

# The Fatal Journey of Third Class Men on the Titanic

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[Tuesday 3 July 2001](#)

**Was survival or loss determined the Titanic's design?**

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Given the well-documented practice of those in authority during the immediate aftermath of the collision to downplay its seriousness 1, how aware a Third Class passenger on the *Titanic* was of what had happened greatly depended on where he or she was quartered. Single women and families with children were quartered in the extreme after end of the stern (*Passenger Occupancy Table* below) from D Deck down to G, far from the forward end of the bow on the starboard side of the ship where the collision occurred. For these passengers, aside from the initial jolt (which was noticed by some but by no means all), the only direct evidence of the event were the ship's engines being shut off within a matter of minutes of the collision (Beesley, 1912: 28). It is quite probable that many Third Class women and families in the after quarters did not notice anything and slept well after midnight before having an inkling of being in danger.

In sharp contrast, the nearly 440 Third Class passengers residing in the forward quarters—overwhelmingly single men, along with a relatively small number of childless couples (*Passenger Occupancy Table* below)—there was considerably more awareness early on as to both the nature and the magnitude of the accident. This would have been especially true of men quartered on the starboard side in the open berths on G Deck and the cabins on F Deck where water from the accident entered directly.

*Passenger Occupancy Table 2*

	Forward Quarters				After Quarters				Total	
	Single Male	Childless Couples		Sub-total	Single Fem.	Couples with Children		Children	Sub-total	
<i>Third Class</i>		Males	Fem.			Males	Fem.			
<i>Survivor</i>	55	1	9	<b>65</b>	63	3	17	33	<b>116</b>	<b>181</b>
<i>Fatality</i>	347	17	9	<b>373</b>	53	15	17	66	<b>151</b>	<b>524</b>
<i>Sub-total</i>	<b>402</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>438</b>	<b>116</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>705</b>

The Third Class survivors Carl Jansson and Bernt Johannesen are typical of several men who survived who were in the forward quarters and who in later accounts reported quickly comprehending the significance of what had occurred simply because water was filling their quarters. The former is quoted as having said:

Then I run down to my cabin to bring my other clothes, watch and bag but had only time to take the watch and the coat when water with enormous force came into the cabin and I had to rush up to the deck again where I found my friends standing with lifebelts on and with terror painted on their faces.

What should I do now, with no lifebelt and no shoes and no cap? (*H.: Passenger Lists & Biographies*).

And Bernt Johannesen is cited as saying:

We were in the cabin where we undressed. Then we heard something like a vibration in the ship. I dressed, and went upstairs. On the other deck I met a mate who told me that we had struck an iceberg, and boats were being put out as a matter of precaution. It was nice, quiet weather that evening, so I thought I would walk to the cabin to get a coat. But at the fourth deck I was stopped by an officer who told me that I could not get any further. The sea water had got into the cabin (*H.: Passenger Lists & Biographies*).

For those in the forward quarters without first-hand experience of the accident, the evidence no doubt came quickly enough from those in the vicinity who had seen the water coming in or themselves had heard from one who had. There are, for instance, a number of references in first-hand accounts to a large group of ‘firemen’ (or ‘stokers’) appearing on the Boat Deck very early on (*e.g.*, Gracie, 1913, in Winocour, 1960: 175-6)<sup>3</sup>. Being employed far below, in the boiler rooms at the forward end and thus being not only experienced with ships, but also having seen the water literally rushing in, these firemen clearly understood very soon the seriousness of the situation and immediately headed to the upper decks. They, and crew members like them, of course communicated their understanding of things to nearby passengers in the forward quarters, so that the information rapidly spread. The Third Class passenger Daniel Buckley<sup>4</sup> testified exactly to just such a process:

I got on my clothes as quick as I could and the three other fellows got out...Two sailors came along, and they were shouting: ‘All up on deck! Unless you want to get drowned.’ When I heard this I went for the deck as quick as I could (A.).

Within roughly one half hour of the accident, then, we can infer that the information had already reached a critical mass of the Third Class passengers in the forward quarters that the ship was taking in water. Driven by fear, and in the case of those whose quarters cabins are literally flooded by necessity, hundreds of men deep down on E, F and G Decks at the forward end of the ship now gather up as best they can their belongings, and begin a journey, in the depths of the ship, the near length of the *Titanic* from bow to stern. This, even as right above them on the forward Boat Deck lifeboats are being prepared, eventually to be loaded almost exclusively with First Class passengers and their servants. The present piece is an investigation into what is known about this journey, in the hope of shedding some light on the general treatment of the Third Class passengers by the ship’s authorities.<sup>5</sup>

As suggested by the title of this piece, the journey proved a fatal one. The men—some 350 to 400 of them<sup>6</sup>—went almost the entire way along the working alleyway known as ‘Scotland Road’ that ran along the port side of E Deck. The journey was not completed probably for all of them until roughly 1:00AM. It ended in a deadly *cul de sac*. Virtually none of the Third Class men who went back to the stern from their front quarters were ever rescued. Of 420 men in the forward quarters only 56 survived. Many, if not all of the survivors most likely went immediately up to the forward Boat Deck, never taking the journey at all. The majority of the men who did take the journey, once it was over apparently waited in Third Class public spaces in the stern, many of them emerging only at the last moments before the ship sank, part of a mass of people who rushed to the after Poop Deck in a desperate attempt to extend their lives. Some unknown number of the men made it up to the after Well Deck beginning at 12:30AM to 1:00AM or so where they were detained, their access to the Boat Deck restricted (Abelseth, A.; Dillon, B.: 3828-55). These men were akin to spectators of the rescue, watching the lifeboats being launched from the after Boat Deck. Ultimately, they joined the mass of people who huddled together at the extreme rear of the Poop Deck as the ship finally sank bow-first into the North Atlantic. As we shall see, there may also have been some unknown number of the Third Class men who were led from Scotland down to the Third Class dining rooms on F Deck, roughly amidship. If so, they and any other passengers who collected there, may never have made it out from the stern of the *Titanic* at all, the ship serving in the end as their under water mausoleum.

Following British Board of Trade regulations, in case of an emergency there were designed routes by which

passengers from each of the classes, respectively, were assured access to the lifeboats launched from the Boat Deck of the *Titanic*. In the testimony of Edward Wilding—a designer of both the *Olympic* and the *Titanic*--before the Parliamentary inquiry, there is a clear delineation of these routes. Wilding 's testimony is distilled in the form of a list in [Appendix 1](#).

