TOURISTS, TRAVELLERS AND HOTELS IN NINETEENTH- CENTURY JERUSALEM

Shimon Gibson, Yoni Shapira,
and Rupert L. Chapman III

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SHIMON GIBSON, YONI SHAPIRA,
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(*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

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PREFACE

For many Western pilgrims and tourists travelling to the Holy Land in the nineteenth century, knowing exactly where they were going to get accommodations upon reaching their destination was of the utmost importance. In the early nineteenth century, one choice was to accept local hospitality by staying in Christian monasteries or pilgrims' hospices that were situated in towns and dotted across the countryside. In doing so, travellers were following a very ancient tradition going back to the fourth century during which Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land was first systematically organized and hospices were built to accommodate the large influx of pilgrims who came to see the holy sites. The nineteenth-century traveller, however, could also take up offers from local sheikhs (or village headmen) to stay in private houses or in a caravanserai (*khan*), but many Europeans were loath to do this because of cultural differences and prejudices, and from fear of contracting disease.

Travellers frequently resorted to local guides or dragomans (*tarjaman*) to help find them appropriate accommodations, or alternatively to arrange for them to stay in tent encampments organized along their route and to provide protection from vagabonds (Fig. 0.1). The dragoman also served as an interpreter and purveyor (Fig. 0.2). In 1868 Josias Leslie Porter, scholar, traveller and missionary, explained in Murray's *Handbook* why tent-life was inappropriate in the winter months: 'it is no pleasant task to pitch your tent and spread your bed in mud; there is little romance in canvas when rain is pouring through it. Winter is, therefore, not the time for a Syrian tour' (Fig. 0.3).

All this changed dramatically in the 1840s when hotels began to spring up in major towns across the

FIGURE 0.1. Dragomans working for the Henry Gaze travel agency surrounding a traveller to the Holy Land. Photograph by Garabed Krikorian, c. 1880s. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

country. By the second half of the nineteenth century nearly every one of the major towns had a hotel or two, such as at Jaffa, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Haifa, Tiberias and Bethlehem, and even at Jericho and

FIGURE 0.2. A Dragoman with horses at the Jordan River. (Deverell 1899)

Hebron (Fig. 0.4). Travellers in the second half of the nineteenth century could now look forward on reaching Jerusalem not only to a good bath, a restorative meal and a bottle of wine, but also, more importantly, to a private and clean room to relax in after the fatigues of the ride.

The Mediterranean Hotel in Jerusalem was one of the most important hotels open for business to travellers reaching the city from the 1840s onwards. There were few hotels in Jerusalem at that time, and the 'Mediterranean' was undoubtedly regarded as one of the best, if not the best. It was later recommended by the prestigious Thomas Cook & Son travel company and it appeared at the top of a list of hotels provided to travellers in Baedeker's handbook; it offered European standard food and comforts, including

local and (for twice the price) French wines, small but comfortable quarters for those returning from long and exhausting excursions across the country or down to the Dead Sea, and an opportunity for travellers to relax in congenial surroundings away from the constant bustle of the Old City (Fig. 0.5). Among the numerous travellers who were guests at the Mediterranean Hotel one can count two famous writers: Herman Melville, author of *Moby Dick*, and Mark Twain, author of *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. But many pilgrims and travellers also stayed at the hotel and their published travelogues are an invaluable source of information about the changing location of the hotel premises, the courtesy of management, the quality and arrangement of rooms, and so forth.

FIGURE 0.3. Group of Dragomans from the village of Abu Dis/Bethany. Photograph by Cecil V. Shadbolt in Harper 1888. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

Two of the authors of the present book (Gibson and Chapman) initially became interested in the Mediterranean Hotel owing to the special place it had in the history of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF). Numerous explorers working in the country stayed at this hotel, notably Charles Warren, whose account of his excavations was *Underground Jerusalem*, and Claude Reignier Conder, who led the Survey of Western Palestine and wrote *Tent Work in Palestine*. Our research made it clear that the Mediterranean Hotel was situated in three separate premises during the sixty years of its existence from the late 1840s to the end of the nineteenth century. We were able to place the position of the first hotel in a row of buildings on the eastern side of Hezekiah's Pool,

with its entrance opening from Christian Street opposite the Church of St John. The third location was also clear and well documented; it was situated just inside Jaffa Gate, close to the beginning of the market street. But we were uncertain about the second location. Photographs and source references seemed to indicate that it was somewhere to the south of Damascus Gate, close to the English Consulate in the late 1860s. An article with the preliminary results of our research was eventually published in 1995.

