic spectacles, a collage of disparate aspects of experiences as an "opulence of ever-changing images" within a surrounding single framework. (Schivelbusch 1977, 63) Emerson's 1843 journal:"Dreamlike travelling on the railroad. The towns which I pass...make no distinct impression. They are like pictures on a wall. The more, than you can read all the way in a car a French novel."(Schivelbsuch 1977, 57) Benjamin discusses the arcade panorama machines, rotundas of sweeping views seen through peepholes by observers who then had the sensation of accelerated movement through the world.(see Buck-Morss 1987, 232) The sense of motion experienced primarily as visual passage through a picture is the phantasmagoric passage we later encounter in shipboard journals.

and not even know one was travelling."(Virilio 1989:46) Virilio suggests that optical illusions came to seem those of life, and "locomotive illusion the truth of vision."(Virilio 1991, 50)

The next chapter concerns the mediascape of the transport industries and the English literary markets. The high-speed steam press and its telegraphic and photographic sources of information, along with new optical devices and descriptive travel accounts, all helped to shape and accustom a "new kind of observer-consumer" to the "visual annihilation" of conventional time and space.(Crary 1991, 14)

The panoramic ensemble of machine, environment, representation and viewer did encourage a sense of suspended "flying" or dreaming through the world. The "panoramic journey" produced a sense of *deja vu*: a reverberation between the traveller as reader and the world as image or text. The viewer emerging from the imaginary voyages of the panoramas and illustrated papers might well feel that reality had nothing to add to the experience except perhaps the frisson of *deja vu*. The powerful extension into our own *fin de siecle* of the abstractions of exchange puts us all on a shifting deck. The heart of the sailor is stirred by transit, but where there is little control over the projection the dream becomes a nightmare.

These travels by steam keep on shaking the world--in which there is really nothing left but railway stations--like a kaleidoscope...the flying salon presents one with ever new coteries, even before one has been able to really deal with the old ones..
Joseph von Eichendorff, WERKE

In the old world the east the Suez canal
The new by its mighty railroad spanned
The seas inlaid with eloquent gentle wires...
The oceans to be cross'd, the distant brought near
The lands to be welded together...
not for trade or transportation only,
But in God's name, and for thy sake O soul.
Walt Whitman, "Passage to India"

A journey starts from and ends at "home"--but what if that home itself is mobile? In an epoch of change and uncertainty, a fervent vision of industrial order and progress co-existed with a nostalgia for tradition, indicating a deep ambivalence toward the consequences of technological rationality. The turn of the century possessed a "strong, confident sense of the future, tempered by the concern that things were rushing much too fast." (Kern 1983, 129) It was becoming more and more difficult to model a stable spatial or temporal "point of departure" even in the imagination. In a more obviously random universe modern culture approaches what has been termed a "horizon of invisibility" at which

those passing through cannot put their experience into familiar words and images because the languages they have inherited are inadequate to the new worlds they inhabit. They therefore

express themselves in metaphors, paradoxes, contradictions and abstractions..."(Hardison 1989, 5)[1]

Before beginning a discussion of the literature of travel, it is necessary to sketch the networks that made the attempt at articulating and visualizing the modern journey not only challenging but compelling.

Transportation: British sea power and the industrial environment

Walt Whitman's verse exemplifies the exhilarating contemporary sense of emancipation into the "body electric" of the global networks, seen as dazzling panoramas ("tableaus") of industrial achievement. The Suez canal was finally

...initiated, open'd/ I see the procession of steamships... I mark from a deck the strange landscape, the pure sky, the level sand in the distance/ I pass swiftly the picturesque groups, the workmen gather'd...(Whitman 1876)

The passion for circulation as a means of unification found more prosaic expression in the important commercial triad of the railroad, steamship and telegraphy.(Schivelbusch 1977, 194)

In the course of the nineteenth century, a moral quest for "space" incorporated material and spiritual values. The industrial European landscape was composed of vast, sooty factory zones, thundering steam engines and railroads, in

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[1] Hardison cites here Stephane Mallarme's influential concrete poem "Un coup de des" which uses the image of a tossing ship: "...the abyss whitened slack maddened on a slope slides desperately a wing its own already fallen because the flight was badly planned and covering the surges just shaving the billows deep within resumes the shade buried in the deep....so much that the shell of a ship pitched from side to side..." (The content, not the form is reproduced.)

contrast to which the sea (though in fact a primary medium of providing this order) seemed a refuge. Many tenets of the Romantic sublime were associated with the ocean: vastness, size, power, solitude, depth and infinity.(Williams, Rosalind 1990, 83-86) Most of these were also associated with the British empire for which the sea was a potent medium of cultural exchange. Trade, the "last secular romance," is the "model on which the human imagination itself operates in imagining the world."(Simpson 1982, 190.) In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the association of mobility with the "right to the sea" compensated some Europeans for increasing restrictions on shore. However, as the passenger trade developed in the Victorian era, the huge liner became more obviously an extended, circulating fragment of society. The ship was seen as a castle, a cathedral of the industrial age, a hotel or town.

The North Atlantic route to North America from northwest Europe gained importance as colonial staples trades after the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed into important commercial concerns. In the 1850s, trade between Britain and North America amounted to fifty percent of all Atlantic passages. Linkage between staples industries, maritime transportation and the timber industry led to increased demand for shipping capacity on the Atlantic trade routes. Between 1850-1911, Britain controlled one third of world shipping and

was the major imperial power through the connection between her navy and merchant shipping.[2]

The skein of vessel tracks, trunk and branch lines on the world's oceans appeared, by the early twentieth century, as the "circulatory system through which passes the greater part of the commerce of all nations."(Smith 1908, 54)[3] International trade by ship and train moved between certain manufacturing centres and ports with branch lines delivering passengers trade and traffic. The steamship by the 1890s could measure the journey in days, rather than the weeks or months of the sailers. The transition from sail to steam on the oceans and the emergence of the public carrier and liner were slow. Expectations of steam power matured in the 1880s with greater speed, transport capacity, and reduced coal consumption. A sharp drop in freight rates, iron prices and services around the turn of the century permitted regularity, predictability and increase in the size of ships. In the following decades a rash of accidents, a rate war in the steerage business and races between huge liners combined to raise public interest in the Atlantic.(Bowen 1930, 107) The largest moving structures in the world, White Star's sister

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[2]By 1914 about half world shipping tonnage was on the British register, most of it built since 1895. The empire had an early and strong industrial power position, well-distributed coaling stations and a strong coal export trade. (Palmer 1985, 95-107) Also important were the availability of cheap leavour and the government's willingness to subsidize steamship lines.(Safford 1985, 80; Smith 1908, 126) For an overview of these aspects of the British shipping economy see also Pollock and Robertson 1966; Sager 1984, 85, 259; Bowen 1930, 107.)

[3]Most trunk routes described a great circle in the north Altantic at about 60 degrees longitude. Over one-sixth world shipping was involved here by 1908.(Smith 1908, 57)

ships Olympic and Titanic, were built in 1910-11.

Large ships necessitated organizational change to ensure the presence of cargoes upon arrival in port.[4] Shipping amalgamations began to form around 1900. In 1902, International Mercantile Marine Corporation, a gigantic shipping trust, merged over one hundred shipping lines, mainly American and British interests.(Bowen 1930, 263)[5] The consolidation of rail and steamship companies seemed a natural extension of the railroad across the sea. Progress seemed the equivalent in history of mechanical motion through space."(Mumford 1962, 184) With the opening of the Suez Canal and the coming of the submarine cable, British shipping had important informational--as well as mechanical and ideological--advantages.(Harley 1985, 176)

Marine telegraphy was overwhelmingly British in the late century. Lloyds of London and the Baltic Exchange were powerful institutions and Britain could rely on the "indivisibility of the informational network and the worldwide intelligence and institutions to facilitate the use of that information."(Harley 1985, 184) Communication technology facilitated the British empire's hold over geographic and political resources. Until the

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[4] The Atlantic cable made possible tighter control of vessels by owners throughout the world and provided the information and communication necessary for more efficient utilization of shipping capacity. Before mid-century, the fastest communication media available were mail steamers and the railroad, making deployment of vessels to distant markets inefficient.(Harley 1985, 178)

[5]Despite widespread protests about such cartels, they seem to actually have benefited the business as a whole by alleviating cutthroat competition, stabilizing rates and providing regular, frequent service, all justified with promises of greater passenger safety.(Safford 1985, 72)

telegraph it was difficult to assess the most efficient deployment of vessels, cargoes and carriers among distant ports and markets. In the late 1860s and 1870s, cabled instructions had taken days rather than weeks to arrive to a ship from its owner. The captain, who had had considerable management function became in the 1880s and 1890s more a mediator of central decision-making within a world business network.(Sager 1984, 81) The submarine cable was thus significant in establishing the primacy of European-based transport industry. Large fleets could be run from distant outports and the world "ceased to have dimensions as far as they affect international sales..." In the words of a contemporary, "codes of pregnant words" brought people of all cities side by side.(Smith 1908, 82)

Like the railway journey the steamship voyage which was at bottom "an event of spatial relocation in the service of production" enters nineteenth century literature "as an event of travel and social encounter."(Trachtenberg 1977, xiv) Certain conventions of expression, observation and behaviour extended from the sailing ships to the steamship journey. Earlier explorers had produced literature and information communicating the world to the public. In the Victorian era, however, the general public joined the excursion, producing travelogues very much with an eye to the transport companies and mass press which would fund their work. Those who took trains to the country or ships across seas began to collect not only specimens and souvenirs but "views" and memoirs. Vehicles of visual and sensory experience, whether ships, industrial exhibitions or

arcades, instructed passengers in a consumer's "lesson of things." The habits of seeing engendered in these accelerated, visually-oriented dreamspaces adapted to features of the industrial environment which surrounded them in the cities and on the journey.

Its modes of representation mediated the British empire's process of importing people into a scene prepared in the "wilderness." Nature and human beings were articulated in new, decisive ways by the communication technologies of the day: print/telegraphic communication and mechanized travel.[6]

The "expensive delicate ship": industrial environment in motion

....everything turns away
Quite leisurely from the disaster; the ploughman may
Have heard the splash, the forsaken cry
But for him it was not an important failure...
....and the expensive delicate ship that must have seen
Something amazing, a boy falling out of the sky
Had somewhere to get to and sailed calmly on.
W.H. Auden, "Musee des Beaux Arts"

The steam engine's domination over the industrial landscape "introduced a new system of behaviour: one not only of travel and communication but of thought, of feeling, of expectation." (Trachtenberg 1977, xiii) Henry Adams predicted in 1873 that the lines of "force, space and time" would meet in the ocean liner--as an elegant product of industry, science and art, the "surest line of triangulation to the future."(Davie 1987, 33)

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[6]There are a host of works which deal with the encounter of Europeans with the North American landscape and peoples (see e.g. McGregor 1985) but often such accounts omit the role in perception of technology.

The "expensive delicate ship," often compared to the exposition pavilions of Europe, was a sign of many things to many people, an economic investment manifested as a dreamworld of rare luxury. The "index of power" and prestige, proposed by Innis as a way in which power is made visible by a culture, was now in motion.

The machines that were intrinsic to new ways of life also carried a sense of threat, and technical disasters seemed to sound warnings about the course to the future. However, periodic disasters were more than a resounding "fate theme" amid the fantastic symphony of the Industrial Revolution. As one 1812 critic observed, industrial failures such as mine disasters are reminders to a complacent society of the "work that goes on, out of sight, night and day."(Williams, Rosalind 1990, 90) Ships out of sight of shore had always been vulnerable to disaster. On the steamship, however, motive and labour power were further banished out of sight, below the upper decks. The ambiguous nature of the passenger liner as site of both material production and of fantasy of freedom points to the close connection developing in the nineteenth century between economic circulation and cultural values of mobility.(Schivelbusch 1977, 194) Marx linked the commodity in circulation to the fetishistic realms of superstition and religion. Commodities appear to take on a life and meaning of their own as they are advertised, imagined, bought and sold. The apparently objective exchange value they accrue serves to conceal the real conditions of their

production. Such objects then function as abstract, transcendental configurations of meaning on economic and cultural levels.(Marx 1906, 81-85)

A ship became a "liner" when it ran according to scheduled routes and times, as part of a commodified transportation system. It becomes a symbolic commodity as much as a medium of transportation as its value in use and in symbolic exchange become entwined in the journey. Itself the space of exchange, the journey also becomes a commodity--a "travel product"--whose exchange value is confirmed and celebrated in the literature of travel. Passengers in circulation--customers as cargo--are also objectified as they themselves are exchanged between stations (which are also "dreamspaces" like ships: places of circulation and exchange of objects and meanings.)

In "elevating people to the level of commodities..." the entertainment (e.g.,travel) industry profits by their alienation, their wonder in the production process that separates them from themselves and each other. The phantasmagoria of the period's arcades, panoramas, expositions presented an emancipatory industrial scene with the figure of the working person as customer in the foreground.(Benjamin 1978, 152) The passage across the sea also becomes a fantastic visit to an "exposition" where the dream of escape positions the passenger in another industrial scene. The sense of dazzle and glamour served as a substitute for the aura of adventure which would not survive the reproduction of the journey in the era's

mass migrations.

The loss of "aura" (or original, unique presence in time and space) was related by Benjamin to the mechanical reproduction of cultural artifacts. Copies could be made of experiences as well as of objects or of auratic natural or cultural spots (through the production of postcards and the like). Directly and indirectly, mechanical reproduction of travel detached objects, experience and people from their context of origin in the course of the industrial revolution.(Benjamin 1968, 220) Situations which would have been out of reach for certain classes, for sailing ships, or for information, were now opened with the steamship. The North Atlantic journey, once an individual (or group) event shaped by the terrain and by necessity, over the course of the nineteenth century repeated over and over for masses of unrelated passengers, lost its aura as adventure. The depreciation of presence or meaning--loss of a "sense of place"--depends on the elimination of key elements and contexts, as occurs in the detached response of spectators to "a landscape which passes in review" before them.(Benjamin 1968, 221). Habits of seeing in a gliding gaze over a surface were linked to habits of travel and urban experience in bourgeois society.

A steamship, though an industrial product, retained magic through attribution of a unique spirit. Though it was technically possible to reproduce a ship, in fact the great majority were, even if only slightly, different from all others. The ship could be perceived as a "work of art" in that it was still, at the turn of the century, a one-off construction often

decorated as well as built with superb craftsmanship and skill. This was part of the charm of ocean travel in itself, and why certain ships commanded great loyalty : passengers as a unique "home," a place of (intermittent) re-contextualization in a shifting world. So although they were vehicles of industrial exchange they also fueled imaginative and emotional associations.

Romantic tenets had associated powerful natural structures and objects with the sublime.(Briggs 1982, 73)[7] As the nineteenth century progressed, aesthetic vocabularies of the demonic and sublime redirected the familiar Romantic union of "awe and dread, terror and attraction" (Leiss 1990, 23-25), toward technics. Up to the early nineteenth century, ocean traffic had been "mimetic of natural phenomena" as ships drifted in wind and water currents. But steam power and the replacement of live with synthetic materials dissolved the mimetic relationship, emancipating passengers from a sense of emotional as well as physical identification with nature. As "eotechnic" (wood, wind and water) power gave way to paleotechnic (coal and iron complexes) vehicles could progress in straight lines across the sea.(Mumford 1962, 12)[8] As over the latter part of the

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[7]Romantics also associated machines with the sublime (see Wordsworth) and later champions of machine aesthetics may be seen as champions of the Romantic spirits. However, industrial forms were not at the time of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries construed as environment. That is the presence of machines could be kept at a distance for observation, without setting canonical conditions for aesthetics or life. They did not constitute an environment at first but came into the landscape on sufferance of existing orders rather than appearing to immediately eradicate them.

[8] See also Schivelbusch 1977, 4.

century mechanical travel became the norm, the literary rhetoric of awe and terror at sea begins to fade. Mid-century writers describe steamships in organic terms as animated symbols of the power of life, of demonic forces, of nature in service or in chaos. Typical is Baudelaire's imagined ship, a "vast immense creature...an animal endowed with genius."(Bachelard 1964, 193) The pages of the "gospel of steam" were lit by subterranean/submarine fire, a symbol of material progress. (James 1978, 7)

For Rosalind Williams, the industrial-era imaginary journey of discovery is connected to the underground (mines, hidden worlds, caves) as a type of the technological environment. Two basic types of technological environment developed in the nineteenth century, one invading nature and one sealed off from it. The quality of enclosure is allied to that of verticality, the aspect of ascent and descent.(Williams, Rosalind 1990, 114) In the train the passenger both invaded nature and was sealed off from it by mechanical form and propulsion; but verticality was not a real factor and a familiar (though accelerated) landscape could at least be scanned from the windows. The ocean-going steamship is also an enclosed environment which invades and is sealed off from nature, but, significantly, the passenger also loses the daily sight of landscape. The axis of ascent and descent, however, was an unnerving reality. Sunken cities and shipwrecks were common devices in "imaginary journeys" to other worlds.(Williams, Rosalind 1990,10) Beneath the ship lie the

depths with its archaic mermaids, sirens and monsters, the first cabin's imaginary counterparts to the urban prostitutes, entertainers and working girls.[9]

The industry that opened the earth to mines and railroad tunnels (and the sea to passenger travel) revealed imaginative juxtapositions not answered by traditional imagery.(Williams 1990, 17) Progress was connected to the machine, and imbued the literature read on board the speeding trains and ships. Benjamin sees the Paris of Baudelaire's poems as a dreaming, submerged city where primeval and modern elements seem to float and mingle in the ambiguous wish-images, forms and experiences of industrial production.(Benjamin 1978, 157)[10] The ambiguous collective dreams of the bourgeois and working class consumers met in traffic buildings and dreamspaces of the industrial environment, where the arcades could seem "both house and stars" and the steamship carried both the dying world and the new, the forms of the resonant sublime and those of the effervescent fantasy. But any sirens heard singing on these voyages were probably on contract in the first class lounge.

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[9] See Auerbach 1982. For a discussion of sexual order and reform societies see Strange, Carolyn, "From modern Babylong to a city upon a hill: the Toronto Social Survey Commission of 1915 and the search for sexual order in the city" in Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History. eds. Hall, Roger and William Westfall, Laurel Sefton MacDowell. Dundurn Press, Toronto and Oxford 1988.

[10] "These images are wishful fantasies, and in them the collective seeks both the preserve and to transform the inchoateness of the social product and the deficiencies in the social system of production...In the dream in which...that which is to follow appears in image, the latter appears wedded to elements from prehistory, that is, of a classless society."(Benjamin 1978,148)

Around the turn of the century a sense of the urban fairyland as "artificial infinity," superseded the industrial imaginary which had teemed with unleashed demonic energies. (Williams, Rosalind 1990, 83) Though *fin de siecle* liners were still fueled by coal, electricity illuminated many upper decks. Both publicity and passengers' accounts of late century luxury liners tend mainly toward descriptions of the brilliant and comfortable appointments. Social notes and calculations of speed and route replace awe at the coal furnaces, engines and propellors below--the underground of the journey, as carefully bordered in the accounts as were the edges of the panorama. The panoramic world suspended in the newly-spun traffic lines was in reality still anchored by a traditional social pattern, the steamship decks stratified by class. The ship itself is an industrial dreamspace not because it escapes from the everyday world but because, like the panorama, it embodies it in a compelling, apparently static blend of history and mythic meaning.

A sense of order rather than barely-contained energy could be located in the mechanical "units and series" of industry: the steamship's "derricks, ropes, stanchions and ladders...close at hand in the night, when the hard shadows mingle obliquely with the hard white shapes..."(Mumford 1962, 334) Natural forms had mingled in the perception with those of industry. The ocean steamship "could awaken emotion as well as the harp or the war horse."(Mumford 1962, 330) As nature had been conceptually aligned by European science with orderly sequences, the universe

itself seemed "...fulfilled and justified when ships came and went with the regularity of heavenly bodies."(Mumford 1962, 133-4) Though bourgeois finance was also part of this cosmic order, for most people it took the mundane form of the unvarying regularity of complex automation. The ability to read signs, shop notices and newspapers took the place of sensory and motor training of artisans in an agricultural economy.(Mumford 1962, 173-181) The industrial de-emphasis of autonomy and skill in workers, or the division of human motive power from cooperative thought and labour is for Mumford a sign of barbarism. When found in the stokehold this is a "grave danger signal" but when it appears on the bridge it means nothing less than "speedy shipwreck."(Mumford 1962, 302) Passengers of the mobile industrial environment were also subject, albeit in different degree, to its discipline.