According to Wilding, the Third Class men at the forward end of the ship were intended to go in any of 3 ways up to the forward Boat Deck, where there were 6 standard lifeboats, 2 smaller emergency boats, and four collapsibles. There was an 'outside route' (#12), which involved the climbing of a series of ladders from the lower decks to the forward Well Deck, from there entering the front of the Bridge Deck, and then climbing one of two ladders up to the extreme forward end of the Boat Deck. Third Class passengers generally were free to go to the forward Well Deck (the 'Third Class Open Space'), but under normal circumstances they would not have been permitted to proceed from there to the Bridge Deck and so on.

The other two were 'inside routes' off Scotland Road on E Deck. Each led up to First Class areas on D Deck, from there to the First Class 'grand staircase' and up the latter directly to the forward Boat Deck. One of these routes (#13) required the Third Class men to enter an 'emergency door' leading up to the forward First Class entrance on D Deck. The other (#14) corresponds to another route mentioned by Wilding (#5) designed for those in the First Class quartered relatively toward the stern on the starboard side of E Deck. It required the Third Class men to go farther aft on Scotland Road, to the so-called 'steward's stairway' and from there again up to D Deck to the grand staircase. Both of the exits off Scotland Road in these last two routes were out of bounds to Third Class passengers in usual circumstances, and for that reason most of the men would not have been liable to take them, and would not have known where each led in any case..

Two things become clear from Wilding's testimony. In order for the hundreds of men from the front quarters to have reached the forward Boat Deck, as they were intended to do in an emergency, they would have had to have been guided by those in authority through areas of the ship from which they were accustomed to being restricted, and with which they were therefore unfamiliar. Secondly, however, we can infer that had they been expeditiously guided by stewards along these 3 designed routes, it was logistically quite possible for large numbers of the men in the forward quarters to have made it up to the forward Boat Deck in time to have been loaded into the lifeboats launched from there beginning as early as 12:25 and as late as 12:45AM ([Appendix 2](#)).

The fact is, of course, that for whatever reason, and whether justified or not, no such rescue effort was made. There are numerous detailed and highly credible accounts of the loading of the First Class passengers into lifeboats on the forward Boat Deck (e.g., Gracie, 1913: 173-86; 225-48). It is, after all, the 'stuff' of the popular story of the *Titanic*. In none of these accounts is there so much as a suggestion that either prior to or during the launching of the forward lifeboats, any major contingent of Third Class men were guided up to the Boat Deck, via either the forward Well Deck or, certainly, the grand staircase. Actually, other than the occasional 'Frenchman' or 'Italian' jumping into one boat or another there are no allusions to Third Class men on the forward Boat Deck during this period at all. With one weak exception (Albert Pearcey), who we will touch upon below, no stewards or any others from the crew claimed to have directed Third Class men along one of these routes either. Nor have any surviving men reported being directed in this way. And, indeed, there were virtually no men (or women) from the Third Class loaded into the forward lifeboats;<sup>7</sup> even those launched from the starboard side roughly half of whose occupants (among passengers) were men ([Appendix 2](#)).

There is an indication (but admittedly little more than an indication) that some Third Class men, rather than being guided to the forward Boat Deck, were to the contrary detained on the forward Well Deck. This is implied by some testimony of the AB, John Poingdestre at the British inquiry. He told of an odd scene he'd observed within the first hour of the accident, while on his way to the forward Boat Deck from the forward Well Deck. He is being questioned here by Butler Aspinall:

POINGDESTRE: I was going up on to the boat deck to go towards my own boat, and I heard the Captain pass the remark, 'Start putting the women and children in the boats,' and then I went to my boat, No. 12.

ASPINALL Now, on your way from your quarters up to the boat deck would you go near where the Third Class passengers could get out from their quarters up to the deck?

POINGDESTRE: Yes, they were already out.  
 ASPINALL: How do you know that?  
 POINGDESTRE: I passed them on the forewell deck on the port side.  
 . . .  
 ASPINALL: How do you know they were out? You say you passed them; what do you mean by that?  
 POINGDESTRE: Well, I saw them with my own eyes, with their own baggage on the deck.  
 ASPINALL: Did you see them coming up?  
 POINGDESTRE: They were already there.  
 ASPINALL: Was there a large number of them there?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 ASPINALL: And when you say 'there' what do you mean precisely by that?  
 POINGDESTRE: On the port side of the well deck, outside, from under the forecastle.  
 ASPINALL: As you passed, I suppose it was a short time?  
 POINGDESTRE: Well, it was directly I came out of the forecastle.  
 ASPINALL: You saw them gathered there?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 . . .  
 ASPINALL: It is difficult to tell numbers on a dark night?  
 POINGDESTRE: There may have been 50 or there may have been 100, I could not say.  
 ASPINALL: Were they not only gathered, but were they remaining there?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 ASPINALL: Stopping there?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 ASPINALL: Were there men, women, and children?  
 POINGDESTRE: No.  
 ASPINALL: What were they?  
 POINGDESTRE: They were men, foreigners.  
 ASPINALL: You saw no women?  
 POINGDESTRE: None whatever.  
 ASPINALL: It may be the women are berthed aft of the ship?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes, aft, away from the men altogether.  
 ASPINALL: Now, was there anybody connected with the ship, stewards or sailors, or anybody else, giving any information to these people?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 ASPINALL: Who was giving information?  
 POINGDESTRE: The Third Class stewards were with them, some of them.  
 ASPINALL: They were with them?  
 POINGDESTRE: With the passengers.  
 ASPINALL: Were they telling them anything?  
 POINGDESTRE: They were conversing with them.  
 ASPINALL: What do you mean by that?  
 POINGDESTRE: Why, speaking to them.  
 ASPINALL: Did you hear anything they said to them?  
 POINGDESTRE: No.  
 ASPINALL: Were there any orders being given - you know what I mean - orders in a loud voice?  
 POINGDESTRE: I never heard any.  
 ASPINALL: They were gathered together?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes, in a bunch.  
 ASPINALL: And talking?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes.  
 ASPINALL: Then you passed along?  
 POINGDESTRE: I went up the ladder then to go to the boat deck.  
 ASPINALL: And when you had gone up to the boat deck did you leave behind you these people on the well deck?  
 POINGDESTRE: Yes (B.: 2874-904).