However, our interest in the history of the Mediterranean Hotel did not abate, and the mystery of the exact whereabouts of the second location of the hotel continued. Chapman eventually made a

FIGURE 0.4. Travellers' camp next to the Jordan River. Photograph by Felix Bonfils c. 1870–1880.
(*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

breakthrough with the discovery of a sketch penned by Conrad Schick in the PEF Archives in London, which clearly depicts the situation of the hotel on el-Wad Street, not far from the ubiquitous Austrian Hospice, in the Moslem Quarter. This discovery coincided with research conducted by the third author of the present book (Shapira) on the whereabouts of the hotel based on letters and diaries written by Mark Twain. One clue to the shape of the building was that it was mentioned as a 'khan' in the writings of Charles Warren. Through an examination of vertical aerial photographs of the Old City and GIS maps of the area prepared by the Jerusalem Municipality, a number of buildings were isolated and designated as worth checking out. A visual examination of these buildings was subsequently made by Shapira from the rooftop of the Austrian Hospice, and this confirmed two possibilities in the area in terms of imposing buildings with internal courtyards and rooms over the alleyways that might

fit Warren's description. The Schick drawing, as we shall see, confirmed quite conclusively that the second location of the Mediterranean Hotel matches the building that is presently referred to as the Wittenberg House, and which, incidentally, also used to be the residence of the former Prime Minister of Israel, Ariel Sharon.

With the support of the Shapell Manuscript Foundation, which has amongst its holdings original manuscripts by Mark Twain, Gibson and Shapira undertook a detailed architectural survey of the Wittenberg building in 2005–2006, looking at its various stages of construction using methods of structural analysis adapted from archaeology, and making a study of old maps, drawings, photographs and written descriptions of the building (see Appendix III). The research also involved the preparation of new architectural plans of the building, and subsequently also a model. We are now able to confirm the exact spot in the central courtyard of

FIGURE 0.5. The Jordan Hotel in Jericho. Note Thomas Cook & Son's sign affixed to the wall. Photograph of the American Colony, c. 1890–1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

the hotel where Corporal Henry Phillips, Warren's assistant, took his well-known photographs of posed 'Jews in Jerusalem' in 1867 (Figs 4.6–4.7). We were also able to match up the written description of the hotel made by Charles Warren and other travellers who stayed there, to the actual building itself and to its various rooms and staircases. The Mediterranean Hotel, we found, was witness to some of the earliest meetings of Freemasons held in Jerusalem; while both Mark Twain and Charles Warren took part in these meetings they were never there at the same time (Figs 0.6–0.7).

Our interest in the history of the Mediterranean Hotel eventually led to the present monograph which

now includes an expanded study of all nineteenth-century hotels in Jerusalem; some of them survived into the early twentieth century and so we have included later information on these as well. The reader will notice that we purposefully restricted ourselves to a study of hotels *within* the walls of the Old City and to those establishments set up within the immediate vicinity of the Jaffa Gate; we did not deal with the development of hotels and hospices within the New City as a whole, except in a few instances. We made every attempt to clarify the picture of the changing ownership of hotels by trying to establish the exact dates and full names of proprietors and their family members, and by trying to

FIGURE 0.6. Outside Jaffa Gate showing carriages used for arriving travellers. Note the sign affixed to the wall mentioning the Jamal & Domian 'Independent Tourist Contractors' with its office stated to be 'near Howard's Hotel'. Photograph of the American Colony, c. 1890–1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 0.7. Local peasants grinding wheat in the courtyard of the second location of the Mediterranean Hotel (see Fig. 0.8, below). Note the angled flagstone (compare to Fig. APP. III.31). Photograph by Corporal Henry Phillips taken in 1867. (*Palestine Exploration Fund Archives*)

FIGURE 0.8. A group shot of the three authors (from left to right: Rupert Chapman, Shimon Gibson, Yoni Shapira), with Jerusalem researcher Kay Prag in front, for comparison with the group shot taken in 1867 at the same location (see Fig. 0.7, above). Note the angled flagstone (compare to Fig. APP. III.31). (*Daniel Gibson*)

follow the evolution of changing hotel names (see Appendix II). Matching up hotels known from travelogues and guides with actual buildings still preserved in the Old City was an important objective of our work.

We hope this monograph will serve as a useful contribution to the fascinating subject of the development of professional tourism in the Holy Land in the nineteenth century.

*Shimon Gibson
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CHAPTER ONE

TOURISTS AND PILGRIMS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY JERUSALEM

MAKING A TRIP to a foreign city or town in a different part of the world, and especially if it was to Syria, Palestine and Egypt, was not the easiest thing for an Englishman, European or American to do in the nineteenth century. There were all sorts of perils and dangers to be expected along the road. Travellers had to know what sorts of things to take on the journey, what means of transport were available, costs and rates of exchange, availability of food, and, most important of all, when finally reaching their destination, whether the provided accommodation would fully meet expectations.¹