Industrial travel: "...much more at home"

Of all tools used in the shadow of the moon men are the most apt to get out of order. (Herman Melville, in James 1978, 14)

The history of mechanized travel is significant less as the advance of communication technology than as the development of social processes which shape and are shaped by their use. The realization in the context of the accelerated vehicle that one no longer felt like a person but like a commodity indicates some awareness of an assimilation into a new process: that of the accelerated circulation of goods.(Schivelbusch 1977, 193) Like other aspects of the exchange system, shipboard operations and relations were social artifacts in themselves, "created by men

and not by ships."(Sager 1984, 5-6) As indicated above, the intellectual establishment of the day was coming to oppose nature to the culture of technical knowledge, "based on literate modes and expertise relying on technical documents."(Marvin 7) Sensory or bodily (somatic) experience came to be associated with naive folk wisdom, and at sea this was especially true with the increasing primacy of print and electric media.

Industrialization at sea had consequences for skill or craft in the transition from sail to steam power. Skill involves a coordination of perception, manual facility, expertise and judgement in the process of production.(Sager 1984, 9)[11] Mariners had learned their craft through direct, cumulative observation and experience of maritime wind and water conditions. Now the master mariner was accredited by an academy upon his mastery of printed records, the applied scientific knowledge of navigators and hydrographers; thus, essential knowledge was increasingly the sole preserve of the master.[12] The officers and engineers (and elite passengers) were physically placed amidships in the latter part of the century, near the rooms with the charts and wireless, while sailors and the steerage passengers went astern or to the stokehold to await

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[11] Industrial capitalism affected such complexes through management and division of labour. The product of the transport industries, says Sager, is not a material commodity but a service.(**Sager** 1984, 10) Schivelbusch states that the journey, however, did become a commodity through its marketing, objectification and circulation. Though there are significant differences between the merchant and the passenger ship, the operation of the steamship involves similar divisions of power, skill and knowledge.

[12] See Sager 1984, 35, 92; also Pollock and Robertson 1979, for a discussion of academies and institutions of maritime accreditation.

orders.(Sager 1984, 249)

C.L.R.James sees Melville's Pequod as "the voyage of modern civilization seeking its destiny," in a crisis of humanity despite (or because of) its mastery of arts and sciences. The educated, totalitarian captain (as manager or foreman) cursed by alienation from the workers, sees in them only "manufactured men." The whaling vessel (like the later ocean liner) includes "the whole circle of the sciences...with all the evolving panorama of empires on earth and throughout the whole universe."(James 1978, 104) But Ahab narrows his science down to what will simply serve his purpose, destroying the instrument which does not reveal the whale. The captain

> sits alone with his charts...as he marks on the paper so on his brow appear the lines of care and concentration....abstract intellect, abstract science, abstract technology, alive but blank, serving no human purpose but merely the abstract purpose itself... (James 1978, 14)

For Ahab and Ishmael, types of the urban intellectual, the ocean is a symbolic dreamworld, seeming at times a vast conscience, the birds and fish condemned souls beating at a "blank air without any horizon" and the whiteness of the whale a "great principle of light.."(in James 1978, 46) The workers as they capture and process the whale are dignified by their spontaneous, immediate labour whereas Ahab and Ishmael live in dreams and charts, ultimately endangering the vessel.(James 1978, 31, 48) The ship which takes a voyage "into the unknown, because of the problems posed to it by life on the safe sheltered land..." finds reflected in the water its domestic angels, scientists and factories: "the image of what it has

brought with it."(James 1978, 60) So it was for the bourgeois passengers, the Ishmaels and Ahabs of the steamships. But all those involved in the transport industries--sailors, soldiers, merchants, scientists, travel agents, passengers--became to different degrees agents of empire, mediators for the effective integration of distant spaces.

The origins of the travel industry (in England around 1825) lay in both business opportunity and the progress of social and cultural imperialism. Codified, regulated mass sightseeing would end social idleness and ignorance, and the public would adjust to a safely broadened horizon. Organized travel eventually gave impetus to the state regulation of England's railways, and prices fell as travel options increased based on mass circulation. The first travel guides urged tourists toward literature to educate themselves in natural history, geography, and culture according to rigorous standards of science and literature.(Lambert 1950, 122) But the Romantic ideal of travel as spiritual refinement did not transfer well to the steam age. Mass touring was connected with escape and entertainment not authentic or intellectual contact with a transcendant nature. Organized "pilgrimages" were said (by the Pall Mall Gazette) to "attenuate the continental experience much as a dicky does a shirt..."(Lambert 1950, 132)

The exclusive access of a leisured class to rarified places and knowledge was threatened by the incursion of ordinary people who could now afford to picnic on sacred ground. Critics such as Ruskin chastised tourists for their very presence as well as the

inappropriate noise and irreverence with which they approached famous sites.(Lambert 1950, 122) In mid-century, complaints about the degradation of cultural and natural sites were extended to address the degradation of the human being into tourist. As he is "contracted for and made into money by others, surrendering his liberty of action,"(Lambert 1950, 130-33) the traveller is reduced to the "level of his trunk [obliterating] every trace and trait of the individual." In the second half of the century the British Empire perceived the importance of an unterrupted "fast line" of communication across North America to Asia. The All Red Route, around the world by sea and rail, was inaugurated in 1891.[13]

The "desire of the contemporary masses to bring things 'closer' spatially and humanly" is related by Benjamin to their bent toward "overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction."(1978, 223) But for many, the attraction of travel was the "machine ensemble" itself, in its association with the charged rhetoric of speed and progress. As ships and trains became "natural" parts of the scenery, the journey could be made unique in the collection of data about its technics and viewpoints. A sojourn in a town, wrote J.P. Pearson in 1893, "is altogether secondary in interest to the rail

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[13] Ocean travel was designed mainly to stimulate trade for the far more lucrative trains, which carried over two million passengers in 1890. The increase in tourist traffic resulted in improved steamship service, hotels and railroad stations.(**Innis** 1923, 197-206) By 1891, Cook and Son offered a combination of steamer and railroad routes "as great and wonderful as that of the best permutation lock" impenetrable to "those not in the secret."(Rae 1891, 311)

journey...Art Galleries and Museums were left severely alone and my time was devoted instead to the Railway Stations where I was much more at home."(Pearson 1932, xii) Pearson elsewhere (1932, 1575) compares the Pennsylvania depot to St. Paul's cathedral, finding the station's seating superfluous to a building which is "simply an exit." As an exit, a portal of exchange, the railway station articulates a variety of motive rather than religious experience. It is a node of horizontal transition, whereas a cathedral ordered a temporal, vertical orientation. The great public building of Euro-American modernism provided a dynamic focus for an eye on progress. The stations of exchange became pivots of experience.

With the combination of steam power and telegraphy, linkages over time and space upon which the capitalist system depended, became subject to monopoly and regulation. World markets were connected and coordinated over land and sea. The telegraph moved information faster than actual products and everyone could be in the same place (traders, audiences or consumers) for the purposes of trade, like commodities standardized and "represented by fully contingent symbols."(Carey 1989, 222) People, literature and journeys were all subject to this process of decontextualization, which amounts to the abstraction of products out of the real conditions of their production. In representation (abstract circulation as in newspapers, images and memoirs) all aspects of the journey took on a new aura according to their exchange value.

The mass press was an important instrument for information

exchange, contributing to developing a certain model of the voyager as well as of the journey. As increasing numbers of people took advantage of expanded markets for writing, the distinctions between author and public also blurred. Like conservative and radical philosophers, travel writers sustained a wistful struggle to represent the "true experience" as opposed to that which, as Benjamin put it, "manifests itself in the standardized, denatured life of the civilized masses."(Buck-Morss 1987, 289)

Communication. Records of Travel: the mass press

All passage across significant boundaries involves spatial practice producing knowledge and meaning. We root ourselves in space through the articulation of continuity and disruption, dwelling and migration.(Clifford 1992, 108) "Panoramic" voyages of discovery and scientific survey carried back examples of plants, people, artifacts and so on extracted from their natural context. Like pressed flowers these remained true in their substance but curiously reduced, like an analogue which only seems to directly correspond. As the realm of the "unknown" with European exploration moved from space (distant lands) to time (evolution, geology, socio-cultural change), the question of the proper mode of communicating the world remained.

By the late nineteenth century colonial staples economies were well established, and the metropolitan classifying gaze was turned inward, measuring the distances between people and the centres of power and knowledge. But what were points of imaginative departure for one group became points of destination for another, as the middle class infused popular culture with its dreams through its access to the mass media.(Barthes 1989, 151) To be marketable the travel account from the 1700s on had to exhibit certain conventions informing and confirming the ideology of the metropolis.(MacLaren 1992, 47)

Travellers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century tried primarily to give intelligible expression to the "open-ended sequence" of space and time, the shifting aspects of encounters between self and nature.(Stafford 1984,486) The nineteenth

century legacy of the post-Enlightenment "literature and art of fact" was the focusing of value on the communicability of knowledge, admitting the contribution of subjectivity as a factor. The discursive primacy of the visual sense in print society had implications for the distinction between representation and reality. To have authority in the society of "print-capitalism" a dynamic experience had to be captured in the stasis of text or image.

Authoritative description had been in earlier centuries associated with primarily objective, unadulterated information about the real world. "Sailor's language" described the plain, masculine ideal of expression associated with the mariner's direct, untrammeled (authentic) observation.(Stafford 1984, 47) Ironically its transposition to the print medium gave such observation its exchange value for the Victorian middle class traveller. As an instrument of exploration, this work gradually aligned observation and information with the conditions of the industrial journey.

Gradually the supposedly "transparent discourse" of science gave way to a central issue of representation in the nineteenth century: Where and what is reality? Bourgeois literature had by this time drawn up established categories of fact and fiction. Those works considered objective, discursive or "rational" were separate in authority, market and force from those considered subjective and imaginative or emotive.(Williams 1977, 146-7) But of course these divisions were nominal--the real issue is control over what seems to be an acceptable or profitable

representation of reality, not necessarily over the truth. A range of texts fell into the category of travel literature--imaginary voyages, fiction, autobiography, geography and so on. The literature of concern in the present discussion are works which take the form of journals or reportage for a mass audience.

Travel literature spans areas of art and science, instruction and entertainment; these narratives construct reality "every bit as much as they bear witness."(MacLaren 1992, 41) In the transposition of voyager to passenger, this literature is part of a range of discursive practices. A dominant system of apparently objective observation and description aligns with narrative and cognitive configurations. Although these rules or practices are not a determinant "interface" between reality (experience) and knowledge (lexicon), they establish a range of preferred meanings through the representations--words, expressions and behaviour--pertaining to value.(Foucault 1972, 111-2)

Jameson connects nineteenth century high literature with the cognitive function of "world-reduction," where what is most simplified is not nature but humanity though "a principle of systematic exclusion, a kind of surgical excision of empirical reality...through an operation of radical abstraction and simplification."(in Williams, Rosalind 1990, 20) Even as it lay claim to objectivity, travel literature was informed by the expressive conventions and technologies of high culture in an age of science. But the Romantics interpreted travel in

subjective rhapsodies, as a "game parallel to the activity of endless voyaging...toward an ever-receding psychic goal." A compass may guide the ship but true north wavers with cultural change.

The institutional exchange whereby a European became the author of an imperial narrative was fueled by the market, whose editors shaped the reportage of the "Pax Britannica." In the imposition of British language and culture, the circulation of written records imparted information; but as importantly they established a point of view, distinguishing observer from observed, explorer from explored, travellers from residents. The reader was to recognize that "what distinguishes the civilized from the savage human is written language," the instrument of imperial power.(MacLaren 1992, 47) The concurrent organization of European information industries and science meant regulated research and funding for accredited travel and reportage.(Said 1979, 191)

A journal writer's awareness of a potential audience will condition the narrative (adding or fleshing out details). The published versions of travel would have been worked up from notes made en route, revised and supplemented with hindsight, imagination and further bits of information not directly experienced or not in that time and place. The text is not a real representation of process or immediacy, as later labour transforms experience into a commodity, shaping the trip "from

its end point, informing it with continuity and purpose..." (MacLaren 1992, 41)

As publication of the first person "adventure" narrative indicates survival, the daily appearance of the newspaper indicates a world in order. By the turn of the century, travellers' accounts reflect the journalistic "docu-drama" approach, conflating several episodes of travel along with certain imaginary voyages into one text. Collages of several journeys into one text are assumed to better represent reality than a straight, unedited record of events. This occurs even in unpublished accounts and may therefore indicate a widespread convention taken up by amateurs imitating published models. Newspapers, of course, were themselves a collage of experience and image, prior knowledge and imagination rather than objective analogues of reality.

In 1848 began systematic attempts to supply passengers with reading material in English railway stations. By 1849 there was a station library at Paddington with one thousand volumes, and booksellers as well.(Schivelbusch 1977, 67) In England and France in 1851 railway bookstalls catered to a reading public almost exclusively bourgeois. They bought respectable nonfiction, travel guides and literature and classics--as compared to the "trashy mass literature" in regular bookstores. In isolated first class compartments, reading was a "surrogate for continuous communication". The railway and railway literature disrupted the passengers relative to each other as it disrupted their relationship to the traversed landscape.

(Schivelbusch 1977, 70). The crowded rail carriages of third class did not permit or encourage reading (and although literacy and better conditions spread to all classes the writing of journals remained relatively rare with typical steerage passengers on ships.)

Around 1835-65, new novels were issued in monthly installments in paper covers, suitable for a railway station bookstall. In England these partworks with their "rambling, unplanned, lively and vigorous type of narration, crowded with varied characters..." (Cooke and Stevenson 1949, 95) may have filled the place occupied by the *fueilletons* in France. But the contemporary bourgeois traveller may not have been exposed to this "panoramic literature" nor to the imaginary voyages that occupied the same market slot. The unusually rigid class barriers in British society were reflected in its literary culture.

Before c. 1880-90 the issuing of part-works was restricted; British newspapers used very little fiction (Stableford 1985, 11-12); and the respectable 3-decker novel was socially separate from the popular novelettes, penny dreadfuls, and railway novels. Because of Britain's restrictive market, speculative fiction remained outside the literary mainstream. So tales expected by some travellers were tales of the unexpected to others.[14] After 1880 popular and informative works filled a

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14 Writers of imaginary voyages such as Verne, Poe, Shelley, Lytton, respectable in other countries, were relegated in Britain to boys' books or cheap publications.(Stableford 1985, 15)

middle range between cheap productions and expensive volumes.(Cooke and Stevenson 1949, 91-3) The closing of middlebrow gap was evident after 1890 in a host of new periodicals, a more diffuse reading public and near universal literacy. By 1894 the one volume novel in its standard format was available and widely circulated as knowledge of English spread with the Empire. Sales to newspapers and magazines were a major resource of authors who acquired habits of brevity, informality and topicality from the press formats.(Cooke and Stevenson 1949, 107)

As steamship travel reached its apogee after 1890, then, the market and physical forms of books were also changing, making new kinds of "dreamspaces" available to new audiences. In the "age of exploration" analogues of space had enabled the launch into the unknown. By the late nineteenth century the claim of such representations to also order political and social anxieties and change made them even more important to the journey. Projected, imaginary and actual journeys could easily merge in the public mind. Gradually newspapers, always sponsors of "journalistic" travel writing, came to interpret the canons of information, reportage and observation which had been partly shaped in the context of scientific and exploratory voyages.

Bourgeois literature and modern myth

Bourgeois ideology in early modern Europe assimilated adventure to the dynamic activity of capitalist trade and production. To better navigate the contingencies of risk on the

journeys for profit, literate and analogic representations were developed which were finally unable to insure an actually mobile, transient reality.(Nerlich 1987, xxii) The Victorian-era passenger business had to convince the public, however, that risk had become unacceptable and therefore obsolete. Into this market the mass press entered as an instrument to convert the dross of transitory anomalies into the currency of the public dream. The familiar and unfamiliar voyage were made seamless through modern myth which associated great cosmic forces as if by nature with new technical energies. But metaphors that capture and domesticate the extraordinary can "limit our ability to assimilate new information" and in conventional discourse can come to merely prop up an unreflective tradition.(Leiss 1990, 40) According to Barthes, "modern myth" seeks to "immobilize" the world in a hierarchy of stable normative phenomena and prototypes which prevent people from "inventing their lives."(Barthes 1989, 170)

Rather, in "fully-developed capitalism," a bourgeois class watches itself perform in the eternal present of the press, "one of its most important instruments..."(Benjamin 1969, 88) Newspapers impose interpretation: informational immediacy and connoted accuracy filter a rich range of perceptive, economic and somatic experience. With mechanically reproduced graphics and news photographs, an abstract visual familiarity with the world entered the public imagination.(Innis 1991, 176) So the border between realities and their representations begins to

shift amid the fraying texture of a common, emplaced experience. In such an order, both the history and the myths of migration become detached from its material reality, modes and relations of production.[15]

The Atlantic steamship made New York the centre of an industry reprinting English books, and the cable laid by 1866 supported the news agencies AP and UP by 1892. The new "yellow journalism" at the turn of the century created demand for sensational content in other literature of all kinds. Ideals of freedom which legitimated imperialism also underwrote the operations of a monopolistic, unregulated press.(Innis 1991, 177) By 1847 newspapers, as advertising media, were primary connections in a public market. Stimulating circulation with coverage of shipping and passengers, the press consolidated a cultural sense of global connections over sea and land.(Innis 1991, 162)[16]

With the ascending importance of space-biased media, Innis notes, "thought gained lightness."(1986, 15) Changes "in the

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15 Migration, for instance, had been seen as escape from civilization or as its redemption, depending on the current needs of the state.(Nerlich 1987, xv)

16 The Illustrated London News in mid and late century published countless pictures of ships and shipwrecks, hundreds of the building and launching of the Great Eastern alone.(Guillet 239) Whitman did not forget to "sing of the wonder, the ship as she swam up my bay/ well-shaped and stately the Great Eastern swam up my bay/she was 600 feet long..."(in "Year of Meteors," Whitman 1876)

things to which we attend"(Innis 1991, xxvii) indicate technological change. The development of the mariner's compass and lens during the Renaissance, for instance, and of optical instruments in the nineteenth century, not only affected modes of observation but according to Innis meant that an explosion of visual, linear, spatial knowledge displaced the power of spiritual, temporal tradition. Space and time were both experienced as cut "into precise fragments."(Innis 1991, 140)[17]

Like words on a page joined by a reader's eye, or the hours of a clock by its hands, the discrete units of space and time could be rejoined in the ship's passage. This rejoining or identification occurred also on a social level in the "mass ceremony" of reading and writing about travel. As the newspaper reader joins a public activity lending authority to the symbolic production of the world (Carey 1989, 30) there develops a dispersed but simultaneous audience, in this case to a middle class drama seen as a "portrayal of contending forces..."(Carey 1989). Travel literature had a close relation to the newspaper in form, market, style and audience.