What are we to make of this? We can be fairly sure these men, 50 to 100 of them according to Poingdestre, did not go from the forward Well Deck up to the Boat Deck while the forward lifeboats were being loaded and launched. Conceivably the men were detained on the Well Deck until the lifeboats were safely launched and were then allowed up to the forward Boat Deck. This seems unlikely because of the two late boats, Lifeboats 2 and 4, launched at 1:45 and 1:55AM respectively ([Appendix 2](#)). By the time the latter were launched the water filling the bow was reaching up to the forward Well Deck, the latter going under at around 2:05AM (Quinn, 1997: 38). It is hard to believe the Third Class men (or the stewards) would have remained on the open deck for so long (approximately an hour and a half) under these conditions. It is more likely that shortly after Poingdestre observed them, before the water had risen too high, and probably at the

behest of the stewards, the men, still carrying their baggage, went back down into the ship to E Deck, where they joined the other men on the journey along Scotland Road to the stern of the ship.

Another matter bears remarking upon here. Second Officer Lightoller—the most senior officer to survive the accident—opened up something of a can of worms in testimony before the British inquiry related to the oft-repeated charge that the lifeboats launched from the forward Boat Deck were grossly under-loaded. It was set off by an exchange, in reference to Lifeboat 6, between him and the Solicitor-General—Sir John Simon. Lightoller refers vaguely to a plan to load Third Class men into the lifeboat once it was in the water through ‘gangway doors’ located on each either side of the ship at the level of E Deck abreast of the forward end of Scotland Road. These doors (as well as similar doors amidship and at the after end of the ship) opened up just above sea level and allowed entry into lifeboats with the use of portable gangways (*B.*: Wilding, 20474):

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Here is a boat with only 42 people in it, and when it is water-borne everybody agrees it would safely carry more then?

LIGHTOLLER: Yes.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Did you give any orders with the object of getting more people into it when it was in the water?

LIGHTOLLER: Yes, I see what you are alluding to now, the gangway doors. I had already sent the boatswain and 6 men or told the boatswain to go down below and take some men with him and open the gangway doors with the intention of sending the boats to the gangway doors to be filled up. So with those considerations in mind I certainly should not have sent the boats away.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: That is what I meant. Did you give any order or direction to the man in charge of boat No. 6 that he was to keep near or was to go to the gangway doors?

LIGHTOLLER: Not that I remember. The boats would naturally remain within hail.

SOLICITOR GENERAL: You do not recollect whether you gave any actual order to the man in charge?

LIGHTOLLER: No (*B.*: 13895-8).

Shortly afterward, the Commissioner who headed the British inquiry, Lord Mersey (*nJ e* John Charles Bigham), questioned Lightoller more pointedly about this apparent effort early on to load Third Class men from E Deck into the lifeboats launched from the forward Boat Deck.

COMMISSIONER: You had ordered the gangway to be lower, as I understand? -

LIGHTOLLER: What gangway, my Lord?

COMMISSIONER: The gangway in the forward part of the ship?

LIGHTOLLER: I had ordered the doors to be opened.

COMMISSIONER: Well, that is what I mean. You had ordered the gangway doors to be opened?

LIGHTOLLER: Yes.

COMMISSIONER: And the gangway to be lowered from that point?

LIGHTOLLER: If there were sufficient time. We had a companion ladder.

COMMISSIONER: I do not see what is the use of the door if you do not lower the gangway?

LIGHTOLLER: We should probably lower the rope ladder; that was our idea.

COMMISSIONER: That is the same thing as a gangway. You would provide some sort of communication between the opening of the door and the boat in the water below?

LIGHTOLLER: Exactly.

...

COMMISSIONER: Now, was that for the purpose of putting more people into the boats as soon as they become water-borne?

LIGHTOLLER: Yes.

COMMISSIONER: Was that the object?

LIGHTOLLER: That was the object (*A.*: 13957-66). [8](#)

In addition, there is testimony by AB Archibald Jewel, and Third Officer Pitman, respectively (*B.*: 130-4; 15021-7), indicating that First Officer Murdoch, who was in charge of loading and launching lifeboats on the starboard side, had a plan of the same sort as Lightoller. It seems to have entailed picking up passengers off E Deck farther aft. Jewel, who was in charge of Lifeboat 7, testified that he was told by Murdoch ‘to stand by the gangway,’ which he took to mean the door off E Deck, amidship. Pitman who was in charge of Lifeboat 5 testified that Murdoch told him to ‘[k]eep handy to the after gangway,’ indicating a notion perhaps of rescuing Third Class women and children from E Deck at the stern.

Reading between the lines of all the testimony about these plans of Lightoller and Murdoch is the hard fact

that they did not come to any fruition. We know this with a certainty because none of those in the lifeboats reported picking up any passengers from E Deck, once they were in the water. Apparently, no one laid down gangways or organized the Third Class men in the front quarters to enter these side-doors, and it ended at that. Lightoller concedes this point in an exchange with the Solicitor-General, where he once again is being pressed on the order he gave the boatswain to prepare the gangway door for the loading of passengers:

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Did the boatswain execute those orders? -

LIGHTOLLER: That I could not say. He merely said "Aye, aye, sir," and went off.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Did not you see him again?

LIGHTOLLER: Never.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: And did not you ever have any report as to whether he had executed the order? -

LIGHTOLLER: No.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: I had better just put it. As far as you know, were any of those gangway doors open at any time? - That I could not say. I do not think it likely, because it is most probable the boats lying off the ship would have noticed the gangway doors, had they succeeded in opening them (*Titanic Inquiry Project*, 1999: 13910-3).

The upshot of the matter, however, is expressed most succinctly by the AB Thomas Jones, who was in charge of Lifeboat 8. When asked by Senator Newland at the American inquiry: "After you got down to the water's edge, how do you account for the fact that more men were not put in, more passengers?" Jones answered: "If they had been down there we could have taken them (A)."

### 3

Once it was widely known among the hundreds of Third Class men in the front quarters that water was filling the lower decks in the bow, if the authorities were not going to direct them to the forward Boat Deck (or as just discussed through the 2 gangway doors at the forward end of E Deck), where was there, other than the stern, that these men could have gone? Even without prodding by the authorities, there would have been a strong inclination for the Third Class men in the forward quarters to head toward the stern for safety, although they might well have been better off to have done otherwise. It was obvious the water was coming in at the bow, and before long it was clear, from the tilt of the deck, that the ship was sinking from the bow. True Aristotelians, most of the men likely put their trust in their senses and headed aft. Besides, the route along Scotland Road was a familiar one by the end of the third day of the trip to the men in the front quarters, since it was the main thoroughfare leading to many of the Third Class public spaces, most notably the Third Class Dining Saloon. And in general this was the way one went when one socialized with the Third Class passengers at the after end of the ship. Moreover, many of the men, at a moment of such danger and crisis, no doubt had no other thought than of finding friends and love ones quartered in the stern. One can imagine some would have had to have been prevented from heading that way had there actually been a rescue effort directing them right up to the forward Boat Deck.