To that end, guidebooks (or 'handbooks for travellers', as they were known) were an important source of information for the nineteenth-century visitor to Jerusalem (Fig. 1.1).² They provided practical information about the whereabouts of hotels, inns and hospices, as well as a wealth of information, tips and advice about the city, sanitation, places to visit, religious customs, financial matters, and so forth.³ Some guidebooks reflect the concerns and interests of their authors or backing institutions, notably the Thomas Cook & Son travel agency, which had a clear financial agenda when supplying information to their readers. These guidebooks provide us with a wealth of information on the chronology and substance of the development of professional tourism in Jerusalem in the nineteenth century. The earliest professional guidebook available to the traveller was John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Syria and Palestine* (1858). Notable also is Karl Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria, Handbook for Travellers* (1876; and in German a year earlier) and Thomas Cook & Son's *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (1876).⁴ Eustace

Alfred Reynolds-Ball writing in 1901 gave the opinion that Baedeker's guidebook was 'too exhaustive, and in spite of its almost meticulous exactitude of topographical detail and encyclopaedic range of information, many will prefer the more readable Murray'.⁵ He also had a good word to say regarding Cook's guidebook. Numerous updated and revised editions of these handbooks and others were produced during the second half of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century (see Appendix I for further details). Frequent updating was inevitable because of the major socio-economic changes taking place in Jerusalem and Palestine at the turn of the century, and also because of the progress of the scientific knowledge about the city and its environs as a result of the numerous exploration activities; as Father Eugene Hoade later sardonically commented in his own guide to the Holy Land: 'A Guide is in more senses than one out of date the day it leaves the press'.⁶

There were numerous reasons why western Christian travellers visited Jerusalem in the nineteenth century.⁷ Many came for devotional reasons; they wished to see the places of Scripture, the places of Jesus' Passion. Pilgrims flocked to the sites in Jerusalem, particularly during Christmas and Easter. The focus was on the Via Dolorosa, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and other churches in the city. Jewish and Moslem travellers, of course, had different concerns regarding the sites and places they visited. Quite a few visitors came with an intellectual curiosity for the antiquity of Jerusalem and with a fascination for the exploration and scientific inquiries made there (Figs 1.2–1.3). During the latter part of the nineteenth century, frequent mention was made of

FIGURE 1.1. Title page of a guidebook to the Holy Land. (Baedeker 1876)

the discoveries of the Palestine Exploration Fund in Jerusalem in the books of travels and diaries penned by travellers.⁸ There were also some tourists who went on a 'Tour of the East', with a trip to Jerusalem, simply because it was the proper thing to do in certain affluent circles of European society. About such tourists Revd Robert Walter Stewart wrote dismissively in 1854: 'They had seen nothing;

they had scarcely time to fix the general features of the city in their memory; and it therefore seemed, as a tour to Palestine was at that time *the fashion* with a certain class of tourists, as if their only object was to be able to brag on their return that they were not behind the age, for they had visited Jerusalem'.⁹

Tourists and pilgrims arriving in Jerusalem from the very beginning of the nineteenth century had first to deal with formal matters of quarantine before being allowed into the city (Figs 1.4–1.5).¹⁰ This was ordinarily done at the Jaffa Gate, where the certificate of health was presented and approved, before the traveller was let into the city (Figs 1.6–1.9).¹¹ In 1842 the Englishman Revd George Fisk encountered the quarantine procedures when he arrived in Jerusalem:

A sort of quarantine had been established at Jerusalem for fear of plague; and we were not permitted to enter till the medical officer had seen us. After a short delay, during which we were waited on, outside the walls, by Mr Johns, the pro-consul, who showed us every polite attention, the official personage made his appearance; who, having received an explanation as to the desert route which we had taken from Cairo, and being assured that there was no plague in that place when we left it, just required us to submit to a slight fumigation with brimstone, in a tent pitched near the gate, as the ground for a claim for a few piastres, and admitted us at once — having previously suffered our baggage and servants to pass without fumigation whatsoever.¹²

An English traveller, Dawson Borrer, managed to fall foul of the quarantine system in 1843, and he and his companions were thus required to stay in tents for a while in the back garden of the house of the local English Consul, William Tanner Young, before eventually taking up abode in the St Salvador Convent.¹³

Visitors to Jerusalem were ultimately concerned with finding accommodation at a reasonable price and with satisfactory sanitation. The problem of the intermingling of sewers and water sources in Jerusalem frequently led to dysentery and other diseases. Indeed, the situation in mid-nineteenth century Jerusalem was so bad that the waters in cisterns could only be drunk after filtering to remove worms and insects that bred in it.¹⁴ Even as late as the turn of the century, the Grand New Hotel 'had notices

FIGURE 1.2. The Ordnance Survey map of Jerusalem prepared by Charles Wilson in 1865/1866.
(*Palestine Exploration Fund Archives*)

FIGURE 1.3. Map of Jerusalem by Conrad Schick from 1894/1895.
(German Protestant Institute of Archaeology Archives)

FIGURE 1.4. View of the western side of the Old City from the Bethlehem Road — the area of the present-day Cinemateque and the Menachem Begin Heritage Center. A coloured photograph of the Photochrom (Photoglob) Company, Zürich, from the 1880s. (*German Protestant Institute of Archaeology Archives*)