This occurred partly through the spatial or visual bias of the print media. Newspapers, like maps, make space negotiable through the reduction of information by imposing a collective, unified order on spatial events. The train, for instance, produced an apparent visual narrative (and meaning) through the

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17 See also Innis 1991, 129; and Stafford 1984, 146. Innis uses the example of papyrus as a lighter medium than stone, with consequences for the organization of information and thought. He follows this note with "all the circumstances arouse interest, observation, reflection." (Innis 1986, 15)

rapid sequencing of views; similarly, the newspaper seems to establish connections through typographic or visual proximity of images and blocks of text. In fact, the sense of a shallow, dense and controlled space embodied in the mass press suggests a "panoramic" attenuation of experience, or mental and geographical "world-reduction." Print has primarily visual effects on consciousness, states Ong, and words impart meaning through their positioning in space. In a "hypervisualized" world based on a conjuncture of observation and verbalization, complex processes are also simplified.(Ong 1982, 127)

Print ordered the psychic and intellectual world more spatially. Whereas oral speech and even manuscript, which tended to have less fixed versions, were in "dialogue" with the world and new information, with print a solid block of type imparted a sense of closure and authority to the message.(Ong 1982, 132) A similar legitimizing perception of space and closure was evident in the Victorian imperial doctrine of joining overseas territories into a "solid block" after 1880.(Howe 1949, 27) Space was connected with vitality, redemption and freedom in colonial-era literature, its authors and characters intoxicated with the "magic and mystery" of vast distances.(ibid)

Travel and newspaper reading both involved spatial reinforcement of habits of abstraction, discreteness and lack of continuity in processing information.(Innis 1991, 187) This does not necessarily imply a direct correspondence between phenomena, despite some commonality in the visual experience. However, both activities were based in a culture which encouraged certain

patterns of circulation of bodies, information and goods, borne up by an emotional connection with the consolidation of spatial territory.

The economic life of the empire was mediated in part by the telegraph (and later wireless) which also established a sense of connection with shore for the passenger. With the installation of the wireless on board ships, business and personal information could be directly exchanged, further increasing the passengers' sense of shorter distances and greater control over their journey.

The ship at sea became a receiver as well as a carrier of messages, and transposed information to print in newsletters produced on board trains and liners for passengers seeking diversion and information. Lacking scenery, they scanned the texts of the social landscape as the railroad passenger had seemed to read the landscape passing by.[18]

On Edwardian passenger liners, the shipboard newspaper indicates a need for the connection with shore, but it also points to the temporary construction of a transient society. The five-day journey was too short to develop real social bonds but too long, in an era obsessed with news, to be out of circulation. Whereas travellers had once written home and received letters almost every day along their route, newspapers

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18 The Canadian Allan Line, for instance, published a newsletter whose motto was "from shore to shore."(Appleton 1974, 165) Passengers had to keep up with each other. When the Titanic went down, one of the problems of journalists was that the elite survivors would not want to be listed as arriving in New York on the slow, insignificant Carpathia (the rescue ship.)

could now supply a sense of continuity.

The mass press also produced travel books and records of journeys similar to that which could in effect be reproduced in the reader's own passage. This tended to admit the reader to an effective public "dreamspace" of information exchange. Just as leisure culture and entertaining diversions harmonized the cognitive dissonance of great urban changes, for the ocean traveller the mass press helped to sustain the illusion of an unbreakable bridge to dry land and an unbroken dream of arrival. Like texts, journeys are reproduced in standard formats which in themselves impart authority and meaning to the passage. Thus typographic, social and physical space were effectively aligned at sea through the cognitive elimination of contradictions between them.

In this period, Barthes reminds us, the travelling bourgeois enjoyed a euphoric purchase of the "image and essence [of effort]...without feeling any of its ill effects." Views become substitutes for laborious moral effort.(Barthes 1989, 81) The sight of impenetrable mountains, gorges and torrents, for instance, was supposed to stimulate a corresponding sense of moral integrity. As the guidebooks reduced the world and geography to an uninhabited world of monuments, thought is reduced to essences.(Barthes 1989, 84) Travel accounts (imaginary and "factual") presented a mediation of human and nature in terms of the panoramic. Literary conventions as well as social norms imply a fixed position for the viewer who as

narrator or reader connects a sequence of information, space, subjects and views into a "solid block" referring more to a body of preconceptions than to actual, diverse objects and events. In the travel narratives developed for mass consumption, utilitarian navigations "were overshadowed by..autobiographical journey, tour or circuit..." and *"it was no longer necessary to precisely see the landscape."*(Stafford 1984, 443)

Deja vu: the industrial aesthetic

Victorians were the first people to live in an age dominated by the machine. The trained eye and manual skills of the mechanic coexisted with a cult of literary technical knowledge whose source of beauty was its mystical distance from the public. The denotative unmetaphorical "plain style" in literature, attributed variously to sailors, Francis Bacon, telegraphy, journalists and Hemingway, in this period settles with the engineer.(Sussman 1968, 215)[19]

Its goal is not now the communicability of knowledge to an audience of peers, but the distinction of an elite discourse from the florid, emotional and religious prose popular among the literate masses. In some circles, this refinement of taste

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19 Many periodicals maintained humanist critiques along with celebrations of industrial progress. Dickens' Household Words attacked industrial discipline as machine-tending but advocated consumer and educational rather than political reform.(Sussman 1968, 69) Ruskin recommended shipping machines (and presumably mechanics) to the colonies and saving England as a garden of the arts and morality.(Sussman 1968, 98) But Kipling's "McAndrews' Hymn" praises a marine engineer; the common sailor or worker now seems the sign of an arcane knowledge of the sea, outside the needs of the transportation industry.

emerged as a new aesthetic fusion of art and nature, a "beauty of units and series" which could now include human bodies and minds. Kipling for one believed that the mind and state should adopt the machine as a model. Kim, rejecting Eastern mysticism, feels "with an almost audible click...the wheels of his being lock up anew on the world without."(in Sussman 1968, 218) (Yet in connecting the wheel of disciplined, rational life to the "wheel of...the British Empire" Kipling himself sustains an emotional, quasi-mystical connection to the industrial order it launched and which survives it.) The panoramic journey, then, was the interlocking of media technologies, particular representations and the passenger or audience to tell the story of terrestrial and maritime space. The unity of nature and art had become the conceptual interlocking of human mobility in space with the wheels of technics.

Within this machine, irrational or sensory modes of knowledge cease to have authority or exchange value. The very indeterminacy of many descriptions (the inability to completely codify experience in transit) challenges the mythic unity of a centralized power conjured by the culture industries. In imperial cultures, places acquired referential presence as the real thing was excluded or displaced by a panoramic "closed system" of images and texts, records and museum collections. (Said 1979, 21) This was a stock of antecedent imagery acting as cultural machinery to transport the European "as if by enchantment" into dream lands. Upon subsequently encountering the original, it seemed a *deja vu*, a repetition of the museum

(or text) but without its walls or frames.(Said 1979, 166)

This is alternatively an occasion for delight or for discomfort. Colonial-era qualitative responses to space suggest that it cannot completely be domesticated; metropolitan lenses cloud over in the hearts of darkness. Gertrude Bell calls the east "a page of history that...enters into the mind as no book can relate it."(Bell 1927, 229)

The static panorama of a produced nature is seen or read by an observer as the "unitary web of a serene fiction," which can be countered by inserting a diachronic (historical) narrative.(Said 1979, 240) In the Edwardian context the conceptual panorama of imperial patterns did admit criticism and doubt. The "solid block" in space or text could potentially be fissured into a dialogic, historical "multitude of routes, roads and paths."(Bakhtin 1981, 276) But as Melville warned, if we penetrate the ocean of gentle thought and appearance, we may find "naught but the leviathan."(Marx 1988, 24) Where the leviathan stood for the state or the economic machine, ship passengers all had a certain investment in maintaining a rather dazzled, shallow (panoramic) gaze.

Passenger activities on board Victorian steamships, as they had on sailing packets, created the voyage in the image of onshore life: concerts, mock trials, deck games all reiterated an interactive culture. But the increasing centrality of visual and literary media, while reinforcing connection with shore, did not encourage interaction between passengers, or between them and the environment. Reading, for instance, is a basically

isolating, solitary activity. On Atlantic ships, unlike on European trains, there was time for long books; the one-volume novel newly available after 1890 to Britons would have been about the right length for an Atlantic passage (or North American rail trip) about six or seven days long at the end of the century.

Alex Boddy, a chaplain aboard an emigrant ship in 1896, took with him from England to Canada his magic lantern, a set of slides and illustrated books providing both entertainment and religious instruction, but mainly diversion.(Boddy 1896, 8) He exhibits "dissolving views [of a voyage across the North Atlantic] in the aft steerage to a mixed crowd."(Boddy 1896, 14) Though the ship is "heaving tremendously..the fact of the great cabin being in darkness and all eyes fixed upon the illuminated pictures" makes the passengers oblivious to their surroundings--the North Atlantic.(Boddy 1896, 16) As the ship shaves past an iceberg, however, passengers rush to look and admit to being disappointed with the reality in comparison to pictures they have seen.(Boddy 1896, 20)

It became common in travel accounts of this period to judge reality by its representation as the journey became a secular ritual: the reproduction of a set of references. As geopolitical reality is overlaid with a "panoptic imaginative program" (Said 1979) it provides a conceptual home (like the ship does) to stabilize the experience of transition. The imperial metropolis and its referents the panorama and the ship are the spatial equivalents of the imaginary "fixed point of view" provided by

bourgeois texts. This habit of seeing reinforces the position of the viewer/reader/passenger in the "panoramic ensemble," pointing to the preference for the mediated "view" over the direct encounter with substance.

The collective, mosaic "dreamspace" coexisted alongside a strong interest in the abstract, technical information (maps, charts and signals) which guided the ship's progress. The typical passenger would see the passage in terms of its faithfulness to the charts. Already in mid-century Parr Traill writes that

> half our time is spent poring over the great chart in the cabin, which is constantly being rolled and unrolled by my husband to gratify my desire of learning the names of the distant shores and islands which we pass.(Traill 1966, 16)

Atlases and maps of the Atlantic with details as to depths, the location of the submarine cable and so on, provide Alex Boddy and his companions several decades later with "food for many discussions."(Boddy 1896, 20)

Of the literary and scientific representations of the North Atlantic, which was the imaginary journey? The panoramic journey between Britain, its colonies and business partners exemplifies the bourgeois mythic "idea of a perfectible mobile world" and an "unchanging humanity characterized by an indefinite repetition of its identity."(Barthes 1979, 154) We glimpse a dynamic passage frozen in time amid a range of familiar cultural touchstones which, finally, are all analogic motifs of circulation. The journey was a double roaming through time and space. Representations of travel aligned the subjective axis of

nostalgia and imagination with that of projective instruction and description of surroundings. Uniting aspects of self and other, here and there, near and far, the North Atlantic steamship journey is a phenomenon of connection between two shores but also of the construction of a social reality. At sea the sense of connection between different orders of knowledge, of seeing and of being, seemed to be intensified.

In the primary literature discussed below I am concerned with the experience of the passenger who observes the world from the vantage point of the moving industrial environment in a "floating world" of representation. Today's mass media audience can be faintly seen in the elite *fin de siecle* passengers against the ship's rail, gazing at the unrolling St. Lawrence or the Pacific mountains with guidebooks in hand. *Deja vu*: the spirit of the panoramic journey.

We were, in those days, as I remember them, a very seeing people.
Gertrude Stein, The Autobiography of Alice B.Toklas

Praise be to Nero's Neptune, the Titanic sails at dawn
Everybody is shouting, which side are you on?
Ezra Pound and T.S.Eliot are fighting in the captain's tower
While calypso singers laugh at them and fishermen hold flowers
Between the windows of the sea where lovely mermaids flow
And nobody has to think too much about Desolation Row.
Bob Dylan, Desolation Row

Departure

European and American railroads had been culturally and geographically assimilated by the time regular Atlantic steamship crossings were available. This did not mean that mid-century ship passengers were blase, however. The ocean represented a greater leap into the unknown than did a rail journey for most people. The vehicular precursor of the steamship journey was not only the railroad but the sailing ship--slow, dangerous and unpredictable. Working people, who made up the vast majority of European emigrants (the "living freight" travelling steerage) would never have boarded a ship until they emigrated.(Guillet 1963, 60) Even cabin passengers on sailing packets were usually settlers or colonists, not pleasure

travellers.[1] Steamships were primarily vehicles for involuntary relocation. Steerage profits subsidized the shipping lines for the fantasy trips of the first cabin as passenger cargo became profitable. Eleven million emigrated from the UK to North America between 1770 and 1890, fleeing the fallout of the Industrial Revolution and social upheavals in Europe.

In 1831 the Royal William was built in a Quebec shipyard and two years later made the first steam passage (assisted by sail) in 17 days across the Atlantic. Samuel Cunard perceived the industrial applications at once: "steam-driven ships...could start and arrive with the punctuality of railway trains." (Armstrong 1961, 14) Almost a hundred years later the ocean was cited as the British nation's "principal means of communication, affording a ready-made track almost as good as a railway line."(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 1) When in 1838, the Sirius made the first exactly scheduled Atlantic voyage the New York Herald announced "a new era in the whole philosophy of commerce, the arts and social life!"(Armstrong 1961, 16) The New York Evening Post like many others, however, asked the key

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[1]Sailing packets offered onboard games, books and concerts but restricted water, food and heat, and carried farm animals near the passengers. Of the 153,902 emigrants leaving Liverpool in 1849, only 4,639 went cabin class, which was also unstandardized and unpredictable.(Guillet 1963, 60; see Armstrong 1961, 69.) Nightmarish conditions with no fixed fares or schedules were the norm through the 1850s, and until the 1870s most sailing packets were still oriented to cargo transport.(Armstrong 1961, 34) Passengers were expected to adapt themselves to prevailing conditions, as the steamers followed these service patterns and standards. Change came with publicity for these journeys and the increasing lure of profit, made possible by the mass movement of bodies. Sailing ship passages predominated until around 1863 but were negligible in the passenger trade by 1870.

question: "Can steam-packets be made to pay?"(ibid) Government mail subsidies and the passenger trade were seen as financial solutions.[2] The popular press promoted, first, the technical and, second, the economic feasibility of steam propulsion and appealed to potential passengers with flights of fancy. External viewpoints yielded impressions usually countered by entry into the picture. A ship which from the exterior appeared as an elegant "specimen of decorative art" and a "bijou of ship joinery..." (Lambert 1950, 163) was described by a passenger as a

> stuffy passenger saloon...with no seat except the long setees and lit only by candles suspended on trays which swayed to and fro...no ventilation and no hot water...[with passengers] seated on coils of rope and ready to lift our feet as the seas rolled in from the alleyways on either side...(Lambert 1950, 163)3

On boarding the Britannia, Cunard's first steamship, in 1842 Charles Dickens finds that his stateroom, "this utterly impracticable, thoroughly hopeless, and profoundly preposterous box" bore no resemblance to "those chaste and pretty...bowers, sketched by a masterly hand, in the highly varnished lithographic plan hanging up in the agent's counting-house in the city of London.."(Dickens 1868, 2) Martin Beattie fifty

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[2] In 1840 Cunard received the British government's mail subsidy, a monopoly in the North Atlantic mail service. This was effectively provided by the British taxpayer, but despite protests Cunard was to retain the subsidy. After mail smuggling became popular with crews and passengers, governments and post office began to cooperate more closely in setting rates, resulting in a demand for faster lines and express services. (Armstrong 1961, 21, 60.)

[3] Many of our own public marvels (winning architectural awards and profits for the architects), are in the experience of their habitues less dreamspaces than nightmares.

years later less eloquently complains of steerage that accommodations are "not nearly so good as has been represented..."(Beattie 1892)

Dickens' account, like others of mid-century, highlights the intense public interest in the steam voyage. Knots of people on a wharf gaze with "dread delight" at the far-famed fast American steamer.(Dickens 1868, 6)[4] But a sense of fatalism about Atlantic voyages is coloured by, or itself colours, the sentiments of departure between those who would soon "interpose between their else daily communication the formidable barrier of many thousand miles of stormy space."(Dickens 1868, 5)[5]

The 1840 British press reassured the public that the Britannia's captain had been "fully instructed about steam pressure and...fuel consumption..." Passengers were advised that, since their comfort must depend largely upon their own initiative, "the ship's Wine and Spirit Bar will be opened to passengers daily from 6 a.m..."(Armstrong 1961, 19) Upon departure steerage passengers, unlikely to return (or possibly even to arrive) were especially subject to profound emotions. As R.E. Vernede, a British journalist travelling steerage to Canada for his newspaper, reported in 1910,

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[4] As the shipping industry took a central place in cultural and economic life its vessels like the trains became a part of the landscape. In John Froude's journal of the 1870s, London's Thames River appears "covered with fleets of ships...its banks/ form as it were one continued/ magazine of commercial and naval/ stores with docks and yards for/ building and repairing ships..." (Froude 1983, 97)

[5] Dickens blesses the stewardess for her tact in showing that "all young mothers on one side of the Atlantic were near and close at hand to their little children left upon the other..."

this is the way a great Empire is made. We talk of the Empire often enough. But then we who talk of it are rarely those who make it or suffer for it; and perhaps we are therefore more easily consoled by a great idea than they.(Vernede 1911, 2)

Working men usually took to the sea because it presented the best or only choice to make a living; only a few fulfilled the romantic notions of the sailor as adventurer.[6] Nevertheless John Froude's first departure from home exhibits common sentiments of the voyager at the imminence and necessity of change as he prepares for

a trip across the broad/ Atlantic to view the grand mountains on/ some foreign shore where my mind has/ been for many a long year/ ..the time had now come for me to git/ ready for the greatest change in my life...but I thought a change would not do me any harm...neventure nothing gained..."(Froude 1983, 16-17)

The experience of the crowd in transit was still relatively novel in mid-century, as indicated by the descriptions of boarding ship in a storm of wild confusion. Most people in mid-century seem to have found themselves, as did Dickens in 1842 "fused...into a dense conglomeration of passengers and passengers' friends and passengers' luggage all jumbled together on the deck..."(Dickens 1968, 8) The personal distress of leaving family and homeland was compounded by immersion in this body of strangers. In 1851 D.E.Bates recalled

[t]he first night out on board a crowded steamer! Who that has experienced it can ever forget the confusion, the sea-sickness, the dissatisfaction reigning among room-mates, the squalling of parrots, the crying of babies, and all sorts of annoyances incident to the occasion?(Bates 1858, 265)

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[6] Harry Franck was an American college man who decided to work his way around the world as an adventure for a year.(Franck 1910, 5) Froude, on the other hand, worked as a sailor all his life from the age of 14 years. The journal excerpted here gives the original spelling and composition of his writing.

By the turn of the century, such conditions were largely ameliorated for the upper classes, though E.A. Bilbrough in an 1899 railroad station could still write of being "caged in a first class waiting room with many others waiting for the cages to be opened and the animals to scramble into carriages as best they can..."(Bilbrough 1899) The conditions of mass transit were an important locus of industrial discipline, marked by observations of transition from individual autonomous beings to components of a manufactured mass (whether machine or herd.) The feared alienation and loss of identity intersperse notes of a loss of the sense of place and time.

As the decades pass, the realm of chaos becomes discursively limited to steerage class; new borders are drawn and new sacred ground designated in the industrial environment as in the natural one before it. The working classes generally have others speak for them--they are *observed*, like the natural phenomena of voyages before them.[7] R.E.Vernede describes the confusion in steerage on among 900 passengers of the SS Empress of Britain, most of whom had never been at sea. "Like sheep," his companions

> rushed together and got jammed down companionways and in passages which even on so big a liner as this could not hold us all abreast, and scrummed to find the numbers of our berths from the steward, and flung ourselves in masses upon our baggage...and formed a solid tossing square saloonwards when bells rang and we thought they might mean meals.(Vernede 1911, 6)

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[7] Typically, those for whom "mobility is coerced, organized within a regime of dependent, highly disciplined labour" produce articulations of their journey in marginal forms such as music or journals which are often lost.(Clifford 1992, 107) Like passengers, the cultural product falls into the categories of drowned and saved.