It should be noted that there were exceptional men from the forward quarters--Abelseth, Krekorian, Ryan and Jansson are all survivors who fit this description—who had the foresight to move in the hour or so after the accident more or less freely to the forward Boat Deck (*H.: Passenger Lists & Biographies*). Rather than going aft they most likely climbed outside ladders along the forward end of the Bridge Deck up to the Boat Deck ([Appendix 1, Route #12](#)). But these were a small barely-noticed minority, and almost to a man each of those who survived and who gave an account of what happened told afterward of acting against the will, however weakly expressed, of stewards who were on hand. The scene viewed by Poingdestre of men detained on the forward Well Deck, roughly at 12:30AM, as well as the well-known confrontation with stewards described by Buckley (A.), may be indications that eventually this limited freedom of movement was more overtly restricted by the authorities, but that is mere conjecture.

Like other aspects of what happened to the Third Class that evening, there are no first hand accounts of the journey itself along Scotland Road. Dead men do not, as they say, tell tales. What we have to rely upon instead are a mere handful of observations in testimony before the British inquiry. These were made, as it happens, by various crew members who encountered the men in the midst of their own personal journeys, or in two cases, testify to having helped direct the men along Scotland Road.

The earliest one of these observations is found in the testimony of the trimmer George Cavell.<sup>9</sup> Cavell was in Boiler Room 4, immediately below G Deck toward the forward end of the ship, when the accident occurred. Soon thereafter the lights went out in the stokehold he'd entered. In this context there is the following exchange between him and the Solicitor-General at the British inquiry:

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: When the lights went out what happened?

CAVELL: I went on deck to see what it was, and I saw people running along wet through with lifebelts in their hands.

...

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: How far up did you go; what deck did you go up to?

CAVELL: The alleyway.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Was it along the alleyway that you saw the people going?

CAVELL: Yes.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Were they passengers?

CAVELL: Yes.

...

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Can you remember which way they were going?

CAVELL: They were going toward after-way.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Coming from the forward end?

CAVELL: Yes.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Could you tell what class passengers they were?

CAVELL: I should think they were the Third Class passengers (*B.*: 4222-38)

Under the examination of WD Harbinson, the lawyer representing Third Class passengers, Cavell testified specifically about the role of the authorities:

HARBINSON: There were a great number of Third Class passengers on the liner?

CAVELL: Yes

HARBINSON: Did you hear or see anybody giving them instructions where to go to?

CAVELL: The stewards I did.

...

HARBINSON: What did you hear them say?

CAVELL: They were telling them to keep calm.

HARBINSON: Did they seem to be excited?

CAVELL: The passengers did.

HARBINSON: They were proceeding aft?

CAVELL: Yes (*B.*: 4441-6).

The stewards appear here to have encouraged, at the least, the natural inclination of the men to move toward the stern. They '[gave] then [Third Class passengers] instructions where to go to.' As suggested above it does not seem that, generally speaking, the authorities acted to forcefully prevent the men from heading up to the forward Boat Deck. But in the immediate aftermath of the accident they seem to have assisted passengers to do otherwise than to go directly to where lifeboats were being prepared to be launched.

Two glimpses of the men on either end of their journey are found in the testimony to the British inquiry of a leading fireman, Charles Hendrickson (Mr. Rowlatt is the examiner here), who observed the Third Class passengers both back and forth between the Boat Deck and the engine room; the first time approximately at 12:30AM and the second perhaps a half hour to forty-five minutes later:

ROWLATT: You heard an order to go to the boats, did you not, ultimately?

HENDRICKSON: Yes.

ROWLATT: Did anything happen before that to speak of?

HENDRICKSON: No; I think I had a bit of trouble to get through the steerage passengers... They were in the working alleyway, going along with trunk and bags and portmanteaux.

...

ROWLATT: There was a crowd of them?

HENDRICKSON: Yes, a big bunch of them.

ROWLATT: When you came aft again were they still there?

HENDRICKSON: Yes, they were working their way aft; they were going towards aft.

...

ROWLATT: Did you ultimately come up from the engine room?

HENDRICKSON: Yes.

ROWLATT: Were the steerage passengers still in the alleyway, then?

HENDRICKSON: Yes, they were walking about to and fro; some sitting on their luggage.

ROWLATT: There was no panic among them?

HENDRICKSON: No, they were just walking about in an ordinary way.

ROWLATT: Did you hear any order to go on deck?

HENDRICKSON: The only order I heard was when I went forward again and the word came along, 'We want a leading hand; all hands get lifebelts and get up on deck' (B.: 4946-56).

Hendrickson's words describe a journey that over its course took on an insular existence, expressing itself to the outside observer as prosaic detachment: 'they were walking about to and fro, some sitting on their luggage'. His last response—'The only order I heard was when I went forward again and the word came along '...get up on deck'--leaves an impression that access to the Boat Deck could only come when one was out of the presence of these beings shuffling away from the living, like shades in the depths of the *Titanic*; an unwieldy crowd of men clogging the alleyway, gripping their every possession for dear life.

The insularity is related to the absolute immediacy of the men's concerns; a self-defeating lack of perspective on what was happening. This is no better symbolized than by their hanging on to, and being weighed down by, their possessions throughout the journey. The observation that the Third Class passengers, particularly the men, were laden with baggage is almost universal in accounts of those who witnessed them, and is taken up by most secondary sources as well. Hendrickson's testimony exemplifies this, including the wrinkle that once settled in the stern some of the men are described were seen 'sitting on their luggage.' The image of 300 to 400 men lugging their heavy baggage the length of the ship, as the *Titanic* is sinking, is both tragic and absurd. Instead of 're-arranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic*' the expression might well have been 'worrying about ones baggage.' Of course, all those making the trek knew that the ship had hit an iceberg, but how much did they really know beyond that? Perhaps, some of them reasoned that the purpose of going to the stern was in order to have a dry place for their things. Possibly, it was thought that the ship was going to continue to function and their journey was a matter of switching quarters; of moving in with the other Third Class passengers for the rest of the trip. Perhaps some (as may have been the case of Captain Smith too) believed another ship was coming to their rescue. And for many, perhaps, the fear was overwhelming. It obviated the need or desire for an 'explanation'; to ask, why are we going toward the after end of the ship, any more than to ask why are we taking this cumbersome luggage with us. One thing it is safe to say is, the stewards, by allowing them to go aft with their possessions, were not preparing the men coming out of the forward quarters for rapid entry into lifeboats, since presumably only minimal accessories would be permitted in that case.