FIGURE 1.5. View of area of Mamila Road towards the Jaffa Gate before buildings were erected in this area. Jaffa Gate on the left (note the single structure built outside the gate), the Citadel is seen on the right with its surrounding moat. Photograph from the early 1860s. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.8. The Jaffa Gate. Note the water fountain on the right, the Grand New Hotel seen inside the city, and the carriages for travellers in the foreground. Picture postcard from the beginning of the twentieth century. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.9. A view of the American Consulate on the far left, with Christ Church seen behind, and with the Citadel and moat on the right. An engraving from before 1882 in a book by the American Consul DeHass. (*DeHass 1889, frontispiece*)

FIGURE 1.10. Street scene inside Jaffa Gate with Vester's store seen beneath the Grand New Hotel on the far right, in a photograph taken between 1907 and 1922. (*Library of Congress Photo Archives*)

prominently posted up in every room of the hotel stating that every drop of water used there had been carefully boiled and filtered beforehand'.¹⁵ In a British Consular report for 1907 it was stated that

the inadequate water supply of Jerusalem, which always gives rise to great hardships and much fever, especially during the later Autumn months, has naturally been more than ordinarily felt this year. The cistern water on which the city depends is at the best of times most insalubrious and is practically unfit for consumption. Whether the prevalent fever is due to the drinking of this water or to the presence of the mosquitoes which swarm in its vicinity, and from which there is no efficacious means of deliverance, is a question for experts to decide.¹⁶

Hence, wine and beer were frequently imbibed by visitors as a substitute for water. Not surprisingly, therefore, the subject of wines and beers frequently comes up in travelogues and in the guidebooks. Travellers did not want to reach the city and find they had no access to alcoholic beverages, and so whether they could acquire drinks or not was frequently highlighted in descriptions of hotels and sometimes lists were given as to what was on offer.¹⁷ The English artist and traveller William Henry Bartlett (1809–1854) wrote that in 1853 good rooms and fare were obtainable at two 'inns' in the city, that is, the Mediterranean and the Melita (see below), at

FIGURE 1.11. Frederick Vester standing outside the American Colony store beneath the Grand New Hotel, in a photograph taken between 1911 and 1913. (Library of Congress Photo Archives)

an average price and that this *included* a good supply of local table-wine, adding: 'bottled ale and porter, with wine and spirits, may either be had at these houses, or bought at the stores near the Jaffa Gate, and in Patriarch Street'.¹⁸ Bartlett visited Jerusalem on three occasions, and wrote a number of books about his impressions of the sights, holy places and antiquities of the city, *Walks About the City and Environs of Jerusalem* and *Jerusalem Revisited*, referring respectively to his second and third trips to the city in the summers of 1842 and 1853.¹⁹ These were illustrated with a series of steel engraving scenes of Jerusalem based on sepia wash drawings Bartlett made during his travels. It is only in his second book (published posthumously in 1854, after his death at sea off Malta) that Bartlett provides information about tourism and matters of accommodation in Jerusalem.

Like many modern tourists, travellers and pilgrims visiting Jerusalem frequently left the city with various mementoes and souvenirs packed in their luggage (Figs 1.10–1.13). The traveller Francis Schroeder, secretary to the American Commodore Joseph Smith, writing about his visit to Jerusalem in 1844, mentions that some of the pilgrims were being tattooed with symbolic crosses of the 'arms of Jerusalem'.²⁰ He also mentioned a 'very cunning engraver'

FIGURE 1.12. Picture taken by the soldier Harry Brown between 1918 and 1919, showing the façade of a shop. (Daniel Gibson Archive)

by the name of 'Isaac the Jew' who had 'in the folds of his capacious girdle a little box of Jehoshaphat pebbles, upon which he wished to engrave Hebrew mottoes for our rings, seals, &c. We were all delighted with the idea, and gave him plentiful orders'. Finally, Schroeder wrote,

with many such souvenirs our knapsacks were beginning to expand, and I believe it became necessary to employ an extra jackass and pannier for our return to Jaffa. One creature was loaded with about two or three quintals of wood, which had been obtained rather more peacefully than our Mount of Olive sticks; and perhaps less valuable from being purchased in the city.²¹

FIGURE 1.13. Jaffa Road leading towards Jaffa Gate, seen here with the clock tower built for the anniversary of the reign of Abdul Hamid in 1907. Note the studio of the photographer Garabed Krikorian, which was opened in 1885, and the studio of Khalil Raad on the opposite side of the road, which was opened in 1897. Taken between 1907–1922 from the balcony above the main entrance of the Fast Hotel. Compare with Fig. 2.107. (*Library of Congress Photo Archives*)