But up on the first class deck,

superior people were walking calmly about with just the right clothes and manners for such a small event as crossing the Atlantic must have been to most of them...But then all our fortunes were embarked on the ship, and only a little part of theirs.(Vernede 1911, 5)[8]

Passage

Reforms of the late nineteenth century, unlike the sailing ship laws passed in mid-century, aimed more at moral and social control than at the survival of passengers. The White Star Line during the 1870s and 1880s provided decent accommodation but forbade passage to the handicapped, blind or elderly, or single women with children.(Armstrong 1961, 70) In the early twentieth century, the CPR Empress ships would carry no "foreigners" except Scandinavians (believed to be the only fit companions for English emigrants.)(Vernede 1911, 2) Chaperones from the British Women's Emigration Association accompanied "genteel" women emigrating to Canada. The passage was seen as a dangerous wilderness for the virtuous. After the Boer War, the rhetoric of military and political imperialism common to immigration reformers softened to that of cultural and social reform.[9]

"Benevolent imperialists"--promoters, reform societies,

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[8] In 1910, J.P. Pearson simply ignores the steerage class in describing the order on board a "wonderfully clean" Union Castle liner. The ship's few first-class passengers cause "no confusion incidental to our departure and everything moved with regularity and order."(Pearson 1932, 1325)

[9] The most desirable immigrants to Canada were the "virtuous" middle-class women who could work as a servant and later produce suitable citizens of empire. "The cultural and social imperialism ennobling the efforts to transplant the British Victorian family ideology to the colonies was compatible with the feminine and reforming consciousness" of both old imperialists and modern reformers."(Robertson 1979, 189)

journalists and travel agents--seemed to believe that in mid-Atlantic would occur "a remarkable transformation" of British workers made redundant by world wide depression to "good productive colonial subjects."(Robertson 1979, 189) Some remained disgruntled colonial subjects. A.G.Adshead in 1901 with leisure on shipboard "to take mental stock of things past and speculate on things to come," finds "satisfaction in leaving the Old Country...I had been getting the worst of it."(Adshead 1920, 428) The Atlantic crossing, despite the low status of steerage passengers, still offered dreams of new space. As Adshead lies in a dimly-lit cabin of the steerage, smoking and swapping yarns he feels "the sneers of society people..." lose their sting. He contemplates release into vast Canadian spaces, the "great rivers, the forests, the prairies..." which would soon replace Britain's "serried ugliness."(Adshead 1970, 432)

Steerage passengers and especially emigrants also found the trip fascinating for its novelty and new companions. Curiosity and gossip about the new country formed a common bond among them.[10] Eventually, remarks Twain, the invisible discipline of the vessel turns emotional, confused passengers into reasonable, orderly individuals.(Clemens 1899, 10) This was a discipline of passivity rather than of the acquisition of skill or knowledge.

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[10] Vernede's companions were a diverse lot, including immigrants from Europe, miners and maids and farmers from Canada returning, and others. Amusements were available but they found the voyage "too short [for deck games] and with the new life and the new world at the end of it we all wanted to find out from one another what we knew--or at least what we thought--Canada would be like." (Vernede 1922, 13)

They were not expected, or indeed able to participate in the running of the machine. Mid-century accounts written by women provide the preparatory insight of a fixed observation point, not necessarily passive but with strong limits on participation. To various degrees this situation in the context of transit will become the social norm in mass industrial society.

Women passengers especially must depend on the men who sail and command the ships for safety, and in most cases upon their husbands for the decision to embark at all. Turning to piety in their emotional lives, contemporary women usually exhibit appeals to sentiment and trust in the Almighty, perhaps for lack of a better alternative. "The separation from earth's homes and loved hearts are all calculated to elevate the mind, and centre the soul's best affections upon pure and holy objects."(Bates 1858, 14) In other words power is displaced to a removed authority. Upon a slowly burning collier in 1850, Mrs. D.E.Bates is in this way inspired by the vain efforts of the sailors to save the ship, remarking upon "the utter insignificance of human power and skill, compared with the majesty of the Almighty Maker of the ocean and the land."(ibid) A sense of helplessness is fired by irony in other accounts as well.

Catherine Parr Trail compares her 1840s sailing ship voyage to the utter monotony of being stranded in a country inn for days on end. "A wide expanse of water and sky is now our only prospect" in the "immensity of space..."(Traill 1966, 14) Always industrious, Traill pities the male passengers more than herself. They had been accustomed to roaming freely in the world

whereas a woman could always be busy while sedentary, trained in handiwork against the evils of boredom. (Female emigration reformers in later years (1880-1920) took steps to ensure that this remained so. The BWEA distributed what they deemed to be "suitable materials and work baskets, so that the voyage might be made a season of industry and employment, not of idleness and demoralisation.")(Robertson 1979, 190)[11]

A mid-century bourgeois man "confined to a small space" on ship is by contrast "really a very pitiable creature" associated by Parr Traill with the chickens in the coop and the captain's goldfinch in its cage.(Traill 1966, 15) Several decades later in 1885, when ocean travel is much more the norm for this class, steamer passenger Alex Stavely Hill enjoys the "entire rest and enjoyment of life on the ocean steamer." Where the Traills found the sailing packet's library unsuitable to proper occupation, Hill (more accustomed to a leisure society) is satisfied to read novels and indulge in "the full excitement of those wondrous tales."(Hill 1885, 47)[12]

The bourgeois had commercialized the idealist dream of

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[11] See also Schivelbusch for reference to a psychoanalytic explanation of social control on the journey. A sense of release and detachment was engendered by isolation in train compartments and was, to Freud, exacerbated into sexual arousal by the "powerful mechanical motion" or agitation of the train. The counterpart to this sensation was fear, and so according to Karl Abraham, fear of accident was really fear of sexuality going out of control. (Schivelbusch 1977, 77-78)

[12] As Bates believes, on a steamship the "distance between home [and passenger] will be speedily annihilated."(Bates 1858, 165) The efficiency and order expected of steamship passengers was rewarded with arrival. Though steamer travel was still relatively new on the oceans, Mrs. Bates echoes one of the key doctrines of the "gospel of steam," popular in the contemporary literature.

touring into a cultural product, but the myth persisted of autonomy and freedom in transit. But the actual expectations of the general public of access to power is only foreshadowed in the position of women, ethnic aliens and the popular classes in the context of steamship travel. As the mass press and image culture took centrality in an emerging consumer society, retreat from labour conditions or ennui into literature or other dreamspaces equivalent to travel became more common for more people. The twin birth of the mass media and the mass market meant that the periodical press gained the power to identify, represent and articulate public interest and consent.(Broks 1990, 141)

By the turn of the century the new order of industrial capital focused cultural re-education on the separation of work and leisure, and this involved positioning bodies in transit as they had been repositioned in the industrial revolution from fields to factories. *Fin de siecle* travellers, as urban citizens, became responsible for the discipline of themselves and the construction of a social norm.(See Poster 1990, 91) Although dissent persists, "behind each voice another voice" as Whitman put it, systems of differentiation in knowledge and power in a constructed mobility as elsewhere involve pressure to join the chorus.

Once the conditions of travel were secure, "it only remained for the writers of guide and travel books to prove this on paper and for the steamship, railway and advertising agencies to popularize the fact among the middle classes."(Lambert 1950,

191) Literature was commissioned by newspapers and magazines and sometimes printed as serials. The writer tracing a geographical path was often now also projecting an imaginative one to a published text.[13]

After the terrifying Atlantic was conceptually transformed into a safe medium of transport, tourists by the 1890s could see the train, once the swift instrument of liberation, as a chain to the earth. Harry Franck writes in 1904 that as the American hobo studies the folders of the railway lines, "so the vagrant beyond seas scans the posters of the steamship companies..." From the windows of his train in the middle east he sees

> four leviathans, gliding southward...so close that we could read...the books in the hands of the passengers...Yet what a gulf intervened between me, crawling along the edge of the desert, and those fortunate mortals, already eastward bound!(Franck 1910, 237)

Unlike migrants, middle-class passengers clung to the promise of the voyage not so much as freedom or increase in status, but as the expression and confirmation of an existing mobility. Others were still hopeful of the Romantic experience of authentic, improving observation of the verities of life. On the Laurentic leaving New York in 1914 Pearson is concerned about the frivolous "belinened voyagers" of the first class dining

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[13] In 1865 Thomas Cook had begun publishing a periodical, supported by advertising from hotels, boarding houses and equipment suppliers.(Lambert 1950, 135.) Kipling's accounts were originally published in The Times, the Morning Post, and Nash's Magazine. Dickens published commentary on his trips in the European and in American papers. Harry Franck sold accounts of his working journeys to Harper's, Century Magazines and Outings, thereby profiting from his sojourn as a member of the "masses." Annie Peck financed a mountaineering expedition with a contract from the New York World. (Olds 1985).

saloon where "..the exhibition of new toilettes was a more important matter than the acquirement of knowledge or information about the countries we were to visit."(Pearson 1932, 1530) His own ambitious trips are, as he says himself, more feats of endurance than holidays. He focuses on the acquisition of views and data, and selects his 1912 journey as "one likely to present to the eye the greatest variety of scene in the widest sense in which that word can be used."(Pearson 1932, 1535) His journals collect minutely observed images of sea, sky, land and vehicles. Admiring equally the Cunard steamer Umbria's smokestacks and the fine light on the chalk cliffs at Queenstown, he does admit that "things seen from the sea are not in reality always what they appear to be..."(Pearson 1932, 1525)[14]

Departure, confusing in many ways, cast its own spell. Most writers fall back on sentiment. Howell muses that

> Happy bridal tears are not shed in fear of the future but at parting with the past. There is a singular pathos in performing the most trivial act...Ordinary occurrences become invested with almost majesty when associated with those touching words: For the last time..·(Howell 1911, 3)

Mark Twain's account of his "pleasure excursion" abroad parodies such transports of sentiment with a satire of adventure in the age of mechanical reproduction. The Quaker City's name itself connotes a moveable habitat--a temporarily drifting but familiar American town. Maps of the wide Atlantic were replaced with a program for "...a picnic on a gigantic scale." The participants,

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[14] Croil (1973) cites the Umbria as the first ship to cross the Atlantic solely by steam some years before. There is disagreement on this score.

instead of reclining under the same old trees, would "read novels and poetry in the shade of the smoke-stacks..." and dance on deck in a "ball-room which stretched from horizon to horizon and was domed by the bending heavens..."(Clemens 1899, 1) All of nature conspires to enclose strange new worlds in the decor of home, and the ship, complete with library, band and printing press, is a stage for entertainment. Nevertheless, the mythic power of the sea remains in tension with even its banal or satiric representations.

The Sea

La monde est grand, mais en nous il est profond comme la mer.
Rilke

There is something about the word ocean that conveys a special charm to an Englishman. It...recalls many a brave man putting out into the unknown; it enters into all our songs, our romances and our history; it is at once the Englishman's best bulwark and the grave of many of his greatest heros.(Carpenter and Barker 1926 1)

British imperialism was itself buoyed on a mythical notion of the sea as an historical property of the nation.[15] To those who work and trade "upon great waters" the sea is neither an ideological nor a romantic signifier. It is a medium of commerce exploited for its utility and ignored except in moments of crisis.(Simpson 1982, 125-6) But ship passengers, like philosophers, tended to connect the sea with what Bachelard calls the "philosophical category of daydream."(1964, 183) The ocean itself and the interval of passage were very often ignored by journal writers as simply the media of transit. Sea merged with sky, a confrontation for the passenger with what seemed, by comparison with land, to be pure space. The sea retained strong cultural and mythic resonance as the realm of the "other." The sea is the "space of elsewhere" which transports us from the immediate world to one with the "mode of infinity."(Bachelard 1964, 184) It is precisely the margin of the incalculable or the inarticulable areas of passage between private and public

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15 Since the 1860s, as imperial competition with France and Germany accelerated, the state had extended her mercantile advantage to military and scientific realms partly in association with the travel industry. In 1884-5 Thomas Cook negotiated a government contract to take military tours to Egypt, a vast operation coordinating thousands of steamers, trains and sailing ships.(Lambert 1950, 147). Britain applied steam technology to scientific exploration in the 1874-6 expedition of the HMS Challenger for the British Admiralty and the Royal Society--its accounts were reprinted in 1915.

knowledge which becomes the target of control through cultural production. To go to the ocean or the desert is to literally "change space" for a more primal or psychically innovating experience of being.(Bachelard 1964, 206)

Because the sea is visually empty (or as Barthes puts it, "natural" and bearing no message) it allows a range of interpretations and fancy. But in this apparent neutrality "the sea is political," available as an azure backdrop for tourist or film industry cruises carrying imperial baggage.(Barthes 1964, 156) The power of such images tends to obviate critical insight and the sea remains a flexible "watery glass" in which a range of features may be read.(Simpson 1982, 120) In this ambiguous space disappears the need for choice, difference, even self-consciousness as long as the ship keeps moving.

Often the Victorian traveller's first experience of vast, inarticulated space was at sea. The daydream, like the panorama (and imperial conquest) produces an impression of emancipation into immense spaces, an exhilarating detachment from structural or material bonds. If the sea is "empty" to a certain type of passenger and this type becomes the dominant producer of cultural meaning, the sea and its voyages can be incorporated into a certain "cognitive panorama" of ideals of freedom and possession through imaginative projection over "boundaries" or constraints. Crossing the ocean between old and new worlds on a British or North American ship symbolically reinforced the new sense of space developing as industrial capitalism remade the earth in its own image.

But though shipping lanes, time zones, latitudes, maps and charts are imposed on our imagination of the sea, cables and shipwrecks lie beneath it and the spectrum weaves overhead, all these are invisible in the subjective experience of the passenger--anything is still possible. Only the ship inscribes this unresponsive *tabula rasa*, and only momentarily. Ishmael admires, as Melville has it, the "magnanimity of the sea which will permit no records."(Simpson 1982, 122) Precisely by virtue of its "ultimate refusal to reveal," the seamless ocean as the container of the lost ship is alarming but also comforting, recalling the attraction of the natural sublime: something amid the rationalized world remains incompletely under the control of human purpose and the discourse of commercial exchange.(Simpson 1982, 125-6)

Though trade and commerce do hold sway over the performance and reportage of the ocean passage, the threat of shipwreck can provide a cathartic sense of "immersion in immensity," and the reversal of mundane order. Miscellaneous debris drifting on the surface is the illegible message left after the "beautiful volume resting on the waters"(Bachelard 1964, 193) is fragmented. Meaning can be re-ordered out of the ruins, but as the "dreamspace" of the panorama suspends the beautiful, ever-changing flotsam of a mass industrial culture, the surface of the sea encourages a static, panoramic imagination. Seeing the world in "panoramic" form, as a series of images, "no longer produces any positive social bonding, only a galaxy of

misdirected energies."(Simpson 1983, 119) The travelogues which developed as the textual form of the panorama created a vista of global connection, a montage to gaze at which would arrange and immobilize, but not fully obscure, the contradictions of the industrial journey.

Isabella Bird notes the characteristic shipboard "errant curiosity which glances at everything and rests on nothing."(Bird 1966, 6) Dullness and inarticulation result from a sensory deprivation of familiar visual objects and proportions. At sea, "[o]cean and sky were all of one dull, heavy, uniform, lead colour. There was no extent of prospect even over the dreary waste that lay around us...the horizon encompassed us like a large black hoop..."(Dickens 1868, 19) Like a fortress after the battle, the ship after a storm became almost immediately "as systematically monotonous as the routine of a barrack. I do not mean that it was dull...but there was a good deal of sameness about it."(Clemens 1899, 19)

Passengers are plagued with boredom or seasickness. On Bird's ship in 1856 the "genius of idleness presided over us all." They occupy themselves with novels, meals, games and every other expedient "by which time could be killed" (another sense of the annihilation of time.)(Bird 1966, 8) Even in the uproar of danger an odd sense of the dream persists, related by Dickens to the inadequacy of language to communicate such experience:

> what the agitation of a steam-vessel is, on a bad winter's night in the wild Atlantic, is impossible for the most vivid imagination to conceive...Words cannot express it. Thoughts cannot convey it. Only a dream can call it up again, in all its fury, rage, and passion.(Dickens 1868, 18)

Dream provides a metaphor for transitional states of experience where memory and anticipation are the twin shores of reference. It is "difficult, alone and thoughtful, to hold [objects] to their proper shapes and forms. They change with the wandering fancy; assume the semblance of things left far away..."(Dickens 1868, 13) On land "the grand spectacle appeals to the eye and carries the mind forward--to the future, to the unknown. Not so speaks to us the tranquil, moonlit sea....in quiet moments of calm reflection the Past is ever near..." (Howell 1911, 200) Trying to make sense of the shifting shadows on deck, Howell concludes that nature "speaks...with one voice but with many tongues."(ibid)

The language of the European metropolis often proved inadequate to capture the experience on unfamiliar North American shores as well. Frances Trollope in the 1830s, at last at Niagara Falls, cannot "convey the surprise and astonishment which this long dreamed of scene produced...a shadowy mystery hangs about it which neither the eye nor the imagination can penetrate."(Lambert 1950, 156)

Technology and aesthetics

Technological advance produced but also insulated the traveller from the steam-propelled passage. Mechanical energy seemed to dismiss natural barriers of all kinds, provoking musings on the proper relationship of nature (steam) and art

(technics).[16] In the ocean passage, the passenger's sense of vulnerability in actual as well as perceptual dissociation from land revived a certain anxiety familiar to early century train travellers.[17]

Melodramatic, dizzy transitions between literary metaphors of ship as nature, as haven and as demon reveal a sense of transient, roving chaos barely contained by the grace of technological order. In 1842, Dickens is charmed by the night sea on board a steamship. The "great black mass holds its direct and certain course; the rushing water, plainly heard but dimly seen; the broad, white, glistening track that follows in the vessel's wake." The helmsman's illuminated card before him at the wheel is shining, "a speck of light amidst the darkness, like something sentient and of Divine intelligence..." Human skill seems here allied with God's grace to guard passengers against the ship itself which could become sinister, gleaming with "light from every crevice...as though the ship were filled with fire in hiding...wild with its resistless power of death and ruin..."(Dickens 1868, 13)

New technology admits a new eyesight, and nature conquered

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16 Asa Briggs discusses this discourse as that of the "gospel of steam."(1982, 73.) Romantics began to concern themselves with dynamic rather than static and picturesque phenomena around the time of the age of steam. But it would be the traveller who became immobilized in the conditions of travel, watching rather than really experiencing dynamic passage.

17 In 1847-51 sailing ships between England and Quebec lost over a thousand passengers at sea, provoking calls for the switch to more efficient, predictable steam.(Guillet 1963, 131)

becomes charming. Steamships are also organic--dolphins or women--but hardly ever in mid-century simply vessels.[18] Melville employs industrial metaphors in Moby Dick, where the Pequod's whale works for Ishmael also take on sublime meaning as the ship shoots "her red hell further and further" into the night. Diving and groaning, the Pequod seems the material counterpart of the modern soul, not so much "bound to any haven ahead as rushing from all havens astern."(in James 1978, 51) Such daydreams are produced in a conflation of the real productive labour of running the ship and the tendency to transform that reality into analogues with more visual and emotional currency.

As ships develop over the nineteenth century into huge passenger liners the bourgeois class becomes even more isolated from nature. By 1912, on a large modern liner, Pearson makes no allusion to demonic forces, noting primarily that his breakfast was disturbed by the "din of tons of water falling upon the upper deck...and a good deal of crockery smashed."(Pearson 1932, 1527) His preoccupation with technical data and well ordered scenery ensured his complacency in a storm, reinforced by the physical ordering of the ship. By 1912 liners had developed a more stable layout, moving first class and officers' cabins amidships. Ships of the White Star Line beginning in 1871 were designed to offer the very best accommodation...The staterooms, with saloons and smoking rooms, are placed amidships and cabin

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18 See Dickens 1868. Kipling reverts to such imagery in a letter later in the century in which he explains a steamship collision as "nautical copulation," the destiny of two great iron creatures seeking to mate and sink to rest on the ocean bed.(Sussman 1986, 215)

[as opposed to steerage] passengers are thus removed from the noise and motion experience..."(Armstrong 1961, 57)

Industrial grandeur replaces a sublime nature in the accounts of ocean scenery articulated by the steamer's masts, or funnels "clearly silhouetted against the evening light and later against the moonlight."(Pearson 1932, 167) Just as the natural landscape of Europe had been restlessly re-framed by the telegraph poles and the railroad, the ocean and sky were visually domesticated by the instruments of communication. The awareness of media occurs as long as that vehicle or machine itself is not yet culturally assimilated and thus invisible; at sea, the ship commanded the passenger's attention even more, perhaps, than would a train on land, as it was the shell between the self and infinity.