Lastly, we consider two relatively detailed descriptions of the role of the authorities in the journey of the Third Class men. These are found in the testimony before the British inquiry of two crew members, respectively Albert Pearcey, a pantry-man, and John Edward Hart, a Third Class bedroom steward, each of whom makes reference to an organized system by which Second and Third Class stewards handled these men. Pearcey, in an exchange with the Attorney-General--Sir Rufus Isaacs--testified in this regard as follows:

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Then when you had done that [help passengers with lifebelts], where did you go?

PEARCEY: I passed all the passengers I could see forward to the Boat Deck.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: How did you pass them forward to the Boat Deck?

PEARCEY: Through the emergency door.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Where was that emergency door to which you are referring?

PEARCEY: The one right forward

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: Where does it lead through?

PEARCEY: Right through the saloon companion.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: What saloon?

PEARCEY: The First Class.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Right through the First Class saloon companion?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: That would be on the next deck, would it not, on the upper deck?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: E Deck?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Would that be leading into the alleyway?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL: As the people came along there you passed them through this door, did you?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Where did the people come from?

PEARCEY: They came from forward.

...

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Were they men or women?

PEARCEY: All men, Sir.

...

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You passed them up to that door; did you give them any directions?

PEARCEY: Yes, passed the directions right up. There were stewards besides me.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Right up the whole way?

PEARCEY: Right through the saloon to the companion—right through that door right up the saloon companion leading to the top deck.

...

ATTORNEY GENERAL: And you and others directed them?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Were there stewards posted at stations all along the way?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: From forward?

PEARCEY: Yes.

...

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You were carrying out what you were told by the steward---to assist them up to the Boat Deck?

PEARCEY: Yes

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Did a great number of passengers come along that alleyway?

PEARCEY: Yes.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: Did you remain there until there were no more coming along the alleyway?

PEARCEY: As far as I could see.

...

ATTORNEY GENERAL: What did you do then?

PEARCEY: I went to the Boat Deck myself.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: What was the time then?

PEARCEY: Between one and half-past. It was nearly half-past one.

ATTORNEY GENERAL: You had nothing to do with the passengers who came from the afterpart of the ship?

PEARCY: No (*B*: 10357-86).

Pearcey's testimony is problematic, insofar as he is claiming that he along with the other stewards were guiding Third Class men up to the forward end of the Boat Deck via the emergency ladder off Scotland road, to D deck and from there presumably to the grand staircase. Something of this sort is also intimated in some testimony of the Second Class pantry steward, Wilfred Seward (*B*: 17817-27). All other witnesses attest otherwise, reporting consistently that the men from the forward quarters were guided to the stern. More significantly, as has already been said, there is detailed knowledge of the comings and goings at the forward end of the Boat Deck during this time, and there is no account of a stream of Third Class men coming up from the grand staircase through an organized effort by stewards, or otherwise. The attentive reader will have noted that the route Pearcey refers to is one of the Third Class routes delineated by Wilding and alluded to above: [Route #13](#). It may be that Pearcey and Seward each was covering himself and the others by testifying to doing what the stewards theoretically were supposed to have done, but in reality had not. It could also be that Pearcey was directing men along E Deck and thought they were being routed up to the Boat Deck, when in reality they were not.

Whichever is the case, what is of greater interest to us about Pearcey's testimony is his assertion that there were stewards posted at stations along Scotland Road, from the forward end aft. If this is so, then a strong signal was being sent to the men as to what route they were expected to take, and more generally strengthens the impression that there was an intention on the part of the authorities for the Third Class for the men to be moved back to the stern.

Steward Hart (who is better known for his claims to have helped rescue some 55 women and children) testified along similar lines as Pearcey to the active role played by stewards in the journey of the Third Class men.<sup>10</sup> The relevant testimony is the following exchange with the Solicitor-General and Lord Mersey, Commissioner of the British inquiry:

HART: After that there was a large number of men coming from the forward part of the ship with their baggage, those that were berthed up forward—single men.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Third Class?

HART: Yes...

...

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: This is also on E Deck?

HART: Yes.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: That would be down that alleyway?

HART: Yes, down to the afterpart of the ship.

...

COMMISSIONER: These men coming from the forward part of the ship would come along the alleyway and then go down a companion ladder and get to the dining saloon?

HART: Yes.

COMMISSIONER: On the Deck below?

HART: Yes.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: Where was it you saw them?

HART: I saw them where I was placed in my part of the ship, where my people were.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: That is K and M?

HART: Yes, on the main alleyway.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL: I think the next thing you will be able to tell us will be the further instructions as to where these people were to go?

HART: I waited about there with my people...and waited for the chief Third Class steward, or some other Officer, or somebody in authority to give further orders (B.: 9891-9903).

Hart corroborates the most important element Pearcey's testimony, that there was an organized system on the part of the stewards to handle the Third Class men coming out of the front quarters, directing them along Scotland Road. Unlike Pearcey (and in line with the testimony both of Cavell and Hendrickson) Hart also affirms that the men were directed aft, and not up to the Boat Deck. The implication of Hart's testimony as to where the men were being led, if it is believed, is potentially devastating. Hart is asserting that he and others directed some number of the Third Class men from Scotland Road, to the Third Class dining rooms; four rooms arranged in a square, deep below on F Deck, amidship, far removed from the rescue efforts on the Boat Deck above.

This is as near a concrete admission as there is, perhaps, of something it is difficult not to suspect when considering the evidence; namely, that the purpose of having the men moved to the stern was not to aid in their rescue at all, but something else. When asked by the Solicitor-General, what were the 'further instructions as to where these people were intended to go?', Hart does not have an answer, beyond what is cited above. Apparently there were no such instructions. What is one to think?

#### 4

The troubling nature of the intentionality of the authorities when it comes to the journey of the Third Class men was not completely lost on the representative of the Third Class passengers, WD Harbinson, who pressed poor Steward Hart on the same point a bit later during the same hearing before the British inquiry. The exchange between these two gets as close to the heart of the matter perhaps, as any in the entire British inquiry:

HARBINSON: You told us about a rush of men<sup>11</sup> from the forward part of the ship coming aft?