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the industry of goods (mementoes and souvenirs) that were manufactured and sold to tourists became extremely well developed, with the items most commonly sold including: carpets and embroideries, carved work in olive wood (such as book and bible covers, crucifixes, paper-weights, etc., some carved with the name 'Jerusalem' or embossed with the Jerusalem cross), rosaries, crosses, and other ornaments made of mother-of-pearl and olive wood, small objects and vessels made of bituminous limestone ('stinkstone') from the area of Neby Musa, roses of Jericho and dried wild flowers, and photographic

prints. An American writer of Irish origin, John Ross Browne, on arriving in Jerusalem in 1851, was

beset by dealers in all sorts of relics; crosses of pearl and olive-wood, fruit-beads from Mecca, ear-rings of asphaltum from the Dead Sea, polished flint and petrified olives from the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane, and small trinkets, manufactured of lead, from the Convent of St. Ceba [*sic*, this should be St Sabas]. These relics, which are purchased in great quantities by the pilgrims, form an important source of revenue to the convents of Jerusalem.²²

Antiquities and fakes (the two usually go together in the marketplace) were frequently offered to tourists, with Revd Stewart writing in 1854 that he was

FIGURE 1.14. A map from 1924 of Jerusalem produced by Cook & Son showing the location of their office and key sites in Jerusalem. (Daniel Gibson Archive)

fortunate enough to purchase in Jerusalem two or three ancient gems, and a genuine silver shekel. A brisk manufacture of this coin is carried on in Jerusalem for the benefit of travellers, and it is no easy matter to secure a genuine one. The dealers in curiosities, who daily crowded round the breakfast table, brought many of them and tried hard to drive a bargain . . .²³

Numerous deals, some quite lucrative, were struck between the proprietors of hotels with local tradesmen, muleteers and dragomans, sometimes to the detriment of the tourists staying at the hotels. This is summed up quite nicely in Murray's *Handbook for Travellers* (1858):

I shall here add a hint or two in reference to Syrian hotels in general, and some Jerusalem ones in particular, in the hope that it may save travellers at least from disappointment, and possibly lead to reform. The proprietors have not a good name for strict honesty or honourable conduct towards their guests: not that they are extravagant in their charges, for the rate is reasonable enough; nor that they are disrespectful in their address and obliging in their service, for they are so almost to a fault; but they have got a sad habit of sponging the traveller in other respects. They form conspiracies with dragomans, muleteers, curiosity-vendors, silk-merchants, and even with cicerones, to levy a tax from ten to fifty percent on every farthing that passes out of the traveller's pocket. It

FIGURE 1.15. The Thomas Cook depot (seen on right) on St Paul's Road near the Russian Compound, in a photograph taken c. 1910. (*Ely Schiller Archive*)

may be all very well to charge a rent to those who are permitted to encumber the courts and lobbies of the hotel with their wares, and to *bore* guests by an exhibition of their trinkets on the staircases and at the table; but it is nothing short of gross and shameful fraud to extort a large percentage from those who, at the special request of the traveller, bring articles to his own apartment for inspection.²⁴

The traveller Archibald Pollok Black was also quite concerned about this:

I am almost overrun — (and what traveller in Jerusalem can escape the nuisance?) — with bead and mother-of-pearl cross sellers, who haunt and waylay the tourist at every corner, so that he is not safe from their attacks when in an hotel. I am obliged to yield . . .²⁵

Notwithstanding Murray's concerns, dealers continued to display their goods at the top hotels until the early twentieth century, as we hear from Reynolds-Ball and others.²⁶ In 1891, for example, an American traveller, Dr Joseph Marstain Fort, found that the expenses of his pre-paid trip to the Holy Land that came to \$900 with the Henry Gaze & Sons tourist agency, increased twofold to \$1800, mainly because of 'souvenirs, pictures, specimens, short tours not included in the programme; then bakhshish (bak-she) and other incidentals too numerous to mention'.²⁷

From the late 1860s onwards a metamorphosis took place in the method of travel tourists used to

FIGURE 1.16. A map of the Russian Compound taken from the Ordnance Survey map of Jerusalem prepared by Charles Wilson in 1865/1866. (*Palestine Exploration Fund Archives*)

FIGURE 1.17. Two beggars outside of the Jaffa Gate, from before 1898. Note the two signs visible on the left, one of 'Gaze & Son, Floyd Contractor', and the other of 'Cook's Tourist Office'. (Daniel Gibson Archive)

reach Jerusalem and this was due to the setting up of Thomas Cook & Son's 'Eastern Tours' (Figs 1.14–1.15). Prior to this, individuals and small groups of visitors arrived independently in Jerusalem; with the help and advice of consulates and resident Europeans, local clergy and hotel managers, they arranged their sojourn and trips to different parts of the country, using Jerusalem as a springboard. As the American professor of biblical literature Elihu Grant (resident in the country until 1904), wrote:

The companies of tourists, if they are to be distinguished from the pilgrim parties, are generally made up of Americans, English and Germans, the first mentioned being the more numerous. Tourists go in parties under the care of a director and his corps of assistants, or sometimes singly or in very small parties with a native guide [...]²⁸