Barthes cites ship travel in Jules Verne as an emblem of closure, offering a delight in the finite. Like the bourgeois interior, all on a ship seems securely insulated against the chaos outside, a "habitat before being a means of transport."(Barthes 1989, 74) But the satisfying quality of enclosure and detachment from the unbounded, unarticulated flow of life on shore is double-edged. If danger threatens there is no avenue of escape, "with naught but a frail plank [or metal shell] between you and a watery grave--..."(Bates 1858, 48)

Scenes of danger break into the unified dreamspace of the ship, its ambiguous distinction between immensity and enclosure. The shock of the real is an acid bath etching horrific images into the shifting, imaginary constructs of the passage. Bates finds after fires at sea that certain images are forever

"daguerrotyped" on her memory. A similar metaphor occurs to Pearson in 1912 as his ship stands shrouded in mist off the Grand Banks. An "Arctic stillness and the impressive aspect of the towering icebergs as they loomed up out from the white, cold fog, remained for long engraven on our minds."(Pearson 1932, 1816)

A sudden interruption of the journey's long reverie presents a problem for the social imaginary as well. Though reports of disaster in the literature and the press did not divert the general course of the industry, they did create an atmosphere demanding corporate and state responsibility for the safety of travellers. Information about the ocean, the ship and the passengers had to culminate in the production of a "journey imagery" containing mystery and doubt. Communication and transport monopolies tended to contain the unknown by demonizing or trivializing, in their turn, that which was outside their spectrum of relevance. The call for safety at sea was embroidered with the poetry of danger as the "annunciation of cosmic forces" lingering in the everyday world. The fisherman, for example, is not visualized in terms of daily labour or routine but as a figure

> drowned in a garish sunset and externalized, a romantic essence of the fisherman...as the theme of an external condition, in which the man is far away and exposed to the perils of the sea, and woman weeping and praying at home.(Barthes 1989, 103)

Froude, the sailor, sums up the reality: while

the strong may boast of their mighty deeds/ and the wise their wondrous works recall...I have tried to fill the deepest need/ and have kept afloat and that was all...(Froude 1983, 166)

Unlike dominant ideology which is essentially mythic, Barthes states, the language of workers or producers is assumed to lack the faculty of fabulizing and to stay immediate. This is a use of language to transform reality in the making of things, rather than in the conjuring of its image, and so is revelatory of the real political nature of the world.(Barthes 1989, 160-1)

On board the steamships themselves, new technology altered rhythms of work, imagination, behaviour and "the old superstitious beliefs" of the age of sail. The (usually formally trained) Officer of the Watch on a *fin de siecle* steamship "is too pre-occupied with his duty to bother" about chanteys and rituals and "there is no waiting watch on deck to pass the time in yarning as in the olden days."(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 172) This cultural tradition had tended to enliven "the tediousness of lengthy voyages,"(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 175) and became unneccessary with acceleration of travel and shorter routes. Instances of mystery at sea were dismissed as the influence on the imagination of ancient charts engraved with sea monsters. Voyagers "gained repute by magnifying the risks" but the Challenger's scientists remind us that "one is easily misled by appearances" at sea and that critical inquiry is necessary for progress.(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 133) In an atmosphere of superstition, the unseen and the imperfectly seen are always terrible, and fear "was the soil upon which imagination

sprouted."(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 130)

There is a tension evident in the coexistence of order and danger, as of imaginary realms and secular situations of labour. The realm of the unknown still existed but more and more pointed to that which could not be represented or visualized in the dominant technologies of the day. The contemporary passion for record-keeping was closely related to the pervasive culture of science. A civilized person was one who could competently observe and describe both natural and cultural phenomena.[19] The bourgeois traveller, the scientist and student through their own claims to objectivity reveal the political nature of their work. As sailors used language to communicate directly among each other for their survival they produced one version of the journey, and the bourgeois passenger another. The fact that passengers had nothing much to say about nature was no barrier to recording the passage, as nature became a panoramic view or backdrop, hiding its use as resource based.

By the *fin de siecle*, in any case, it was no longer necessary to scrupulously observe the landscape. Modern travellers could buy wonderful images or produce them by machine since "almost everyone is a photographer these days" and distance and perception can be deceptive to the naked eye.(Carpenter and

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19 The HMS Challenger's report claims that the sailor's study of natural history at sea while of intrinsic value was also critical in training the eye to rapid observation.(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 196)

Barker 1926, 133)[20] Accuracy and objectivity remained valuable but were increasingly associated with access to communication technology.

Fin-de-siecle journals began to be supplemented by mass-produced images inserted into the text, which was written in such a way as to accommodate them. Bilbrough, for instance, includes cutouts from panoramic postcards rather than her own sketches of scenes to which she feels she "could not do justice."(1899) Whereas a previous generation of travellers would have used sketching as a way to empathize or identify with a *genius loci* Bilbrough can simply insert herself into these sketches with a collage of image and commentary ("I was here.") On her 1891 trip, Bilbrough notes occasions on which her (male) companion "takes a view," often a panoramic photograph of "the old and new, donkey with automobile" as one is labelled. To attached newspaper clippings of accidents she appends her own notes of thanks to God for keeping her in safety. This is the journey as collage of experience, imagination, memory and commodified views.

The natural world was packaged and sold, segmented, measured and parcelled like fruit by a silver knife or the day by the hands of a clock. To Henry Howell the globe has become like an "apple in the hand," prepared for the menu ("of Parisian completeness") of his American train.(Howell 1911, 6) Dreamspace

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20 At sea "naturalist photographers are doing much...to popularize the study of natural history." The officers of the Challenger caution the amateur observer to make certain their useful observations are not lost to (metropolitan British) Science.(Carpenter and Barker 1926, 196.)

experience was captured in communicable, exchangeable form. The designation of views and things as "panoramic" is a notation of (modern and post-modern) cultural production based in the abstraction of space and time and of domesticating the "wild" through incorporation.

The passenger's sense of moving in a dreamspace tightly woven of a diverse and fragmented reality was consolidated by the giant corporation's increasingly pervasive remote-control over space and time. During the latter half of the century North American railroad and steamship systems became a web of moving products and tourists between Europe, America and Canada. For the passenger, the similarity between railway car and ship's cabin lends continuity to the journey.(Lambert 1950, 154)[21] Howell finds his 1890 Union Pacific "state room" mitigated "the unpleasantness of travelling long distances by rail..." The prairie itself seems like an ocean in appearance, a "splendid uninterrupted view"(Howell 1911 4-11) suggesting that, after all, it was the distance or space which was striking in constructing "views" for these passengers, rather than the objects as regarded for themselves.

The urge to keep the view uninterrupted, sustaining the sense of suspension in a unified "web," was met in part by the opportunity to transfer to another technological environment on land. The sea and all upon it are recalled as "unreal," feels Kipling. In the transition to shore, the "romance of blue water"

21In America railcars were actually modelled on steamboat interiors. See Schivelbusch

gives way not to reality but to another romance: "the life of the train" into which the passenger comes to grow as into life aboard ship.(Kipling 1920, 81) From the ship to train back to ship the traveller could circle the world in an endless state of passage, at one not with nature but the vehicle.

Situations of passage are "liminal" in so far as they cleanse the "doors of perception" of inappropriate cultural conventions. (Turner 1974, 256) The ocean passage, though it may have been subjectively experienced as a dreamspace, was in fact not such a situation for passengers who found themselves more than ever entrenched in equivalent cultural structures on shore. Some exhibit a sense of affirmation and identity in the temporary steamship community but such transitional moments were connected to the technological environment which at the same time shaped industrial discipline and habits of psychic detachment and alienation. In myth and ritual we obscure discrepancies between society and its ideal image.(Turner 1974, 237) Modern ritual here, like Barthes' "modern myth" had some of the qualities of liminal insight. But as the context of industrial capitalism has certain centrifugal effects on connection and community, so will its myths and public rituals. These will tend to reproduce the underlying values on constant exchange and circulation, rather than the endurance of cultural memory. The extent to which bourgeois travel literature (the modern equivalents of the myths of passage) can serve critical insight is therefore limited. Accounts of the *fin de siecle* ocean liner tend to present the wish-images of the "belle epoque."

ARRIVAL: "The country through which we passed"

The arrival of the ship in North America was conditioned by the "vast social and ideological network of the nineteenth century," anchored by technical devices, bourgeois order, space-exploration, monastic regularity and clock-making.(Mumford 1962, 59) Measured time was central to efficient industrial production. The standardized, regular passage of ships would allow transport industries to link production and distribution over sea and land. Henry Adams saw the appearance of the first Cunard steamers as the advent of industrial America.(Carey 1987, 201) On the arrival of the Britannia in 1840 Boston, Joseph Quincey predicted that "..this new line of steam packets will surely become the pendulum of a gigantic clock which is to tick once a fortnight."(Armstrong 1961, 20) Its twin counterweights would be a government mail subsidy and the patronage of the public.

The "gospel of steam" fixed new structures to established keels. In its original context a pillar of fire or smoke was a sign of divine guidance of the exile seeking or returning to a promised land.The poet Longfellow greeted the Britannia with biblical imagery connecting the divine powers of the steamship with "a Pillar of Fire by night, a Pillar of Smoke by day, to guide the future wanderer safely across the broad

ocean!"[22] (Armstrong 1961, 20) With the steamship, the promise was made by the travel industry and the pillar of fire was of human invention.

The logos of pre-industrial sea life was comprised of many signs: the illuminated card of the nocturnal navigator, the stars and sun and the magnetic North, the omens and predictions read directly from natural phenomena. In the confrontation with natural or supernatural forces, the passenger had to rely on the captain and sailors who knew the ship and the sea.[23] But with wireless communication, printed charts and navigational aids, captain, sailors and passengers alike put faith in the specialized remote expertise of shipbuilder, wireless operator and engineer.[24]

The longer the trip, the more disorienting the arrival. The

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22 Ironically, the fire and smoke were often literal especially in the early days of boiler technology and coal transportation. See Bates. Again, the pillar of fire is the sign for a cyclical, or at least recurring, journey as is the pendulum. The divine guidance to the Promised Land contained the future but also the redemption of the past in the liberation of the people from Egyptian oppression. Longfellow's audience, in a Victorian age deeply saturated in evangelical rhetoric, would have been familiar with the reference.

23 See Froude 1983, 107. Froude recalls the trust of both sailors and passengers in their captain who stands in a storm and "gazed without a sign/...there lighted by a lantern dim/ the compass met his eye...he waited not for day..."

24 Ship travel was increasingly compared to enclosure in a floating hotel, at least for cabin-class passengers.(see Guillet 1963, 172: the Frontenac in 1819 on the Great Lakes is compared to the Kingston Hotel.) But the fact remained that it was a hotel surrounded by perilous waters. Survivors of disaster and storm wrote gloomily of the fallacy of placing confidence in earthly objects whether ships or incendiary buildings. But though dangers also waited on land, the passenger on arrival on shore is conscious of the potential for excape routes. Mrs. Baths realizes during the 1851 San Franscisco fire, "I am on terra firma, I can run." (Bates 1958, 272)

experience of the transition by steamship itself filters and shapes the moment of arrival; the passage and the shore both are mediated and structured through their representations. The 1842 trip of the Britannia took over two weeks. Dickens remarks that Halifax would seem an Elysium no matter what the reality to the "unused eyes" of sea travellers. Parr Traill after a month claims that "though the coast was brown, and rugged and desolate, I hailed its appearance with rapture."(Traill 1966, 15) But many immigrants, who were leaving the bounds of the ship for a new unknown, found the land to be no immediate comfort. No matter the horror or later simply the tedium of steerage travel, the ship had come to be a "home," a point of reality.[25]

Rather than annihilating space, the industrial environment controlled it, encouraging a sense of pleasure in viewing spatial distance. This was instilled in part through popular visual entertainments and elite education to appreciate "views." When these constructed spaces were shattered or interrupted, as noted above, the effect was disconcerting. On the Britannia the passengers react with alarm to a dead stillness produced by "the unexpected stoppage of the engine which had been clanking and blasting in our ears incessantly for so many days..."(Dickens 1848, 22) A disturbance of mind was produced by the sudden end of the vibration of the body within the machine, an abrupt stillness like waking from a long restless dream. But the dreamspace is rejoined on shore through the extension of a sense

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25 A handbook advises those dismayed by their arrival to recall that "state of dependence and hopelessness...poverty and want from which [they had] escaped."(Guillet 1963, 143)

of passage across a backdrop or through constructed stage sets. The Britannia, says Dickens, glides into Halifax with "colours flying gaily..the land stretched out on either side, streaked with light patches of snow...people at their doors; telegraphs working...wharfs appearing; quays crowded with people..." (Dickens 1848, 24) The town seems perfect, complete as an unwinding painting. Descriptive literary conventions relying for effect on a detached perspective entered into the imagination of passengers, informing their recorded experience.

This visual tendency to view the world and even the self from a distance is present even in those works not originally written for publication. Froude pictures his arrival from the perspective of those on land who would see the fleet coming home as "the little ships that Columbus first crossed the broad Atlantic in."(Froude 1983, 9) Martin Beattie imagines the Irish home papers printing the news for his relatives to read. The views on either side of the St.Lawrence, he writes, "were magnificent...the nice clean villages with their church spires wer a picture I shall always remember...the grandeur of the scene will never leave my memory."(1892) Another writer, coming up the St. Lawrence in the 1860s, has never beheld "a more beautiful panorama...than the country through which we passed..." Pearson, who recorded compulsive lists and charts of every minute of his day came into Vancouver harbour in 1912. He saw a panorama of

mountains ...cleanly cut against the sky--seeming almost as if cut out of thick cardboard--the intervening sea...had a

colouring of quite indescribable tinge that made me think I was looking at a picture and not at the real watery element.(Pearson 1932, 1728)

Literature guiding the experience of the emigrant and of the traveller was widely distributed by rail and steamship companies in early twentieth-century Canada as tourism became increasingly recognized as an economic force.(Lambert 1950, 74)[26] Helen Caddick on the Parisian about the same time is satisfied with her view of Quebec, "quite as grandly situated as the guide books say...we had a splendid view of it from the steamer."(1891) Vernede noted in 1911 that he became

very slack in attempting descriptions of things simply because some company that had rights of transport over the particular district had...thrust into my hand some pamphlet in which all the description was done for me...(Vernede 1911, 50)

In Quebec, his guidebook directed him to a "splendid Panorama" whose important features were marked for the viewer.(Vernede 1911,50) Human beings were also helpfully labelled (by themselves) such as the man with a sign reading "the only real Indian" authenticating his souvenir stand.(Vernede 1911, 43) Vernede found his handbook, which stated the impossibility of describing the local scenery in words, "a nuisance, because words are the only things I could describe it in."(Vernede 1911, 50)

The commercial calculus shaped values of observation and location by the end of the century. Anticosti Island was of doubtful interest to the 1911 travellers on the Empress of

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26 Soon after the 1885 completion of its transcontinental line the CPR became a pioneer in tourism, the establishment of the National Parks in part an effort to preserve and market "views" to the tourist.(Lambert 1950)

Britain because "Atlantic liners do not stop there..." But as new Canadians (rather than travellers) they felt an obligation to "see what we could of it so that we might...be regarded as oracles..." by other immigrants.(Vernede 1911, 16)

The newspaper business, becoming a social and economic institution like the transport companies, reinforced the awareness of travel through a complex of advertising and news stories in the "standard literature of an enormous class." (Dickens 1848, 205) In the late 1860s, Mark Twain provided the New York Herald with regular installments of his cruise on the Quaker City. Just as those American tourists saw the Old World as a stage for their unceremonious pleasure,(Clemens 1899, 265) the "new world" was becoming a blank page for well-ordered and edited memoirs of which travel was an essential ingredient. Through these media the new aligned with the familiar.

Parr Traill sees the scattered emigrant-ship passengers along the banks of the St. Lawrence as a busy, productive "fair or crowded market," a "picturesque scene." But a soldier who boards the ship cautions her that "...in this instance, as in many others, it is distance lends enchantment to the view" of what is in fact "human misery in its most disgusting and saddening forms..."(Traill 1966, 20) Isabella Bird arriving in Halifax sees the "familiar scarlet of our troops." Surrounded by "English voices and Anglo-Saxon faces" she appropriately feels herself at home "on the shores of the western hemisphere..." Discomfort creeps in here, though, due to a vague awareness of a loss of experience. Bird feels "vexed that these familiar sights

and sounds should deprive me of the pleasurable feeling of excitement which I had expected to experience under such novel circumstances."(Bird 1966, 13)[27]

Pearson defends himself against such disillusionment on a trip to Niagara by ignoring the "wonderful and exaggerated description" and mapping out for himself the known height of the Fall. As a result his view brought him "satisfaction...in every respect."(Pearson 1932, 134) Observation according to scientific methods enables him to feel confident of his direct encounter with nature, cleansing the doors of perception of both inarticulated mystery and verbose publicity. But although his experience is filtered through the science of measurement, it is also saturated with the standards of metropolitan aesthetics. He finds the "atmosphere and the play of light" in Omaha quite equal to that of the North of France.(Pearson 1932, 147)28

He remarks upon the resemblance of the Pennsylvania railway depot to St. Peter's in Rome, and the former's "magnificent arched corridor or arcade, flanked by splendid shops...[and the] great spaciousness and the height of the vast hall." Consumer rather than ecclesiastical aesthetics have become appropriate to new forms of enduring monumental architecture.

Travel culture, the alchemy of geographic and typographic space, entwined at the same time around notions of mobility and stability, of release and closure. Illimitable space, discovers Vernede, is being occupied by "irrepressible men who are

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27 Hill (1885) writes, "See our Empire and behold our home."

closing it in and giving it names for us to know it by."(Vernede 1911, vi) These names also circulated at sea and in news columns--the Empress of Britain, the Britannic, the City of New York, the City of Paris and the Allan liners called after the Great Lakes among them.

As space became a moveable feast, the ideology of freedom of the sea gave way to the free flow of information. Communication networks and territories of the late nineteenth century were constituted on lines of colonial information and transport systems serving the industrial development of Europe. An important theme of the newspapers continued to be the experience of passengers, especially those of the elite business and social class on the great liners. The conversion of space into linked territories meant the mingling of dispersed transients over imperial space around a central, European point of departure. At the turn of the century, Kipling, "under the lee of a wet deck-house in mid-Atlantic" finds the mostly Atlantic Canadian passengers "...at ease..among themselves, with that pleasant intimacy that stamps every branch of Our Family" and every ship it uses "on its homeward way."(Kipling 1920, 124) As Bird perceived, in a sense there is no arrival within the empire which is not an arrival at home. As the Quaker City was a piece of America afloat, so a CPR steamer to the seasoned passenger "cannot be confused with anything except Canada."((ibid.)[28] The ships themselves were swaddled industrial environments born in

[28] He did find that Canadians had a profound but polite contempt for England due to the fiasco of the Boer War.

the "bourgeois interior."

Sailing to South Africa in 1910, Pearson finds the few first class passengers "like a happy family" on the glorious dark blue sea. The full moon sails near the peak of Tenerife above "cold white clouds...exactly like Wedgwood designs" while the ship's band plays selections from Caliph of Baghdad and Iolanthe. (Pearson 1932, 1327) The easy juxtaposition of natural phenomena, domestic design and "Oriental" culture indicates the way in which panoramic perception linking a series of distinct phenomena is typical of habits of thought as much as of a direct visual experience of spatial annihilation. The lenses of progress are ground amid the carefully coded decor of the floating hotel which upholsters the deep blue sea. Passengers on a slow P&O liner, only a few decades removed from horrendous sailing ship conditions, comment of its single screw and "medieval" standards of service that they "wouldn't have missed this trip for anything. It's like sailing with Columbus." (Kipling 1920, 210) The speed of technological advance in the late nineteenth century conflates time as well as space. Part of Kipling's unease with this liner is precisely the sense he has of "time and progress" standing still upon it.(Kipling 1920, 210)

In the unrolling dream of a new country, a week on railroad wheels "turns a man into a part of the machine. The snort, the snap and whine of the air-brakes have a meaning for him.." The railroad in early twentieth century Canada is no longer seen, as

it was in Europe, as an intrusion into nature (any more than people are seen as intrusions into the machine.) By the late nineteenth-century the traveller expected the "natural" view of the St. Lawrence to be not pristinely "empty" but pleasantly swarming with ships.(Guillet 1963, 161)[29]

Like the visual blur of the landscape whirling round the speeding passenger, the view from the mobile metropolis was centripetal. Pearson finds the tropical railways, modeled on the "mother" country, to be "without individuality" and so unremarkable--reproductions are devalued.(Pearson 1932, 1535) Vernede comforts himself that the emigrant masses are interchangeable, and could be spared by Britain since, like technical paraphernelia, they really only rearranged themselves along different spots on "the great road of the Empire."(Vernede 1911, 17) As continental space interlocked with the oceans and the habits of seeing with those of experience, temporal and spatial passage were "produced" in part by the new technics which merged passenger, route, vehicle and representation. New forms of transport did not cause but accelerated the alteration under industrial capitalism of the relationship between people and place. In the overwhelming Victorian consciousness of circulation as a central positive value, travel was a visible index or ritual performance of Progress.