HART: Yes.

HARBINSON: They were coming towards the Third Class quarters?

HART: Yes.

HARBINSON: They were Third Class passengers?

HART: They were.

HARBINSON: Why do you think they were coming aft?

HART: Because I saw them coming aft.

HARBINSON: I quite realise that you saw them. But what was it caused them, do you think, to do that? Was it because they could not escape to the boat deck by the companion ladder leading to the forward part of the ship?

HART: I do not believe so.

COMMISSIONER: How can he know that?...How can he know why they did come aft?

HARBINSON: Did you form any opinion at the time?

COMMISSIONER: Did you ask them why they were coming aft?

HART: No, Sir there was no occasion to ask.

HARBINSON: Did you form any opinion at the time?

HART: I knew why they were coming aft.

HARBINSON: That is what I want to know, Why did they come aft?

HART: Because the forward section had already taken water.  
HARBINSON: And that was the only way they could escape?  
HART: Not necessarily, no. They could escape from the fore part of the ship.  
HARBINSON: Up the companion ladder would have been the nearest way for them, would not it?  
HART: Yes.  
HARBINSON: But they did not do that; they chose the other way?  
HART: They chose the other way.  
HARBINSON: That is rather curious is it not?  
HART: No, it is not curious at all.  
HARBINSON: Is it not?  
HART: No.  
HARBINSON: That is to say, they go the whole length of the ship and come up from the Well Deck at the back, rather than go up the companion ladder leading from the fore deck to the boat deck?  
HART: Perhaps the people did not stop to think where they were going to.  
HARBINSON: If there had been anybody to show them, they would not have had occasion to think?  
HART: That may be so (*B.*: 10231-45).

There it is in a nutshell. If it made no sense for the men in the forward quarters to make a trek along a lower deck the length of the ship from bow to the stern, with all their possessions in hand, why did the authorities encourage them, even it seems direct them, to do so? Why didn't the authorities, instead, direct them along the designed routes up to the forward Boat Deck, or through the gangway doors into lifeboats that were, after all, launched half-full? The full solution to this puzzle, to the degree there is one, is complex, and goes beyond the scope of this piece, but I will venture some remarks on it by way of a conclusion.

As a means of tentatively stepping into this forbidding territory, let me first quote from an unexpected source, but nonetheless perhaps the single individual in authority involved in the *Titanic* disaster who is universally praised for his actions that night: Captain Arthur Rostron of the *Carpathia*. There was no one more akin to Captain Smith as Rostron, either, in terms of what accepted wisdom would be as to how to react to particular situations that might arise in the course of their duties. In a document offered in evidence in the *US Inquiry Report* (A.) are Captain Rostron's orders to the heads of various departments on the *Carpathia* in preparation for bringing the *Titanic* survivors into the ship. Here are some of his instructions to the Inspector and Chief Steward respectively (*italics* are added):

Inspector, steerage *stewards*, and master at arms to control our own steerage passengers and keep them out of the third-class dining hall, and also to keep them out of the way and off the deck to prevent confusion.

Chief steward: ...All spare berths in steerage to be utilized for *Titanic's* passengers, and get all of our own steerage passengers grouped together. Stewards to be placed in each alleyway to reassure our own passengers, should they inquire about noise in getting our boats out etc., or the working of engines. To all I strictly enjoined (*sic.*) the necessity for order, discipline, and quietness and to avoid all confusion (A: *US Inquiry Report*).

Much has been made of a supposed passivity in a crisis that, it is asserted, was part of the steerage culture, this being offered up as a significant reason for the high fatality rates among the Third Class.<sup>12</sup> Not as much has been said, however, of the culture of those in authority on the *Titanic*. In particular, the view expressed frequently both by officers and First Class passengers, that the Third Class men were 'dangerous individuals.'<sup>13</sup> This comes out in its most extreme forms as racial allusions, animalistic images, tales of heroic threats, scoundrels caught, punishments meted out and so on and so forth, almost all directed at the Third Class men. Fifth Officer Lowe made such a spectacle of himself at the American inquiry that the Italian ambassador<sup>14</sup> complained, and wrested a formal apology from him over his assertion (referring most likely to Third Class men on the after Well Deck) that:

I saw a lot of Italians, Latin people, all along the ship's rail—understand it was open—and they were all glaring, more or less like wild beasts, ready to spring. That is why I yelled to look out, and let go, bang, right along the ship's side (A.).

It is not only in this extreme form, however, that the view of the Third Class men comes into play. We see it in the more benign (and more defensible) policy directive of Captain Rostron. It was, as the latter indicates, conventional wisdom to treat the steerage passengers (in particular the men) as an unpredictable and potentially destructive force that needed to be reined in. Thus, it was required, in Roston's words, that those

in steerage be ‘controlled’ and ‘kept out of the way.’

To be fair to the authorities—and in particular Captain Smith—there had been the wreck of the French ship *La Bourgogne* in 1898, which would certainly have been well-known in Smith’s and Rostron’s circle and no doubt had made an impression on them and other captain’s of large passenger liners. Witnesses reported that the lifeboats of *La Bourgogne* were overrun by men from the steerage, with women and children being forcibly prevented from entry to the point of being attacked with knives; almost no women or children survived (McKelvey, 2001). Mixed with pre-War English xenophobia and late-nineteenth-century notions of race this was strong stuff for the authorities to take.

Notable in the approach to the Third Class men adopted by the authorities on the *Titanic* is the connection forged between the principle of ‘women and children first’ as the operative rule for determining access to lifeboats, and the view of men from the steerage as ‘dangerous individuals.’ Apparently, the principle of ‘women and children first’ preceded by decades the wreck of the *La Bourgogne*, the latter indeed being infamous in good part because of its gross violation of the principle. It is said to date from the wreck of the British troop ship, the *Birkenhead*, in 1852. On the *Birkenhead*, so the story goes, the soldiers stood aside as women and children (for the most part family members of the officers) were allowed to enter lifeboats. All the women and children are said to have survived (Bristow, 1995: 99-100; McKelvey, 2001)).