Thomas Cook's company rapidly changed all of this, with travellers now referred to as 'passengers'

and as 'members of personally conducted long or short tour parties'. The journey could be picked from itineraries published in Cook's *Excursionist and Tourist Advertiser* (in English, French or German), coupons for transportation and accommodation could be pre-paid, and everything was catered for, from porters to provisions.²⁹ In the 1870s and 1880s the Cook's groups to Palestine were still fairly small, but an enormous boom in travel occurred in the 1890s.³⁰ This period also saw the continuation of Christian pilgrimage from western European countries, as well as from Russia, but on a larger scale than before, to such an extent that sometimes there were more pilgrims than tourists during religious holidays in Jerusalem.³¹ In the 1860s, the Russians built an enormous compound to the north-west of the Old City with a church, a hospital, and three hospices to house the large numbers of pilgrims who came to Jerusalem

FIGURE 1.18. The Cook's office within the Jaffa Gate to the right of the Mediterranean Hotel (third location). The building with the balconies on the left is that of the Grand New Hotel. A photograph made by the Zangaki brothers after 1889. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

(Fig. 1.16).³² Naturally, in the 1890s, Cook's came to have American and German competitors, among them the tourist agencies run by Rolla Floyd, Henry Gaze & Sons, and others, some of whom had formerly worked with Cook's (Fig. 1.17).³³ Kaiser Wilhelm's trip to the Holy Land and to Jerusalem in 1898 was organized by Cook's, thereby creating anger among German travel agencies, notably Stangen's agency.³⁴ Even local dragomans felt cowed by the monopoly Cook's attempted to implement within the city. The pilgrim James Kean wrote in 1891 about his dragoman, Joseph, standing inside the

Jaffa Gate, who 'hangs about in the crowd, not quite in front of the [Mediterranean] hotel, however, because then he would be immediately under the eye of Cook's office . . . he is a prudent man, and has no wish to come into collision with Cook, who may some day employ him [. . .]' (Fig. 1.18).³⁵

The opening up of tourism did not, however, bring down social barriers and open up travel to all classes of people, as one would expect, or at least not in terms of those travelling to the East and to Egypt.³⁶ Indeed, these trips continued to be a middle-class phenomenon, though one should not forget that

FIGURE 1.19. View of the German Hospice of St John in a photograph by Bruno Hentschel, before 1898. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

secretaries, maids and servants, and occasional sailors, did go along on such trips. There was resentment in certain sections of the British public, notably among the middle class, that their 'social inferiors' would now be invading their favourite destinations in different parts of the world.³⁷ However, the cost of taking a Cook's tour to the Holy Land or Egypt was quite prohibitive, and well beyond the means of the 'lower classes' in England and Europe during the latter half of the nineteenth century.³⁸ Catholics were advised in 1897 not to use the tourist agencies of Cook or Gaze, but this was difficult owing to the fact that the agencies had a virtual monopoly over travel arrangements to the Holy Land.³⁹ The German writer Julius Ernst Wilhelm Stinde (1841–1905), joked that should the Ottoman Moslems lose their power in Jerusalem, 'I am convinced that it will not be a new king entering through the Golden Gate, but Thomas Cook & Son with an assortment of Ladies and Gentlemen trailing behind'.⁴⁰

FIGURE 1.20. View of the German Hospice of St John today. (*Shimon Gibson*)

A critic of the exclusivity of the Cook's groups was the tramp and writer Stephen Graham, who, in 1913, in a parody of Cook's office near Jaffa Gate approached by a rich customer, wrote that:

that man with his money can get any mortal thing. How fortunate he is! Yet I think Chubb [i.e. Cook's] was deceiving him. What he gets from Chubb and his guides won't be exactly what he pleases to have and what he likes. When he goes with his family to the place where the five thousand were fed he will hurry back to the hotel for a meal . . .⁴¹

However, there were those who saw the benefits of travelling with Cook's. The sense of organization and protection provided to travellers by Cook's employees is clear from the following passage by James Eric Wright:

FIGURE 1.21. View of the Austrian Hospice with the location of the second Mediterranean Hotel seen at the end of the street on the far left. Photograph by Luigi Fiorillo, c. 1870–1880. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.22. Western travellers arriving in Jerusalem outside the Damascus Gate, representing a scene from the late nineteenth century. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.23. Afternoon tea for travellers in the Holy Land, c. 1890–1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

Doing without ‘Cook’ means a most awful fight and bargaining. If you have his ticket you are at once surrounded by his men, like a body-guard, and the independent mob can’t get near you. I had heard before of the awful fight that sometimes goes on if you try to do things for yourself, but did not expect all I got.⁴²