Nevertheless critics addressed the consequences for cultural

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29 Kipling notes the difference between the railroad in Canada and in Britain; the former seems natural, a "platformless, regulationaless necessity" familiar enough to "sometimes affect the death-rate" whereas in England it came late into a settled country.(Kipling 1920, 81)

values and aesthetics. In a Swiss valley, Franck admires a "panorama" of mountains. Though he is enabled to be there (and to borrow the convention) both by his elite status and by the vehicles serving the American tourist in Europe, he is horrified to find a "yawning hole in the mountainside" bored for a tunnel to accommodate the railway. When "an hour, robbed of sunshine and pure air, will separate Italy from the valley of the Rhone," the "transalpine voyager [will] degenerate into the subalpine passenger."(Franck 1910, 42)

Again, the degeneration of the modern traveller is associated with a landscape robbed of the ephemeral experience of authentic, original context which depends on distances ordering temporal and spatial relations. The image of the adventurous voyager had been connected with a passage subordinate to the great mysteries of nature. Those who protested modern travel and technology did so partly on the grounds of the intrusion into the landscape--the sense that that order had been changed.

Rosalind Williams (1990) notes that it is the technology which intrudes into nature which alarms us, rather than a sealed off artificial environment (another reason for the appeal of ships which seem so self-contained.) Though the steamship is significant in industrial production and alteration of space, its effects are indirect. It does not appear to leave marks and so can remain symbolically pure. However, tourists who appeared to defile sacred ground, as already noted, were associated with industrial travel. Steamships extended their range. As Twain gazes at the Sphynx someone appears on its jaw looking for

souvenirs. Twain satirizes travel journal conventions, transposing the monument and surrounding desert into an "ocean of Time...Memory--Retrospection--wrought into visible, tangible form."(Clemens 1899, 591) The great sign of a vanished power becomes part of some parlour's memorabilia, a point of projection into an edited historical scene.

Colonialism had employed a doctrine of space in which certain conditions of the quest for freedom, trade, peace and good communication made travel a profitable industry. By 1907 "in little more than half a century, the world had become increasingly smaller and a 3,000 mile ocean had shrunk significantly."(Armstrong 1961, 76) As travel became a cheapened form of controlled danger, the sense of stability provided by history also became a commodity. After World War I the vanishing "old world" and its battlegrounds were marketed to American tourists as a zone of spatial and temporal harmony. As Europe was presented as an American theme park, a contemporary French tourist official claimed that "..America can never be more than a creation of modern Europe..."(Lambert 1950, 202)[30]

The monuments to battle joined other edifices, cathedrals and gardens, commemorating "l'atmosphere ancienne de la famille," a "family" whose traditions had in the century before exiled many

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30 In the first year post-war, around half a million American tourists crossed the Atlantic to see the battlefields, as they had the amusement parks and disaster rides. A French government official studying American tourism in 1918 wrote that "[a] succession of curiosities and phenomena can never constitute a permanent attraction for tourists..."(Lambert 1950, 202)

of the ancestors of the tourist. Here was the panorama of a history which had itself become an exotic expanse of selected dreams to be viewed or discarded.

The effect of the steam engine on the ocean journey is akin to the effects of mechanical reproduction on the work of art: it "emancipated" the ship from a performance based in a natural (local) context, and, like "the work of art reproduced," the journey became "designed for reproducibility."(Benjamin 1968, 224) The potential of unique--or uniquely collective--experience is progressively lost as the journey becomes valued primarily for certain kinds of information. The cultural production of the journey rested on a complex of labour, technology and the institutions that aligned imagination and mobility with an economic rationale. As transportation and communication networks developed on a global scale, the experience of mass transit became paradigmatic.

Dreamspaces were "psychic escape hatches": the dispersal of attention evident in the railway passenger reading or watching scenery. Sales of newspapers rose and those of books fell as the conditions of rail travel altered notions of concentration. (Schivelbusch 1977, 69) The paraphernelia accompanying passengers included magic lanterns, slides, stereoscopes, books, serials, maps and charts. Their own journals included sentimental musings but also the recording of quantitative information, in their identification of the passage with the material networks of the journey.

We experience the world, notes Foucault, not so much as a

diachronic sequence as a synchronic network: the simultanaeity of near and far, of side by side, "of the dispersed."(Foucault 1986) The ocean journey vanishing from our own everyday world leaves behind a debris of tickets, poster images, guidebooks and newspaper stories linking our journeys to those of a century ago. Their dreamspaces are familiar in our own. The ocean liner flickers against the windscreen over our highways in the romance of trade, the long goodbye, the rejuvenation of adventure. Texts generated on board a ship in passage show the formation of a spatial aesthetic in the description of synchronic experience. To master this aesthetic was part of the mastery of the conditions of travel.

The panorama in its original form, discussed above, constructed an aspect of the world as seen in passage: a discrete view or portion edited out of the flux of space and time. The "naturalization" of such artificial order is related to conceptual or visual immobility.[31] "Panoramic literature" tends to also present space as a pre-existing illusionistic unity for people detached from the immediate background of its production. Benjamin describes the Parisian *fueilleton*, for instance, as a plotless form consisting of isolated anecdotal sketches, views of street scenes and people. As in the panorama proper, a plastic, dynamic foreground---the "informational

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31 This had political ramifications, of course; in the case of Darwin's theory of evolution, for example, a progression of selected images could "glorify the blind, empirical cause of human history" as natural, inevitable and progressive.(Buck-Morss 1990, 67)

base"--unwinds over a painted background.(Benjamin 1968, 149) Travel literature was panoramic in that although it had sequence and represented motion, it remained static in that it was usually without "plot," social development or consequence. Travellers returned home and took up their lives. In a culture where the stability of the "real" itself was in question, it is significant that the projection of consciousness into representational space could seem to have no lasting consequence, as a ship or wireless message leaves no trace in the night.

Travel literature paradoxically corresponded to a sense of transport, however, by implying to the reader a magical journey eluding the constraints of waking reality and guaranteed to unwind as it should. The passenger reads a text as if gazing through the glass window. In controlling the gaze we experience both the alternating presence of the glass (or screen) and the landscape (or image.) Neither takes precedence over the other. Myth operates this way, neither completely true nor completely imaginary, neither fully imposed nor fully subjective. The passenger or viewer can identify in turn with the mobile or sessile, here or there.(Barthes 1989, 133) But points of resistance or of technological failure can arise even in the perfect passage; and the media of transition between material and abstract realms must be managed. The Victorian annihilation of time and space had in its biological referents to circulation strong implications of conquering death.

Minerva's owl makes her flight only in the gathering dusk.
H.A. Innis, The Bias of Communication

These shrines, palaces and towers...
resemble nothing that is ours
No rays from holy heaven come down
On the long night-time of that town
....While from a proud tower in the town
Death looks gigantically down.
Edgar Allan Poe, "The City in the Sea"

It is the spring of 1912. You are on a tilting deck in the centre of a frameless, glassy ocean. Ragtime music, a bright mechanical soundtrack, is playing somewhere in the moonless night. You grip the rail and watch men in sailor costumes winding the levers of lifeboat davits. Around you electric lights blaze and twinkle through the steam. People stand entranced, staring at an iceberg positioned in the foreground.

The imagination of disaster takes changing form in different societies. In the industrial era its shadow fled from the skeleton of natural catastrophe into technical and systemic frameworks. Technological disaster can produce subversion in the order of things, catalyzing existing social or political tensions into a crisis. Consequent social change, however, depends on collective and political will.(Prince 141) It also depends on communications networks, a "folklore manufactory" which processes, interprets and circulates the story.(Coates and Morrison 1990, 165)[1] The wreck of the Titanic in 1912, unbelievable to its contemporaries, has come to seem a paradigm of the ambiguous symbiosis of perfect surface and chaotic depths. This interplay, of which the steamship is a sign, is key to our own technological imagination.

Despite the contemporary rhetoric of technical progress (or

1Turner also notes that the consequences of cultural passages depend to some extent on the state of science and technology in a society.(Turner 241)

perhaps because of it) the motif of shipwreck fascinated Victorian era Europeans. In popular imagery and stories, it became a metaphor for fatality, reconciling two categories in a mythic unity. The Victorian imagery of the pale body floating on water suggests the swimmer as well as the drowned, a marine experience of sensory immediacy. In shipwreck the reality of the sea overwhelms the imported aesthetic of transcendance, the yearning for beauty in death, meaning in loss and eternity in the sublime moment.[2]

A sense of cultural degeneration pervaded the era's dark vision of the decay which had been edited out of the picture of progress. The preoccupation with death extended into popular entertainments. Entrepreneurs in 1873 mounted a part cinematic, part vaudevillian version of the century's worst transatlantic disaster, the recent loss of the White Star Atlantic and 481 of her passengers off Halifax. After the wreck a flea market of salvaged baggage had sprung up on shore; imagery gleaned from newspaper stories supplied a montage of eyewitness scenes which scrolled on painted canvas across theatre stages.(Brinnin 1971, 351)

Disaster "rides" (ocean storms and shipwrecks among them) were popular in amusement parks of the early twentieth century.

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2 Margaret Atwood has connected the Franklin expedition's fate with that of the Titanic in the imagery of insanity and loss. In both cases these are connected to "the collapse of science under circumstances in which rationality and objectivity cease to have any meaning because they have become useless."(Atwood 1991, 24)

This form of leisure pastime is a phenomenon related by Rosalind Williams to mass democratic travel and the luxury of entry into previously inaccessible tableaux. In the panoramas of the Lake District, for example, people had a low-rent "sublime," later offered as a cheap rail excursion. Whereas the encounter with the sublime, for the Romantics, had had elevated emotion as a byproduct, in the market for vicarious horror the product was that emotional response itself.(Williams, Rosalind 1990, 250)

The mass media, including the machinery of entertainment, dramatize episodes of crisis to balance them with an underlying order. With the loss of the Titanic in April 1912 the popular press on both sides of the Atlantic provided a site for a melodramatic, almost ritual mourning, the aura of which still clings to the event. In interpreting the experience of contemporary passengers (and newspaper readers) it is important to set vicarious sail on a ship which has not yet sunk. But here the journals of travellers, which have so far provided a narrative thread, fall silent here to professional journalism. The mass press had, of course, long established a market and canon for travel literature. By 1912 the public gathered social and business information about ships from the dailies much faster and more efficiently than they had from even the minutely observed accounts of professional travellers. The press came to set the discursive course of the written journey.

On one level, the loss of the ship into the sea is a collapse of the machine ensemble of vehicle and "track." In the Titanic

case, the *panoramic* ensemble is implicated. The conflation of representation (or ideology) and reality did not of course cause the shipwreck; however, the imaginary and actual journey did tend to overlap in that the potential for shipwreck seemed to be contained. In the society of industrial capitalism, the myth of accelerated motion as a variation on natural order, domesticated and so "safe," is socially constructed to fit a profit system based on exchange of goods and passengers. Cultural constructs positing "freedom of passage" link democratic mobility with symbols of liberal privilege such as ocean liners, supporting economic imperatives shaping actual constraints for most people. As in the constructed economic balance between use value and exchange value, where the false dichotomy of nature and art collapses, productive forces are revealed as neither unlimited nor completely under control.

The panoramic journey, composed of its vehicles, media, messages and passengers, is interrupted with the wreck of a key machine. The commodification of the journey and of passengers was protested again in the accusations that the Titanic's people had been sacrificed to economic imperatives.[3]

The phenomenon of the Titanic is discussed below in the order of its appearance in the world and the popular imagination of

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3 For a discussion of economic and industrial crisis see Schivelbusch 129. Briggs cites an 1858 Harper's Weekly note on a railway accident: "...nobody's murder...Boilers burst themselves, rails break themselves. And it may be questioned whether the consequent slaughter...is not really suicide."(Briggs 1982, 117. See also 83-85.]

the North Atlantic triangle; its disappearance on a maiden voyage as brief and portent-laden as the flash of a falling star; and its reappearance in popular mythology--in contemporary newspapers for its immediate audience and in the remote images of its discovery for us.

Appearance

> ...quiet on the bridge, the great machine
> called for laconic speech, close-fitting, clean
> and whittled to the ship's economy.
> Even the judgement stood in little need
> of reason, for the watch had but to read
> levels and lights, meter or card or bell...the speed
> was fixed abaft...
>
> E.J. Pratt, Titanic

Ocean liners, like stories or myths, were many things for many people. Cheap third-class rates and faster passages made the liner accessible as a vehicle of emigration. As passenger trade did not completely transfer from sailing packets to steamship until the 1870s (Bowen 60-65) mechanical energy remained a source of some anxiety for *fin de siecle* North Atlantic travellers, who were caught between technological and economic experiment. Amid keen competition in shipping, steamships vanished without trace, lost shafts and propellors, or boilers exploded.[4]

When two Collins Line ships were lost in the 1850s, protestors claimed that high speed at sea was suicidal and even criminal. But the owner, who had lost his family on one of the

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4 Initial "fear of flying," a sensation often associated by passengers with rail travel, gave way to public enthusiasm for development projects "that burst more quickly than the locomotives which were expected to blow up as matter of course." (Rae 1991, 15. See also Schivelbusch 1977, 130)

ships, responded that "high speed was demanded of us by Congress."(Armstrong 1961, 45)[5] Owners eventually recognized that the racing of spectacular ships across the North Atlantic, and reports of consequent disaster, were against the interests of long term profits. With its inception in 1871 the White Star line issued its captains a confidential letter stressing their

> responsibility for the safe and efficient navigation of your respective vessels...while you will be expected to use every diligence to secure a speedy voyage, you must run no risk which might by any possibility result in accident to your ship...[or the lives and property entrusted to your care]...the Company desires to establish and maintain for its vessels a reputation for safety... (Armstrong 1961, 57)

The transient advantages of glory were to give way to the maintenance of a regular weekly service as passengers became preferred cargo. "Safety," shuffled in with "efficiency" and "progress" had been a major card in the legitimation of monopoly in the nineteenth-century railroad business in Britain. It would be played in the formation of shipping cartels and communications industry monopolies at the end of the century and in the overall organization of the passenger trade.

Owners claimed that safety on steamships simply "called for more watchfulness and more prompt action by officers and seamen in times of emergency."(Armstrong 1961, 45) Human error was in fact a significant factor in shipwrecks. But this cannot be separated from the nature of the machine itself. The conditions of operating large steam ships tended to alienate both workers and masters from the sense of direct control of the vessel and

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5 Steamship companies were profitably subsidized by government mail carrying contracts, and pressure for speed of communication was constant.

indeed from a sense of danger. In 1873, the same year the new White Star Line won the eastward speed record, its steamship Atlantic was (in the words of the Board of Trade) run "at full speed, engines and boilers all in perfect order, upon well known rocks, in fine weather" and lost.(Brinnin 1971, 253)[6]

Despite the size, luxury and comfort of the liners (tending not only to charm but to cushion the passenger from any suggestion of danger) most remained aware of the vagaries of the journey. The sensationalist popular press of the turn of the century delighted in recounting chaos on the North Atlantic. An English paper of 1896 wrote of an iceberg as a "towering monster" that "bore down on the ship...with such a crash that some 300 tons of ice came down on the forecastle..." Other accounts that year in New York papers describe people drifting in lifeboats for 35 hours.(Croil 1973, 185) A.E.Bilbrough's 1899-1900 journal is dotted with clippings listing the latest sinkings, and gossip of other wrecks circulated on board her ship.

Passengers in transit were now constantly connected with the world through the wireless and the multitude of daily papers in Europe and North America. Stories promoted the voyage as a swift "run" across the Atlantic, all dangers conquered by fabulous steamships. But people were also subject to more immediate news

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6 Cunard, White Star's competitor, had designed a system of navigation lights in 1848 which had become compulsory for all and provided its own ships with definite shipping lanes. But similar measures took precautions for ship collisions while ignoring the much greater risk of ice in the open sea.(Bowen 148)

to the contrary. On a train in Colorado at breakfast in April 1912, Pearson finds "news of the great disaster [that day] to the Titanic made sad reading in the morning's newspapers." The following month giant icebergs delay the Empress of Britain on a foggy sea. After

> seeing these monsters and with the fate of the Titanic fresh in our minds, we felt quite pleased that our steaming had been so careful...news came through, by wireless, that numerous other vessels were suffering delay... (Pearson 1932, 1816)[7]

The media's hall of mirrors, refracting reality, also drew a protective magic circle: messages of ice were circulated swiftly and (after the Titanic) taken seriously. Here is raised again the reverberating surface of the panorama. The myths of "bourgeois ideology," Barthes observes, "immunize" the collective imagination by ritualizing disorder and disaster, releasing the occasional admission of accidental evil(Barthes 1989, 164) to obscure recognition of inherent, class-based structural evil. Ideology, like the hall of mirrors, is a "structured system of aspects of reality" not reflecting so much as mediating perception.(Williams 1981, 70.) Through representations, certain crises "which cannot otherwise be directly apprehended are 'crystallized' in...images" which illuminate a basic social and psychological condition.(Williams 1981, 24) In this way, images of disaster can function as a "kind of historical searchlight..."(Coates and Morrison 1990,

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7 Though steam propulsion lessened the danger of fire and shpwreck, collisions with ice and other ships increased. Nevertheless hundreds of passengers of wrecked sailers were saved by the arrival of steamships especially after the installation of wireless.(Croil 1975, 185)

xvi) So disaster on a secular journey comes close to projecting the silhouette of "ritual" insight. In a space-biased culture based on mobility and the control of contingency, the mass media took on central force in constructing meaning out of the journey's disaster.

The mass press had heavy investments in telling the story of the Titanic. In its "eternal recurrence" news actually presents a static system of items or events, delimiting mobility on a structural level by positioning it on a symbolic level. Reading disaster narratives, "people are enrolled in the imaginary unity of the real."(Taylor 1991, 4) They become inner-eye witnesses to a new yet familiar event. Stories of fate "sell" a chaotic world of random change, unifying it with an orderly panoramic literature. The sense of dynamic, changeable history is overwritten by that of a static, unchanging nature. The reader is positioned at the centre yet detached from real consequences, distracted from the perception of structural disequilibrium and the cultural debris of shipwreck. Ong observes that the correlative of the "sense of closure fostered by print was the fixed point of view."(Ong 1982, 135) A fixed point of view and sense of closure, characteristic of panoramic perception, had the practical function of ameliorating fear in an unpredictable environment.