The principle ‘women and children first’, for it to be a pure principle, required the sacrifice of First and Second Class men on the *Titanic*, who were not perceived as ‘dangerous’ but could not be exempted. And, heroically, they proved equal to the task.<sup>15</sup> This in turn provided cover for acts of control, aimed at those whom the authorities viewed as dangerous. What was the point of bringing the men up to the forward Boat Deck if, by the principle, they would not be loaded into the lifeboats there anyway? Worse yet, on the Boat Deck these men would be infinitely more dangerous; liable to create a panic and over-run the lifeboats. This argument is all the more persuasive if, as seems to be the way Lightoller interpreted it, the principle in practice is not ‘women and children first,’ but ‘women and children only.’

This then is what we conjecture lies behind the seeming paradox of the journey of the Third Class men, whose long trek, burdened by heavy baggage, effectively led nowhere. The priority of the authorities, much like Roston’s instructions to the Inspector, was to get these dangerous passengers far away from the rescue effort. The only problem beyond that was tactical: what was the most efficient means to accomplish the end? Encouraging a movement of Third Class men the length of the ship to the stern would seem to have been that means.

## Notes

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### Notes

1. A Third Class survivor Anna Kelly succinctly voiced a common complaint: "[T]he stewards did not wake the steerage passengers in time the night of the collision. Those Third Class passengers who became alarmed and went up on deck were told to go back as there was no danger" (H.: Passenger Lists & Biographies).

2 The data here is based on the status of the various passengers (gender and marital status) rather than actual records of where individuals were quartered. The latter exists only in the most fragmentary form.

3. The following biographical excerpt concerning the fireman William Taylor perhaps refers to this group:

He [Taylor] was asleep when the collision occurred. The alarm bell for accidents rang outside his door. About ten minutes later he heard it reported that water was coming in #1 hatch at the bow end of the ship-- the first cargo hold. "We saw it (the water) come bursting up through the hatches." He and the other firemen packed their bags and went to the mess room to wait for orders. An Officer then ordered them up on deck with their lifebelts on. Taylor's assigned station, lifeboat 15, was "shoved out...and I was ordered into it" (H.: Passenger Lists & Biographies).

4. Buckley was one of only three Third Class passengers to testify before the American inquiry held almost immediately after the surviving passengers landed in New York (none appeared before the British hearing that followed). His testimony of a confrontation between a steward and a group of Third Class men from the forward quarters is frequently cited in the literature on the Titanic. Buckley is also another example of someone who directly saw water in his cabin (A.).

5. In the popular story of the Titanic, this pivotal movement of the mass of Third Class single men from the forward end of the ship to the stern is largely overlooked. A Night to Remember Lord (1955: 64) devotes a single clause to it, and Butler (1998: 86) one sentence. Of some interest is Lord's brief remark in *The Night Lives On* (1986: 85):

Word gradually spread that the Titanic had hit an iceberg, but the first truly alarming development came when the single men, driven from the bow by the rising water, swarmed aft and joined the crowd milling around the stairs. Many of these men carried satchels and bundles, sopping wet from the sea water that had swirled into their quarters.

6. An unknown number of men quartered in front made it directly to the forward Boat Deck, and so did not make this journey at all. They account for most of those who survived from the forward quarters.

7. Lifeboats 2 and 4 were launched much later than Lifeboats 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8, but were loaded at the same time as the others, and just as the others did, Lifeboats 2 and 4 also contained almost no Third Class male passengers.

8. John Poingdestre, who assisted in the loading of Lifeboat 6, gave a somewhat different version than Lightoller, but in its essence his testimony (in an exchange with Butler Aspinall) corroborates Lightoller's account:

ASPINALL: Do you know how it comes that there were not more than 42 put into this boat?

POINGDESTRE: Yes.

ASPINALL: Why?-

POINGDESTRE: Well the reason is that the falls would not carry any more.

ASPINALL: You mean somebody was frightened of the falls?

POINGDESTRE: Yes, the Second Officer, Mr. Lightoller.

ASPINALL: Now having lowered her down to the water did Mr. Lightoller give you any orders as to what to do with the boat?

POINGDESTRE: He gave me orders before the boat was lowered what to do.

ASPINALL: What orders did he give you?-

POINGDESTRE: To lay off and stand by close to the ship (Titanic Inquiry Project 1999: 2958-62).

9. Cavell's observations of the movement of Third Class passengers from the forward quarters so soon after the accident are corroborated by the testimony of Wheat (B.: 11064-8).

10. Hart's putative rescues, which are very much in dispute (Gleicher, 2001), would have occurred some time after the journey of the Third Class men was largely over.

11. The term 'rush' here seems to have no basis in any testimony. As noted all accounts of the Third Class men traveling aft on E Deck emphasize the ponderousness of it, a feeling conveyed by the heavy baggage weighing the men down.

12. Most pointedly voiced by Wade (1986: 277-8), this point of view is rampant in the popular literature (e.g., Davie, 1986: 101; Butler, 1998: 107).

13. This is a term employed by Foucault (1978) to denote a nineteenth century view of criminality as that which resides within the individual and not in the criminal act.

14. For all the references to 'Italians' there were 2(!) Italian men in the Third Class on the Titanic.

15. It also required a concerted effort to save the Third Class women and children, which judging from the outcome was not done.

## **Appendix 1**

### **Appendix 1: Designed Passenger Routes to the Boat Deck 1**

Originating from 1st Class Quarters

Boat Deck entrance: forward-end of the Boat Deck

*Route #1:* From: A Deck

Route: direct access to 2 ladders from A Deck to the Boat Deck.

Boat Deck entrance: 1st Class entrance (grand staircase between Funnels 1 and 2)

*Route #2:* From: A Deck and Decks B, C, D, forward end

Route: direct access to the grand staircase, and directly up to the Boat Deck (or, to the adjacent elevator, to A Deck, and then to the grand staircase).

*Route #3:* From: Decks B, C, E, midship

Route: forward to the grand staircase and directly up to the Boat Deck (or, to the adjacent elevator, to A Deck, and then to the grand staircase).

*Route #4:* From: Decks B, C, E, midship

Route: direct access to the after 1st Class stairway (between Funnels 3 and 4), up to A Deck, and then forward to the grand staircase and up to the Boat Deck..

*Route #5:* From: Decks B C, E, midship

Route: direct access to the 'stewards' stairway' (between the reciprocating engine casing and the nos. 1 and 2 boiler casing), to A Deck, and then to the grand staircase and up to the Boat Deck.