It was the second half of the nineteenth century that saw an increased flow of pilgrims and travellers to the Holy City, all needing suitable accommodation.⁴³ The chosen location of hotels in the city depended on two factors: a proximity to the main city gates (Jaffa and Damascus) and a proximity to the principal foreign consulate buildings. The explorer and cartographer Carel Willem Meredith van de Velde, formerly a lieutenant in the Dutch navy, wrote already in the early 1850s that ‘the letting of apartments for lodgings forms one of the speculations of

the few European colonists at Jerusalem, especially during the pilgrim season, the seven week period preceding the festival of Easter’.⁴⁴ Bartlett reports that the Mediterranean and the Melita Hotels were ‘often crowded in the winter and spring’. From Murray’s guide of 1858 we hear that ‘about Easter, which is the Jerusalem “season”, all these houses [the hotels Rosenthal, Mediterranean and Melita, and Ungar’s lodgings] are sometimes so full that travellers cannot get a bed’.⁴⁵ There were, of course, also various hospices that facilitated pilgrims, such as the German Hospice of St John (Figs 1.19–1.20), the Austrian Hospice (Fig. 1.21), and the Casa Nova Hospice. In the 1868 edition of Murray’s guide it is stated that when all

these houses [i.e. hotels] are full, or, at least, that the best apartments in them are occupied, those who have tents

FIGURE 1.24. The port at Jaffa. Note the two signs on the wall above the pier, one referring to 'Clark's Tours office Hotel du Parc', and the other to 'D. N. Tadros Holy Land Tours'. American Colony photograph, c. 1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.25. Road construction in Palestine with child labour. Picture postcard, c. 1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.26. The coffee shop next to the stables in front of the Jaffa Gate at the beginning of Jaffa Road. Photograph by Felix Bonfils, c. 1870–1880. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.27. The stables and market outside the Jaffa Gate. Picture postcard, c. 1900. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

and equipage need not consider this any great misfortune, as they may encamp outside the walls and perhaps enjoy as much comfort as in the crowded city. The side of the valley in front of the Citadel is the usual camping ground. A change may be made for a day or two to the summit of Olivet, so as to enjoy the splendid morning views of the city, and the evening views of the wilderness of Judea, the Dead Sea, and the Mountains of Moab.⁴⁶

The preface to Cook's 1907 handbook (edited by Hanauer and Masterman; see Appendix I on the guide books of the period) states that there are two types of tourists: those who stay in hotels and those who like camping out. Cook ran tent encampments outside the Old City walls of Jerusalem for those who did not want to stay in a hotel (Fig. 1.22). Some

FIGURE 1.28. Travellers arriving at the Jerusalem railway station. Photograph from 1936 by George Gibson. (*Daniel Gibson Archive*)

FIGURE 1.29. Travellers with their baggage at the railway station in the early twentieth century. (*German Protestant Institute of Archaeology Archive, Gustav Dalman Collection*)

of the Cook encampments on the Mount of Olives were organized by the dragoman Rolla Floyd in the mid-1880s:

Such camps were magnificent, the equipment sumptuous, and the service excellent. They were constantly used by tourists. The tents were and still are made in Egypt. String sailcloth is used on the outside and this is lined with indigo blue every inch of which is covered with bright patchwork in Arabesque patterns. The camp consisted of a bedroom tent for each person or couple, and every morning a tin bathtub would be dragged into the tent by the attendant. Hot and cold water stood beside the tub in big containers, Standard Oil tins. A large tent with double poles was used for dining and sitting room with comfortable camp chairs. The kitchen tent contained a stove consisting of an iron frame on legs with places for a charcoal fire. The camp cooks were excellent, and the waiters, well trained [Fig. 1.23].⁴⁷

The writer Stinde added:

The tent encampment on the northern side of the Mount of Olives belongs to Mr Thomas Cook & Son and accommodates English travellers of an organized tour. Joyfully the red flag displaying the company 'Th. Cook & Son' is waving from the large tent, in which the imitation Bedouin have their communal meals.⁴⁸

High season was during Christmas and Easter, especially for pilgrims, but travellers arrived throughout the year either as individuals or in organized groups. The writer and clergyman Henry Martyn Field wrote in 1883 that 'the Holy Week brings some ten thousand pilgrims, the greater part of whom find lodging in the numerous convents, while Englishmen and Americans seek more comfortable quarters in the hotels'.⁴⁹ The missionary William McClure Thomson observed in the late 1870s that, since his first visit to the city in 1833, 'hotels have arisen in various parts of the City, and many comfortable dwellings have been built, both within and without the walls'.⁵⁰ Practical measures, such as the increasing of the regularity of steamships bringing travellers to Jaffa (a jump from one day a week in 1876, to several steamships a week in 1879, to five days out of seven in 1886) and the improvement of the carriage roads leading to Jerusalem in the latter part of the nineteenth century, resulted in a considerable increase in the numbers of visitors and pilgrims to Jerusalem (Figs 1.24–1.25).⁵¹ A large stable for horses and carriages was situated immediately outside Jaffa