In the production of the *fin de siecle* panoramic journey, habits of seeing, reading and being can be related to a pervasive "horror vacui." In the bourgeois interior, a densely harmonic, structured arrangement of luxurious objects inspired a

"gliding gaze" connecting these objects visually. Artistic delusion here becomes "insurance against the inclemencies of fate," financial or otherwise. The satisfaction of the bricoleur or the panorama viewer lies in completing reality (and thus ensuring its enclosure) through imaginative entry into an unbreachable order. Urban salons were reproduced at sea. The habit of reading en route, as we have seen, also engaged the attention in psychic "escape hatches." A real, potential void is abandoned for the imaginary spaces of books and newspapers.[8]

The investment in maintaining a smooth surface for sailing affects all parts of the panoramic ensemble, the well-upholstered interiors within the hurtling iron shell, the well-stocked magic lantern and library against the spaces of the imagination. In Edith Wharton's response to the Titanic, its destination is a country with "hotels as big as towns and towns as flimsy as paper."(Wharton 1913) Anglo-American society is itself a "muddle of misapplied ornament on a thin steel shell of utility": a union "monstrous and factitious."[9] (Wharton 1913, 73)

As death becomes a "disaster ride" or news commodity, the

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8 The process by which human beings get accustomed to new technical means that inititally evoke...fear can be characterized as a process of repression...or diminution of fear."(Schivelbusch 1977, 166) Mumford suggests also that the "shock of the new" is reduced by making the environment as neutral as possble. The machine's aesthetic layerings have a similar effect to a "conventional code of manners...in social intercourse: it removes the strain of contact and adjustment."(Mumford 1962, 357)

9 Wharton's characters' social lives are centrally mediated by a woman who essentially tells their fortunes through her vast collection of gossipy newspaper clippings.

fusion of excitement and horror sustains a reader's distance from disaster, as a magnetic field balances repelling and attracting fields. Newspapers construct the stable relationship of death and daily experience by re-contextualizing it amid the dreamspaces of consumption, a "dream of endless pleasure."(Taylor 1991, 6) Similarly, the dreamspace of the journey may be shattered, but by juxtaposing stories of the sinking ship with graphics of angels and ads for cold remedies, the Titanic's journey remains somehow uninterrupted. Page 11 of the April 15 New York Times, which broke the Titanic story, still carried an ad for the ship's return voyage. This was due, of course to the rush to print but on some level it points to the fact that the ship had become more unsinkable than ever.

Newspaper stories present a complete, objective miniature of the world with an apparently natural (because visual) solidity and closure. The juxtaposition of images with text suggests a window but pictorial analogues provide diversion not insight. The reader's gaze, like that of the passenger, can only glide "in a planar movement of the eye...that remains actually and metaphorically bonded to appearance at the surface." (Taylor 1991, 4) When this shallow, panoramic space is penetrated with a shock which cannot immediately be contained, the effect must be made transitory.

Travel as a culture industry of its day followed the dreams and patterns of managed leisure. Culture industry aims, according to critical theory, at an attentive but passive,

uncritical perception through mimicking, reproducing and standardizing dominant interpretations of reality. As cultural forms correspond to structures of mechanical reproduction and distribution--in this case to the conditions of transit--dual forms of hardness/precision and sentimentality/romanticism emerge (the steel shell and the velvet salon.) Adorno noted that standardization, such as that of magazines and newspapers, aims at standard responses weakening forces of individual resistance.(Held 1980, 96)

We have seen this constructed tension in Romantic travel which incorporated the objective, machinic aesthetic as well as an ephemeral, dynamic organicism. The technological as well as the natural sublime worked to reconcile cultural tensions in the face of stunning new annihilations of traditional distances and forms. A publicity collage shows the Titanic vertically juxtaposed with ancient and modern monuments of civilization, underlining her own significance as an icon of Edwardian prestige and stability. Death imitated art and the ship pierced the water in an almost vertical glide. The disorientation of spatial relationships, vertical and horizontal, is what in its *controlled* versions is the attraction of disaster rides and stories.

But the crisis of the accident, noted Ernst Bloch, is the "crisis of the uncontrolled things."(Shivelbusch 1977, 129) The machine ensemble comes apart, sound separates from picture track and the rail from the wheel; the ship from the surface of the sea. Two miles down, the fragile teacup comes to rest on the

giant boiler engine. Then as now, the enduring power of the "wreck of the floating machine" is not so much that it has or will explode "but that it exists and is imploding in our minds."(Virilio 1986, 150) How does it arrive there?

Through its sharing of mass media representations a community seems linked, moving as an ensemble "calendrically through empty time"(Anderson 1983, 31) as the mythic ship sails the "empty" sea. A sense of temporal simultanaeity inflects our visualizing of a spatial coincidence as well. In this sense a modern mass community struggles for genuine meaning amid a mosaic of differentiation and the perceptual collision of territories (which is exactly what mechanized travel arranged for the passenger.) The collective moment of mourning the Titanic is important not because the ship coincided in space with an iceberg. Rather, it is unique in that it coincided in time with, as Pratt wrote, "wireless waves as yet unstaled by use"(1935, 4)--a communication industry at a moment of transition between old and new, the moment which conditions fear and control.

Four days passed without reliable news of the event. Four days was also the time of a North Atlantic dreamspace: a fast sailing or a new novel. In this time an historical dreamspace also emerged, the popular mythology of the ship on its panoramic journey. To us, it is less credible that four days could pass without communication links than that a ship could sink. But for that interval in time and space, the contemporary imagination met an empty sea, not yet filled with the versions of the

ship we know today. The modern media's forging of the simultanaeity of "here and there" was accelerated in the spring of 1912 with the campaign to transport the public into what was, in effect, an absence.

The British economy had begun to slow between 1870 and the end of the century, followed by working class resentment, industrial strikes and a sense of crisis fueled by political unrest and the Boer War. As it seemed Edwardians would pay for the Victorian dream, the forms of the old order slowly ossified into institutions and codes inspiring the search for certitude and emancipation. From its roots in the 1890s to the end of 1914, the Edwardian period was "made turbulent by the thrust and tumble of two powerful opposing tides," the Victorian garden party and the modern labour party.(Hynes 1968, vii).

But even with shifts in political or financial power (the details of the picture) the unity of the supporting structure is sustained, illuminating the faith of the passenger in the ship, the wilful surrender of the panorama viewer, and the ritual participation of the newspaper reader in the imagined perfect transit of the expensive delicate ship. Its loss provoked a western "crisis of spiritual and political values sufficient to color indelibly the course of the twentieth century."(Wade 1979, ix.)

Under the shadow of Halley's comet in 1910, Belfast's Harland and Wolff shipyard began building the Titanic for White Star. It

was financed by Americans but registered, crewed and regulated as a British ship.[10] Her high-technology design, construction and opulent superstructure were meant to clinch a competitive advantage in the face of increasing international competition on the North Atlantic. The ship was almost 900 feet long and triple propellors could drive her at over 22 knots, though comfort and luxury rather than speed were her claim to profit. Her double hull and automatic "watertight" doors were meant to make her the safest as well as the largest thing afloat. The ship, often compared to the 1851 Crystal Palace, was a showcase of technics, arts and science, making her projected maiden voyage in April 1912 the "dreamspace" of the Gilded Age.

Disappearance

The Titanic carried 2,227 passengers and crew from Southampton on April 10. When an iceberg tore open her hull off the Grand Banks on 14 April most of her passengers refused to believe there was any danger until it was too late. Three hours later about 1500 were dead. The number of lifeboats was inadequate due to an obsolete regulation; in any case, lack of disaster discipline and drill meant that only about 705 people made it into boats with the capacity for 500 more. Depending on

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10 It represented a merger of American capitalism and British industrialism in the context of the slow transfer of financial power to the new world. (Wade 1979, 6-8) White Star had been absorbed by the American-based International Mercantile Marine shortly before. The account below is taken from a range of widely available histories of the event, listed in the Bibliography. More specialized commentary is cited as to author. Newspapers cited are listed in the text.

state of the art instrumentation and communications systems, the Titanic was not even supplied with binoculars for the lookouts. Despite at least six wireless messages warnings of ice in the area, prior to the collision the ship had been steaming through a moonless night at her fastest speed of the voyage.

The Titanic struck the iceberg at 11.40 p.m. and began distress transmissions shortly after midnight, but most ships in the vicinity with wireless had shut down for the night a few minutes before. The first signal was picked up by the wireless station at Cape Race which relayed the transmissions to New York via Halifax and Montreal and the Carpathia reached the lifeboats just after 4 a.m. During its four-day sailing to New York, rescued Titanic wireless operator Harold Bride and his Carpathia counterpart Harold Cottam released no information about the wreck itself.

Public response to the disaster was shaped by the mass press positioning on stage the relative roles of the passengers, storytellers, audience, transportation vehicles and communication technologies. The institution of the press had, by 1912, been largely accepted by the public as a defender of freedoms including those of the airwaves and information services. Newspapers were key players in legislative debates concerning technological development.(see Douglas 1987)

After the American and British inquiries into the loss of the ship no charges were laid, but the incident as reported in the press had a major influence on regulatory policy in shipping,

safety practices and wireless use.[11] The United States Wireless Ship Act passed in 1910 had required certain ocean-going steamers to be equipped with an efficient wireless system but enforcement was difficult. A 1910 House Report stated that if "the use of wireless is not to be regulated, it may in future result in disaster."(Douglas 1987, 226). After the loss of the Titanic, the 17 April New York Times set the general tone of information celebration: "To realize what the wireless did in this case one must think not of those who drowned, but of those who were saved." Marconi as inventor of wireless, and information service entrepreneur, was an instant public hero.[12]

In 1907 Marconi's company had established regular transatlantic information service, with very attractive rates.[13] The New York Times contracted for regular transatlantic service. However at this early stage of "radio," many amateur wireless operators cluttered the uncontrolled airwaves with trivial messages, sports scores, and false transmissions (including alarms about sinking ships.) Regulation of the airwaves in the United States was contested, seen by many including the press as

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11 If policy had been different, for instance, the ice warnings might have been not only received, but heeded. For an account of the British and Canadian institutions of wireless communication at the time, see Coase 1950 and Jamieson 1966.

12 Early in 1899 Marconi set up the Marconi International Marine Communications Company, servicing ships and shore stations. In 1900, Cunard and the Italian and Royal Navies subscribed to the service. By 1901 Lloyd's of London pushed for all ships under heir purview to use wireless.

13 5 cents per word to the press and 10 cents for others-versus the 25 cents per word fee extorted by the cable companies who had had virtual monopolies until now.

an infringement on a natural resource and a zone of free speech.

The psychic derangement of the event was compounded and ignited by an ensuing chaos of contradictory and speculative stories. The real facts of the event--the negligence, speed and tragic coincidence--were scattered flotsam on this tide. During the newsgathering campaign of the first days and weeks after the sinking, the market value of information and of wireless, an instrument which had seemed a toy or convenience, became obvious. The American press condemned amateurs as the renegades of the information business, but also feared that if the state had regulatory power, military priority might impede their own access to information. Americans, wrote the April 18 Toronto Globe, were free to use the airwaves without fear of law and order. Protests against Canadian amateurs also used metaphors of the frontier wilderness in order to direct public outrage. According to the Globe, "radio pioneers" roamed the airwaves, even though the Canadian Wireless Telegraphy Act of 1905 had provided a basis for national policy. After the Titanic, the Canadian state control of radio developed along the British model, and an American Radio Act of 1912 also empowered the state to regulate the industry. Amateurs were exiled to the "ethereal reservation" of short wave (Douglas 1987:234) and became the official scapegoats of the tragedy.

The press is seen here in the process of carving out an information monopoly. As the reportage of travel had been divided between realms of scientific, mechanical and literary prose, early twentieth century descriptive media delineated

"objective" (official, expert) and subordinate, "subjective" spectra of cultural knowledge. (With respect to the media of transport, this trend was evident in the transfer of accredited expertise from complex, responsive sailing skills to the steamship's abstract discipline of units, series and mechanically reproducible knowledge.)

Those who read the Titanic's fate in signs and portents were dismissed as anachronistic mystics or socialists sentimental about pre-industrial life. The comet and other omens were recalled. But even rational warnings and practices were ignored. As E.J.Pratt put it, with all the high-technology sensing and navigating devices, "judgement stood in little need of reason."(1935,4) Celebrants of the modern rituals of travel, the newspapers portrayed

> an ocean lifeboat in herself...no storm could hurt that hull...the papers said so...the perfect ship at last...the first unsinkable/ proved in advance--had not the papers read so?" (Pratt 1935, 1)

Critical journals were more likely than the popular press to perceive the new liners as "marine monsters" carrying too great an investment of life and wealth in one place (Hoffman and Grimm 1984, 16). Most dailies, like the Vancouver Daily Province, praised modern ocean liners as "wonders of science." White Star ships in particular were lauded as symbols of British maritime superiority and heirs to the Victorian dream. Those dailies that did see trouble on the already crowded North Atlantic route cited big business and the state as culprits due to too many mergers, fast ships and incommensurate safety standards.

Reappearance

As soon as the Titanic sank, a paper ship inscribed with legends set sail in her place, intricately folded by the mass press and the popular imagination. In major cities of Europe and North America, dozens of newspapers competed for the same audience, with most of their material supplied by the same wire services. Independents like the New York Times battled for exclusive stories with the powerful Hearst and Pulitzer "yellow press." The Times, with "All The New That's Fit To Print," promoted itself as a reliable and professional alternative to sensationalist, aggressive newsmongering. New York wire reports of the Titanic were carried in Canadian newspapers from 16-21 April, 1912.[14]

The loss of the Titanic had to be explained in objective terms while evading a too-critical connection of transportation institutions with those of mass communication. The story of the wreck became primarily the story of the media, its heroes the speeders of information (technicians and scientists) and its villains those who would interrupt its passage. Commercial interests were cast as altruistic and progressive.

In the four days without information on the wreck itself were born some of the first and most ineradicable components of the Titanic legend. When the first messages came into newsrooms after midnight on April 15, most New York papers ran headlines

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14 In Canada 114 daily newspapers served a widely dispersed population; with 66 of those dailies concentrated in 18 communities, competition for readership was as intense as that in America.

based on the distress call. The Times printed:

New Liner Titanic Hits Iceberg
Sinking by the Bow at Midnight; Women Put Off in Lifeboats; Last Wireless at 12.27 a.m. Blurred.

As a result of its efficient handling of the opportunity, and its business connections, the Times took a world leading position maintained for decades. As the early morning hours passed with silence from the wireless, editor Carr van Anda collaged together a probable truth from iceberg reports and old news stories of winter disasters on the North Atlantic.(Wade 1979, 30) Without any proof, the Times' second edition announced that the Titanic had sunk. The paper was at first criticized for sensationalism--no one could believe the ship would sink. Around noon, false messages of safety arrived, smugly printed in other papers: "All Saved from Titanic After Collision." Either a cruel joke or spectrum interference causing overlapping phrases, this message was later blamed on unscrupulous amateurs and an unregulated spectrum. The Times' version was vindicated when the truth came through and thereafter the paper commanded public trust.[15]

But during the next four days, as the Carpathia slowly sailed to New York, papers had to still spin mystery into newsprint. All that was really known was that the ship was gone, and the names of survivors occasionally released from the rescue ship.

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15 While they were generally less sensational than their American counterparts, Canadian papers too filled their first few pages with Titanic stories. The Vancouver Daily Province suggested that "Probably No Lives Will Be Lost." In the general confusion of information the 16 April Toronto Globe carried one dispatch listing Charles Hays, President of the Grand Trunk Railway, as among the rescued, and on the next page his obituary.

Newspapers alternated between wild invention (informed by generations of shipwreck lore) and supposedly objective statistics. The latter were, however, equally creative, the estimates of survivors arrived at through a combination of passenger lists and assumptions about human behaviour during crisis. It was erroneously assumed, for instance, that all crewmen had gone down with the ship. Like previous generations' myths of sea serpents, accounts of human behaviour in crisis involved powerful variants of social myth. Shipwreck scenarios were as much or more foci for the expression of social anxieties as they were about nature.[16]

The 16 April Toronto Globe predicted a "watery grave" for every man on board. White Star Line managers were reported confident that all the 675 believed saved must be women and children. No law of the sea required it but it was "generally true that men made this sacrifice..to the women of the steerage as well as to the wealthier class." In the same edition a partial list of the rescued includes several men of the first cabin. As is well known, hundreds of women and children from steerage were lost as half-empty lifeboats left without them.(Lord 1953, 127) It became apparent from later eyewitness accounts that seamen and passengers had been heroic only when

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16 The shipwrecked woman, for instance, could focus fears of female political power on her appearance as pitiful victim. Nineteenth century reports of shipwreck dwelled upon accounts of women in various states of dress, rescued by a heroic man "bearing in his arms the half-dead creatures who had crawled to the rocks" according to one newspaper.(Sternberger 1977, 159. See also Auerbach 1982) In the Titanic sinking, 189 men of the crew were saved (686 lost) and 55 men of the passengers (of 399.) Estimates by survivors consistently imagined almost all the crew lost.(Lord 1957, 136)

ignorant of real danger and organized only when self serving. But these were suppressed--few at the time would address the "exposed myth of [male] Anglo-American heroism during disaster." (Wade 1979, 279) Most metropolitan newspapers staged the event as an operatic clash of good and evil, innocence and corporate greed, honor and disgrace. Fictional accounts of horrendous explosions, storms and total annihilation were conjured up everywhere and printed as fact.[17]

Public fury grew as the details of the wreck came to light later; remember, the Titanic had been adequately forewarned of ice, yet steamed ahead full speed without sufficient lifeboats. The rhetorical regression of the ship from orderly machine to undisciplined demon, animal or female recalls the 1840s travelogues. The ship which had a few days before been praised as an aesthetic and technical marvel was now revealed by the Toronto Globe as the "monster leviathan of the Atlantic," whose "last awful plunge" would surely have devoured any lifeboats near the ship. Rational voices whispered that no perfect machine had ever existed, but much louder were the cries of "human sacrifice to degenerate luxury" and of technical arrogance.

17The disaster had other meanings for those without investments in the myth making machinery. To blacks in the US, the segregation on ocean liners at the time meant that the loss of the "lily-white ship" was a tragedy only for white society. The suffragist movement that year suffered, however, by the refusal of thousands of women to appear ungrateful for the sacrifice of the men who gave up their places in the boats.(Wade 1979, 294) And the hundreds of Irish, Slavic and other ethnic groups of immigrants in steerage remain largely invisible on the British empire's eternally sinking ship.(Lord 1957, 131)

The Hearst papers suggested for White Star a record, not for speed, but for "unparalleled manslaughter."[18]

After the Carpathia docked, every major paper in the States seemed to find first-hand witnesses to the disaster, but continued to fill front pages with stories elaborated out of fragments of emotional memories. Rumour and imagination proved too dazzling a background to obscure with accuracy and in the conditions of the campaign it was impossible (and unprofitable) for editors to verify all stories phoned in by reporters.(Lord 1957, 130. Wade 1979, 52)

This typographic panorama of truths, half-truths and guesses recalls the composition of travel journals: shipboard gossip reinforced by news clippings, the photographs pasted in next to self-conscious descriptions of unforgettable views, and the careful composition of the reality of the voyage against a seamless backdrop. With disaster on a mass scale, all communication systems are brought to bear in discovering and circulating the "facts" necessary for the voyage to continue. The subjective contribution to the unity of this "text" requires the audience to sustain a fixed point of view on the cognitive

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18 Because of the great size of the ship the number of victims lost with her was as great as that of several sailing ships lost over the course of years in the mid-nineteenth century. Local papers, such as those of the seafaring British towns that provided the Titanic's crew, relied less on imagination and printed biographies of lost citizens. The Montreal Star noted that the terrible loss came home "with a sickening nearness" in the Canadian city where the White Star ships docked. The Toronto Globe also pointed out the Titanic's relevance to Halifax, where the White Star Atlantic had sunk and been pillaged several decades before. (It did not mention the relevance of the press to the panorama show.)

deck. This point of view has been discussed above in terms of the sense of *deja vu* when staring at the unexpected as projected by the "engines of visualization."

Despite the release of sober reports by survivors, they could not direct the "dream ship" in its nightmare drama the Globe called "more wonderful in its dignity and splendor than anything...invented by imagination." The passengers of the imaginary vessel were mourners who preferred romantic tragedy to distasteful truths. The few reports of panic, privilege and incompetence were lost amid tales of the band, the "brave dead," good grooming and chivalry. Editor J.A. Macdonald in the 17 April Toronto Globe castigated those of the press who suggested anything other than the ability of British passengers to die with grace.[19]

More sober, moderate papers, such as the New York Tribune, revealed the truth as lying in maritime practice; Captain Smith had been, at best, negligent in his duties.[20] Harper's Weekly simply noted that on the Titanic, navigation had been confused with hotel-keeping. Joseph Conrad irritably wrote that there was nothing heroic in drowning or romantic in playing music to get drowned by.(Wade 1979, 57) George Bernard Shaw and Arthur Conan Doyle debated the disaster in the British press. Shaw derided the "effect of tragedy on a modern nation" as an "explosion of

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19 "There is nothing to show that those who perished on the Titanic did not face the end with...calm heroism...Britons, whether of the old world or the new, thank God...still know how to die."