Originating from 2nd Class Quarters 2

Boat Deck entrance: 2nd Class entrance (forward 2nd Class stairway aft of Funnel 4)

*Route #6:* From: Decks D, E, F, between bulkheads M and N

Route: direct access to forward 2nd Class stairway, directly up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #7:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, between bulkheads N and O

Route: direct access to after 2nd Class stairway, up to B Deck, forward through the 2nd Class Smoking Room to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #8:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, between bulkheads N and O

Route: direct access to after 2nd Class stairway, up to C Deck, forward through the 2nd Class Library to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #9:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, between bulkheads N and O

Route: direct access to after 2nd Class stairway, up to D Deck, forward (through the 2nd Class Dining Saloon) to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #10:* From: F Deck adjacent to the turbine engine casing

Route: direct access to the turbine engine casing, up ladder to D Deck, to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck

Boat Deck entrance: reciprocal engine room (midship)

*Route #11:* From: E Deck, adjacent to the engine casing

Route: direct access to the engine casing, up ladder directly to Boat Deck.

### Originating from 3rd Class Quarters [3](#)

Boat Deck entrance: forward end of the Boat Deck

*Route #12:* From: Decks E, F, G, forward quarters

Route: direct access to ladders, up to the forward end of the Bridge Deck, and up ladders to the Boat Deck.

Boat Deck entrance: 1st Class entrance (grand staircase between Funnels 1 and 2)

*Route #13:* From: Decks E, F, G, forward quarters

Route: direct access to ladders up to E Deck, aft on the working alley ('Scotland Road'), through an emergency door to a ladder to Deck D (First Class Reception Room), to the grand staircase and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #14:* From: Decks E, F, G, forward quarters

Route: direct access to ladders up to E Deck, then aft on Scotland Road to the 'stewards' stairway' (between the reciprocating engine casing and the nos. 1 and 2 boiler casing), to A Deck, then to the grand staircase and up to the Boat Deck.

Boat Deck entrance: after end of the Boat Deck

*Route #15:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, after quarters

Route: direct access to ladders to C Deck, forward to the Well Deck, to ladders up the after end of the Bridge Deck B up to the Boat Deck.

Boat Deck entrance: 2nd Class entrance (forward 2nd Class stairway aft of Funnel 4) [4](#)

*Route #16:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, after quarters

Route: direct access to ladders to C Deck, forward to the Well Deck to the 2nd Class entrance, up the after 2nd Class stairway (aft of Funnel 4) to B Deck, forward (through or around the 2nd Class Smoke Room) to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #17:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, after quarters

Route: direct access to ladders to C Deck, forward to the Well Deck to the 2nd Class entrance, forward through the 2nd Class Library past the after 2nd Class stairway to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

*Route #18:* From: Decks D, E, F, G, after quarters

Route: direct access to ladders to C Deck, forward to the Well Deck through the Second Class Entrance, forward through the 2nd Class Library and past the after and forward 2nd Class stairways, still forward along the 1st Class alleyway to the after 1st Class stairway, up to A Deck, aft to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck.

### Postscript: Non-designed Route Originating from 3rd Class Quarters [5](#)

Boat Deck entrance: 2nd Class entrance (forward 2nd Class stairway aft of Funnel 4)

*Route #19* From: Decks D, E, F, G, after quarters

Route: direct access to 3rd Class ladders to after end of E Deck, forward on the working alleyway through the 2nd Class entrance, to the forward 2nd Class stairway and up to the Boat Deck

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1. The information here is a distillation of the testimony of Edward Wilding, a naval architect employed by Harland and Wolff, who worked on the design the ship, as well as the Olympic (Titanic Inquiry Project, 1999: 19842-949). The sense of 'designed here then is that these routes were intended as such, for use in an emergency.

2. Routes #10 and #11 each is based on the assumption that the watertight door between Decks D and E is closed.

3. Butler (1998: 105) and Brown (2001: 183) each suggest that (to quote Brown): "Steerage passengers were never intended to have direct access to the boat deck or any of the other upper decks" This does not apply to an emergency situation, however, and as the testimony of Wilding (Titanic Inquiry Project, 1999: 19908-9) indicates, British Board of Trade regulations required there be specific routes by which the 3rd Class passengers could gain access to the Boat Deck as part of any rescue operation. These were, by the evidence of many passengers who were rescued, easily accessible through gates and emergency doors separating 2nd Class areas from the 3rd Class, notwithstanding Brown's assertion that "it was more the segregated interior of the huge ship than the locked gates and doors that made it difficult for people in the third class accommodations to move upward to the boat deck."

4. Wilding does not distinguish between Routes #16 and #17, but this seems merely a minor oversight. Route #18 is mentioned by Wilding (Titanic Inquiry Project, 1999: 19918), but with the qualification that this route was known to him because he had heard that some 3rd Class passengers took it, implying it was not an 'official' route, in the sense of being designed.

5. This route is described by the celebrated chief baker on the Titanic Charles Joughin (Titanic Inquiry project, 1999, Brit. Inq.: 5961-80. It would seem to be a designed route, but is not mentioned by Wilding.

## Appendix 2 and References

### Appendix 2 Lifeboat Occupancy by Class and Gender

**British Inquiry Time-Table**

Time	Boat	Loc.	1st Class		Sub-total	2 <sup>nd</sup> Class		Sub-total	3rd Class		Sub-total
			Males	W&C		Males	W&C		Males	W&C	
12:45	7	F/Star	12	12	24	1	0	1	0	0	0
12:55	5	F/Star	13	15	28	0	0	0	0	0	0
12:55	6	F/Port	1	19	20	0	0	0	1	0	1
1:00	3	F/Star	12	15	27	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:10	8	F/Port	0	23	23	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:10	1	F/Star	3	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
1:20	9	R/Star	2	4	6	4	13	17	3	0	3
1:20	10	R/Port	0	9	9	1	14	15	1	5	6
1:25	11	R/Star	1	5	6	0	15	15	3	2	5
1:25	12	R/Port	0	0	0	0	16	16	1	1	2
1:30	14	R/Port	0	4	4	2	22	24	2	4	6
1:35	16	R/Port	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	20	22
1:35	13	R/Star	1	0	1	4	8	12	7	21	28
1:35	15	R/Star	1	0	1	1	0	1	21	16	37
1:40	C	F/Star	2	0	2	0	0	0	6	34	40
1:45	2	F/Port	0	8	8	0	0	0	1	5	6
1:55	4	F/Port	0	24	24	0	7	7	0	0	0
2:05	D	F/Port	3	5	8	0	2	2	1	8	9

2:20	B	F/Port	3	0	3	1	0	1	6	0	6
2:20	A	F/Star	3	0	3	0	0	0	4	1	5
		Adj.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
		<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>181</b>

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