FIGURE 1.30. The Landau carriage which conveyed travellers from the Jerusalem train station to the Grand New Hotel at the end of the nineteenth century. (Harland 1896)

FIGURE 1.31. Plan of buildings outside Jaffa Gate and along Jaffa Road. Note the 'New Khan' which served as the stables, with a coffee shop above it. Sketch by Conrad Schick, June 1887. PEF/Schick/228/1. (Palestine Exploration Fund Archives)

Gate, and next to it a major coffee house (Figs 1.26–1.27). The opening of the Jaffa to Jerusalem railroad in 1892 further facilitated the arrival of tourists in Jerusalem (Figs 1.28–1.30).⁵² Within Jerusalem, modern modifications were made to the principal streets and to the drainage system of the city; the water system, however, still remained in a state of disarray.⁵³ Floyd wrote in 1887:

people who were here [in Jerusalem] fifteen or even ten years ago would hardly know the city and its surroundings now. There are now some of the finest buildings being put up just outside the city wall: three, four and even five stories high, all built of nice white limestone.⁵⁴

The German architect and antiquarian Conrad Schick (1822–1901) similarly reported in 1891 that 'farther out towards the north-west, many new

buildings are built, to a great distance', adding also that on Jaffa Road close to the Old City there was now 'a new building used as a kind of club house for the upper class and called "casino"'.⁵⁵ This area came to be regarded as the 'European suburb' of Jerusalem, and it continued expanding until the fall of Jerusalem to the British in 1917 (Figs 1.31–1.33).⁵⁶

By the beginning of the twentieth century, tourists and pilgrims from many countries flooded Jerusalem. There were many visiting Americans, and the theologian Dr Andrew Edward Breen wrote in a somewhat disapproving tone in his diary of 1904: 'Jerusalem is filled with Americans, mainly pleasure-seekers. They enjoy donkey rides, carriage rides, sight-seeing and the social side of life in hotels and hospices. It is a great harvest for the Arabs, as the Americans are generous with their money'.⁵⁷ By

FIGURE 1.32. A map showing the development of the new city along the Jaffa Road, and the position of three hotels close to the north-west corner of the Old City. Sketch by Conrad Schick from 1891. PEF/Schick/246.
(*Palestine Exploration Fund Archives*)

FIGURE 1.33. A view of Jaffa Road at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Fast Hotel can be seen in the continuation of Jaffa Road on the far right. (*Library of Congress Photo Archives*)

1911, Lewis Gaston Leary was advocating visiting the Holy Land and Jerusalem in the hot summer months, so as to save on aggravation and costs during the high seasons:

Everywhere on such a trip you will find comfortable hotels and English-speaking guides. You will cross the Mediterranean when its waters are the calmest; the

steamers and railways will not be overcrowded; hotels will give better accommodations and lower rates than during the busy season; guides and shop-keepers will be more anxious to please; and the points of interest can be visited in a quiet, leisurely way, without the hurry and jostling and excitement of the spring months, when all Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, is seething with noisy, unkempt pilgrims and tired, nervous tourists.⁵⁸

NOTES

1. On general aspects relating to the origins of modern tourism: Page and Connell 2006, 28–29.

2. Notably, Murray 1858 (and later editions); Baedeker 1876 (and later editions); Cook & Son 1876 (and later editions); Fahrngruber (ed.) 1890; de Hamme 1897 (and later editions); Macmillan & Co. 1901 (and later editions); Meistermann 1907 (and later editions). For details regarding the history of these guide-books, see Appendix I in this book.

3. Bosworth 1986.

4. Rolla Floyd was intending to write a guidebook in 1875, but this eventually fell through: Parsons 1981, 17.

5. Reynolds-Ball 1901, 202. He notes that ‘Baedeker’s list of so-called popular works is too erudite for the ordinary tourist’.

6. Hoade 1973, v.

7. On the attraction of Jerusalem for Jewish, Christian and Muslim pilgrims: Peters 2011.

8. Gibson 2010, 383–84; idem 2011, 24–26.

9. Stewart 1857, 306–07, see also 309.

10. On health and medicinal matters in nineteenth-century Jerusalem: Lev 2003, 104–18.

11. De Saulcy 1854, 117 (footnote); (von) Tischendorff 1847, 135 who presented a medical certificate issued at the quarantine in Gaza.

12. Fisk 1845, 242.

13. Borrer 1845.

14. Gibson 2003, 121. See also the description of cisterns and sewage drainage in Jerusalem, in a letter by Gustav Thiel of 23 January 1861 (quoted in Eisler 2001, 161–62).

15. Smith 1906, 143.

16. Foreign Office 1908, 15–16.

17. It is not surprising therefore that, after reading a list of hotels in Jerusalem and *before* one reaches the list of consulates in Fahrngruber’s guidebook (1890, 96), one finds a prominent section dealing with the availability of local and imported German beers.

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