20 In a 1907 interview with the Times, Captain Smith (a veteran sailor) attested that any danger at sea to modern ships had been "neutralized by technology."(Davie 1987, 54)

outrageous romantic lying..." (Hoffman and Grimm 1984, 117) while Conan Doyle defended the "quintessentially British" heroism and sacrifice on board the Titanic.(Davie 1978, 13)

The heroic vision was widely retailed in popular pamphlets, songs, sermons and editorial cartoons. Corporate and government irresponsibility (though not the institutions themselves) were more often blamed than the forces of nature or the incompetence of sailors. In the cartoons, allegories of transcendant authority add calls for safety to publicity posters of "luxury" and "magnitude." People on the tilting deck encounter signs directing them to the Turkish baths but not to the lifeboats. One drawing, entitled "The Eternal Collision," shows a ship labelled "theory" striking an iceberg of "fact."(Everett 1912)

The quest for the truth considered also its proper mode of address. British papers, traditionally owned and run by the bourgeois, viewed with distaste the American tendency to indulge in an "orgy of...falsehood," as the April 16 Chronicle put it. American journalists, usually of working class backgrounds, in their turn attacked the British journalists, sailors and marine boards for elitist obscurantism. British aristocracy, in the person of ship's owner Bruce Ismay, had also had the bad taste to survive the wreck while women and children drowned. When British papers derided the American inquiry as incompetent to judge marine matters, the New York Evening Mail replied that "it is the shore that wants to know; it is the sea that must answer." This approach resulted in direct, non-technical accounts of the disaster which were accessible to reporters and

to their mass audience. This widened the scope of public opinion and involvement at the time and fueled the popular mythology of the ship to the present day.

Britain's wireless regulatory policy, however, received full press support on both continents. Because of a common interest in protecting the wireless/newspaper connection, competing journalists did not overly condemn the Times' connection with Marconi. It had come to light during the American inquiry that while on the Carpathia Bride and Cottam had been instructed by the Marconi company to hold their story in order to sell an exclusive to the Times. Travel literature, always produced and published for profit, became especially lucrative in the context of the interrupted journey. While, as the New York Sun put it, the "world waited in agony for news" for four days those who knew how the story ended were those who became its heros.[21]

In the Victorian and Edwardian eras, as today, admissions of greed, haste or incompetence were largely absent from the prevailing doctrines of industry. Even accusations of hubris (a still "flattering excess of the conquering spirit") amount to the displacement of responsibility for accident from the economic or political sphere to the cultural.(Beale 1988, 44). The press described a failure of political will and imagination,

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21 The paper, barred with all press from the dock, had arranged with Marconi to secure an exclusive copyright interview with Bride as the wireless inventor, hero of the hour, boarded the ship with a reporter. Bride too became a popular public figure especially after his appearance at the US inquiry.(see Davie 1987, 213; also Douglas 1987.)

over which the enduring human spirit (especially that of the audience) was seen to triumph (with the help of communications technology) over temporary evil.[22]

Any interruption of an industrial journey does not seriously disable the general trajectory of the transport industry. Although the public dream is rudely dispersed with the interrupted journey, the interruption itself is often not recognized as such; or it is simply assimilated, naturalized, into the major narrative. The holiday illusion, suggests Virilio, is only apparently separate from the accident. Both imply the desire for "a holiday with no tomorrow" or a deferred rehearsal of the last day.(Virilio 1991, 61) In the lure of "trains and transatlantic travel..." it is not distance that is annihilated but the physical effort or need to cross it. Space is replaced with its representations and the passenger comes to identify with the illusions of acceleration. Whether the Titanic or the Zeppelin "the fatal catastrophe seems to passengers of the giant vehicle like a senseless, unreal hypothesis, and...they continue to dance to the sound of the orchestra." (Virilio 1991, 61)

It is irony which seems to be the lasting interpretation of

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22 In the Portuguese empire of the 16 and 17C, shipwrecks in trading to the east were common, due to greed, incompetence, over expansion. Narratives of these wrecks were collected and sold in pamphlets, the "historia tragico-maritima" in markets in the eighteenth century. While they do contain a "sense of motion...life and death...compassed into a single formula of exposition" the stories do not connect individual tragedies to the slow collapse of the empire's power.(Duffy 1987, 23) Patrick Wright in his discussion of the politics of raising the Mary Rose in Britain, coinciding with the Falklands War, traces an attempt to connect prior maritime glory with a present-day resurgence of national military pride.(Wright 1985)

the event--the liner's abrupt transition from a well-decorated monument of imperial dreams into an index of the power of the the "chambers of the sea, where human voices wake us and we drown."(Eliot 1954) For vicarious late twentieth-century passengers, the tragedy of that locust singing is irrevocably mixed with the idealistic mass chorus of the young bourgeois mobilized in the Great War. After the war, no dream ship of the twentieth century could be blessed with the imaginary of a guaranteed arrival at a foretold shore.

But light from out the lurid sea
streams up the turrets silently
up shadowy long-forgotten bowers
of sculpted ivy and stone flowers...
Poe, "The City in the Sea"

I came to explore the wreck
the words are purposes, the words are maps
The thing I came for
the wreck and not the story of the wreck
the thing itself and not the myth.
Adrienne Rich, "Diving to the Wreck"

The way in which we represent the material world is related to our sense of control over cultural continuity. Narratives of steamship journeys, occupying the intersection of myth, ideology, and history, reveal the extent to which "nature and technology are...class-related categories."(Williams, Rosalind 1990, 21) These categories are reinforced by conventions of expertise and access to technics of communication and transportation in times of transition. The newspaper accounts of the Titanic constructed the fantastic voyage of a machine standing for a society increasingly dependent on its communication media. With the ship are lost passengers' own records, the thread of the travel narrative breaking with the interrupted journey. This thread was taken up by the newspapers which offered a collage of voices, opinions, statistics. Travel as collective journey became collective horror but remained a bundle of aesthetic notions, individualist enterprise and tall tales.

The print media, like the panorama, visually "fixes" the

immediate in its mechanical reproduction. But as the "paramnesia" of the dream narrative(Virilio 1989, 44) thus becomes authoritative, the reality of the journey seems to more directly correspond to its analogues. The programmatic effect of representation is powerful in proportion to its fit with memory and expectation, which in turn are shaped in a broad mediascape.

We have come to like linear order and sequence in texts, believes Ong, and we make arrangements so that our experience can parallel that order.(Ong 1982, 147) The Atlantic crossing for passengers seemed the embodiment of an order made manifest rather than constructed in cultural forms such as travelogues. Eighteenth and nineteenth century novels and newspapers provided linkages between imagined characters and readers who resembled each other, "travellers en route in an unbounded universe." (Virilio 1989, 37) Drawn across a stable, constructed backdrop, readers as tourists would tend to experience their own journey as a narrative and on some level assume the completion of a projected voyage. The sense of control over "projection" was not difficult when for metropolitan-based travellers other places, people and histories were a "screen" against which to project themselves as main characters. The sense of simultanaeity across time and space was connected to the power based in the "annihilation" of natural barriers to such projections. This imaginary connection among diverse people and between them and literary and territorial structures was extended and reinforced with the development of wireless. The news blackout in the

Titanic event was a gap in that connection.

Although the wireless could send immediate calls for help in a crisis, it was subject to control by those with a commercial interest in being "in the same place for the purpose of trade." Constructed proximity in space and time is profitable but can obscure the real geopolitical implications of colliding territories. The technical control over the leviathan in the depths also exists in surveillance systems on shore. For Kern, the Titanic episode refers to and extends the "vast extended present of simultanaeity," as one of the ships which helped to end the "poetry of distance."(Kern 1983, 213) Upon this distance depends perspective, the spaces of passage toward the construction of meaning and projection of new routes. Accelerated mobility and communication alters this perspective.

In the four days the world was without specific information of the Titanic's fate, the audience had to project itself into an imaginary web of gossip, hearsay, old legends, superstitions and sailor's opinion. All this was bound up by the newspapers which elasticized but did not cut the strands of technological progress which bound these notions to a rationalized future. Criticism from "high" culture and literature were effectively lost from the popular mythology of the ship, as were responses from marginal social movements. (The place of the event in American black and feminist culture, for instance, is mentioned in only one of the score of books on the Titanic consulted for this thesis.)(Wade 1979, 294) Thus the information gap in the

journey was replicated in its representations, but not as opportunity for re-vision of maritime industry; rather it was presented as a challenge for further extension of the instruments of global communication. Meaning was made through a unified panorama of tragedy, public emotion and official response.

George Steiner links the fin de siecle phenomena of automation and dehumanization--the tendency of the culture industries to produce "manufactured men"--with the abstract reproduction of experience. This can result in the sense of degeneration, ennui and contradictory impulses toward "clearance"--destructive spasms which make space "even at the price of ruin."(Steiner 1971, 53) Popular nineteenth century images of ruined ships, machines and ancient cities are taken in such psychoanalytic analyses as an expression of the need for psychic escape hatches from the velocity of progress. The wish element of the images is refracted also in the half-sensed, silent mermaids under the moving beds of the ship.

These are themes of psychic numbing, the intrusion of mythic structures into historical explanation. As Rosalind Williams observes, they are not useful if they replace economic or technological determinism with static, essentialist fatalism.(1990, 188-89) In fact, the imbalance of orders of rationality is a kind of madness on a cultural level. In journey literature, a glimpse of another world sends the viewer mad

who cannot rationalize, for instance, Pip's sight of "God's foot on the treadle of the loom."(see Vulliamy 1973) In secular terms, the glimpse of a key driving force in an inequitable order tends to also meet resistance.

Modern tragedy, believes Raymond Williams, is really the loss of hope due to the falsification of an imagined future, that utopian voyage interrupted forever.(Williams, Raymond 1990, 105) Modernity's disasters endure as icons, taking on metaphorical force for ideological stasis once they are no longer of central use to production. Steamships and trains, for instance, have become the nostalgic "content" of present-day media, their euphoric rush through distances and views forecasting the escape worlds of cinema or extra-terrestrial space (the final panorama.)

Most importantly, states Williams, what is tragic is the loss of our ability to wake up and communicate about our situation. People still assemble--or are assembled--"meet or collide.." but only to play doomed verbal games "while we sail on (the image of the Titanic is very widely retailed) toward disaster."(Williams, Raymond 1990, 105) Our own structure of feeling, like that of the last *fin de siecle* is characterized for Williams by an interweaving of change and continuity, "a modulation of the conviction of impending disaster." (Williams, Raymond 1990, 102) We inherit modernity's preoccupation with defining a stable home amid constant exchange but tend toward questions of ultimate destination rather than points of departure.

How did steam power affect the experience of the transatlantic journey? First, by rationalizing and accelerating passage through space, the mechanized vehicle provided a technological or industrial environment comparable with (though not identical to) artificial "engines of visualization" such as panoramas. Perceptions of relationship to space altered for the passenger. Subjective experience resonated with the material and productive aspects of exchange. In fact, mechanized travel as a "culture industry" involved dimensions of experience adapting people to industrial environments, and ships became compelling to the imagination: signs as well as media of both spatial and temporal mobility.

The spatial, visual bias of modern communications media developed in the context of an order based on scientific knowledge and the global exchange of commodities and resources. In the literature and imagery of ship travel, British writers tended to identify their passage with the Empire's promise of order. Although the resulting image or reconstruction of the journey is thus biased and incomplete, it has become closely identified with the pre-war world as an Edenic utopia connected with migration and circulation. We adopt a fixed "view" of history as a panorama of progress, much as the landscape became captured and circulated in its representations and replications. As the traveller attempted to reconcile change in a world at once familiar and unfamiliar, a sense of *deja vu* resulted. The vehicle of transport which mediated this encounter extended the

urban dreamspace over land and sea and ordered an unruly world in that image.

But this was not a one-way process. Steam power changed the journey but the journey itself helped to accelerate technical development and the organization of companies and routes. The passenger trade, which had been boosted by the industrial revolution, later made it economically profitable to develop new designs and engines culminating in the passenger liner. In short, through steam power the traveller became a passenger and the adventure became the mass "industrial journey." With the mechanical reproduction of representation, extending and reinforcing a visual bias, the perilous voyage became the "panoramic journey," an intersection of its representations, machine ensemble and passengers' experience.

The panorama was a closing of gaps, a redress of the "horror vacui" in a world become puzzle-board. From the 1880s on, literature filled in imaginary space with adventures in distance, matching the "psychological, political and financial yield of the land grab of the major imperialist powers" which filled in "blank" spaces on the map.(Kern, 1983 166) For modernist cultural production, the "void" or negative space took on positive value in the construction of new meaning and art. The twentieth-century realm of negativity replaced nineteenth-century literary beasts, forces of nature and machines. Empty space in art and literature, as silence to utterance, began to symbolize gaps and omissions in sequential thinking which had itself become suspect. The "void" now had constituent function,

leveling hierarchies in aesthetics as had the secularization of life broken down aristocratic legitimacy. The setting for significant events shifted from sacred ground to the profane--the battlefield, market or home.(Kern 1983, 177) As the "empty" ocean swallowed the Titanic, and framed a secular ritual representation of loss and absence, the previously "silent" zone of the ether (the broadcast spectrum) became centrally valuable to consolidating control over space.

The panoramic world inhabits, like the ocean, the "category of daydream," its sutures invisible to a gliding gaze. Though an ideology of "progress" shapes expectations of arrival according to the values of the departure, the passage is an interval in which the features of both shores are (potentially) up for examination and re-ordering like cards in a shipboard poker game. But in this dreamspace we don't hold all the cards. It is the actual lack of information, or anomaly in the pattern, which reveals the gap between reality and representation and forces us to evolve a more accurate, fully dimensional, dynamic picture of space.

Western society controls the journey as it does any other process: by transforming it into an object of productive knowledge. During the long "industrialization of time and space" the panorama of the European arcades was a component of the frame for an endless horizon--the "Approach of the New World" (the title of a painting on board the Titanic) as inevitable, the manifest destiny of collecting space. Similarly, the Edwardian press informed the Titanic story with rhetoric about

ideas or events whose time had come (imposing textual closure or mythic aesthetics on social events.) An iconicized "ruin" of the industrial journey can stand for the historical reconfiguration of meaning or distance us from any real reflection on the implications. The panorama, recall, worked precisely in annihilating the experience of "real" time and space by the replication of its fragments. The image of the perfect ship supersedes that of the scattered passengers floating on the water; the structure itself, "the doomed, the beautiful"(Wade 1979, 63) becomes itself aestheticized in horror.

. . .

> The angel [of history] would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed. But a storm is blowing...this storm is what we call progress.(Benjamin 1968, 257)

In the "panoramic journey," the "frame" or horizon seems to disappear and we project ourselves with greater ease (less disturbance or refraction) across distances into partial representations of other places and times. Imaginary journeys today as a century ago are constructed at the intersection of military, leisure and information industries.[1]

New technics of "telepresence" and its applications in various areas project us into new visual spaces. The audience

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1 Stereoscopes of the nineteenth century entered the public sphere from scientific research. The travel industry developed in connection with military expeditions. Optics of deep-sea exploration are of use to science, industry and the military. A Canadian forces recruitment ad appealing to computer hackers sells it training programs with an image of a battle ship and the slogan "Think of it as 5000 tons of computer hardware." Schivelbusch suggests the implications: "The conditioning of the individual in the military context can now be seen as the earliest model of all subsequent and similar conditioning in the civilian economic world." (1977, 160)

follows scientists and strategists into the ocean's depths, the last frontier. A new IMAX film will present an almost life-size version of the Titanic. This is a "flashlight in the graveyard" based on video technology and illuminations "40 times more powerful than anything used on the sea floor before." It provides the "kind of clarity [we the audience] have been longing for since the discovery of the wreck..."(Gorman 1992)[2] What this "ultimate achievement" of our own era will reveal, says another commentator, is a glimpse of "the grey and foreboding monument to pre-World War presumption and social arrogance..."(Lawrence 1992)

The story of the Titanic's discovery is only the most recent public travelogue of the panoramic journey, its robot voyagers transmitting messages, sonar maps and images of a deep parallel world. We need no longer physically go where no one has gone before. For Robert Ballard, as for the natural scientists of the eighteenth century, visual communication ("the ability to share...a truth, a new knowledge") is central to the concept of the epic voyage of discovery.(Pellegrino 1988, 17)[3]

Still, it is significant that the computer-generated analogues of the journey to the bottom of the sea are so emotionally unsatisfying that Ballard insists upon going down in

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2 Some of this equipment was developed for the film The Abyss, some for scientific research and some for military recovery of downed spacecraft, etc.

3 The masculine cult of the journey (including its helpless drowning victims) is consistently reproduced in the accounts of the discovery. The Titanic becomes a "bitch" taking brave sailors' lives; a few gallant crewmen set out on an adventure of discovery.

a submersible to "feel" the presence of the wreck. Like a work of art, he claims, "only the original can touch your spirit and bring you to tears."(Pellegrino 1988, 152) For the rest of us, however, the flurry of images of the wreck in themselves threaten to erase the lingering aura of this journey. What is visible is legible and what is legible must be read, obviating the need for imagination which fuels the sense of legend.

The successful storyteller conveys a range of experience to others in such a way that that experience is shared, recreated and examined, not imposed as complete to be passively contemplated.(Benjamin 1968, 87)[4] Critical theory in response to the "dreamworlds" of mass production sought to interrupt a deceptive panoramic unity, looking past constructs of mastery of nature and society to those elements as yet unmastered. When society and social relations are presented as part of a natural state, they too become (falsely) extrinsic or objectified for control. Emancipatory art tries to counter, open or negate the unified "web of relationships" of subject and object, ideal and natural world. A critical view of the journey as a mode of cultural production considers the role of social power and knowledge in developing systems of material energies and technologies. To avoid rigidified monopolies or over-dependence on the machine, it is necessary to retain the ability to intervene in our own course without abstracting ourselves and

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4 The decay of storytelling is "a concomitant symptom of the secular productive forces of history...that has quite gradually removed narrative from the realm of living speech and at the same time is making it possible to see a new beauty in what is vanishing."(Benjamin ibid.)

our imaginations from the conditions of the journey.

It was not the ideal world but its pretensions to correspond to reality to which Adorno objected.(Jameson 1988, 23) The excursus on Odysseus in Dialectic of Enlightenment suggests that as we close our ears to the sirens we resist a language capable of negation and alternative meanings.(Horkheimer and Adorno 1972) Homesickness becomes a normal condition of modern life for Benjamin also, as a mythic ship carries us out of time and away from direct interaction with the world.(Buck-Morss 1984, 72)

Technology (here, the ship) which enables accelerated material production comes to stand for a condition of alienation from the material world. McLuhan suggests that by

> an enormous speedup of assembly-line segments, the movie camera rolls up the real world on a spool, to be unrolled and translated later onto the screen.(McLuhan 1964, 164)

Certain ways of seeing and knowing the world arose through the intimate connection between physical speed and the commodity character of objects. Schivelbusch observes that as modern traffic has come to decide what goes where, traditional perception no longer provides a basis for the sense of "panoramic perception." This is because

> [as] soon as a society's overall perceptions have reorganized themselves after qualitative change of the production-circulation complex, the new normality is what was formerly the panorama.(Schivelbusch 1977, 194)

In the panoramic entertainment, the sense of suspension between a space and the image of a space became the central object of the experience. The train seemed the panoramic experience embodied; "like flying" it encouraged a sense of

detachment from the earth. The ship passenger's real alienation both from land and from normal pictorial space, was the logical extension of this experience. The airplane's panoptic view of sea and sky is the present-day culmination of the panoramic journey which depends on the construction of a suspension of space and time for the passenger. As the panorama evokes both the (future) cinematic and the (prior) painted image, the ocean liner as media predicts the airplane even while its content is the steam train. Innis best if most cryptically expresses the effect of the projection of our imagination over vast spaces. As communication and transportation media accelerated in concert, "thought gained lightness." We have adapted ourselves to the conditions of this journey.

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