

# The rise of popular tourism in the Holy Land: Thomas Cook and John Mason Cook's enterprise skills that shaped the travel industry

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## ABSTRACT

Thomas Cook, innovator of the conducted tour, organized his first one-day rail trip in 1841 and in 1860s, with his son, John Mason Cook, created Thomas Cook & Son brand by opening office in London to sell tickets for domestic and international travel. Thomas Cook escorted his first party to Egypt and Palestine in 1869. By the end of the nineteenth century, the company had arranged travel to Palestine for about 12,000 people. One of these travellers was German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II. Making travel arrangements of Kaiser in 1898 crowned the efforts of the company. This study provides the first examination of the archive documents on business agreement and correspondences between Thomas Cook & Son and the Ottoman Court for Kaiser's journey to the Holy Land. This study also aims to provide insight into how their entrepreneurial spirit contributed to the contemporary patterns of tourism management.

## 1. Introduction

*"All over the universe, the well-known and famous Cook Company established for travellers to travel easily and to reside in the Egypt, Palestine and Syrian quarters". BOA., HR. SFR.3., 348/61 (28th June 1888)*

Thomas Cook, in spite of changes in ownership, still maintains its famous name and is still the largest travel agency in Great Britain with hundreds of branches (Cormack, 2001, p. 35). Cook's ideas, matured in Scotland from 1846 onwards, went much further than that, to the provision of hotel accommodation and of all the services the travellers might need, at a single inclusive price. He is the undoubted originator of the package tour (Simmons, 1973, p. 26). The firm is rightly considered to have almost single-handedly inaugurated the era of mass tourism by recognizing and satisfying the increasingly global appetites of Europe's growing middle classes. Cook's pioneered tours introducing better-off travellers, many of whom were accustomed to touring Europe independently, to exotic new locales (Low, 2016, p. 51).

The development of tourism in the Levant in the second half of the 19th century is partially attributed to the business of Thomas Cook and Son who popularized mass tourism to the region (Daher, 2007, p. 263). Starting in 1869, Thomas Cook and Son created the tourist trade of Egypt by developing the Nile transit service while simultaneously opening up Syria/Palestine to travellers. The Cook enterprise quickly

expanded to other parts of the region. The establishment of tourist offices in Cairo (1872), Jaffa (1874) and Jerusalem (1881) was followed by the opening of Cook agencies in Constantinople (1883), Algiers (1887), Tunis (1901), and Khartoum (1901) (Hunter, 2003, p. 157).

As a natural consequence of Thomas Cook and Son's travel operations in the territory of the Ottoman Empire, there was intense mutual relations in commercial matters. Eventually, the Ottoman Court did not hesitate to purchase travel services through Thomas Cook and Son for the journey of German Emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II to the Holy Land. This study focuses Thomas Cook's and his son John Cook's entrepreneurship's role in turning the Middle East into new tourism area and popularizing it. Starting from this point, the study elaborates on the crowning achievement of the company, organizing Kaiser's visit to the Holy Land. This visit has importance place in the history of the company because this was John Cook's last tourism operation he conducted personally. This study brings the details about the service procurement agreement and business correspondences on Kaiser's expedition between the Ottoman Court and Thomas Cook & Son into light for the first time.

This study is based on the historical unpublished documents concerning the company of Thomas Cook which were collected as copies by the authors from the Department of Ottoman Archives in Istanbul affiliated with Turkish Presidency State Archives of the Republic of Turkey. The research was carried out by examining particularly the

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documents from Ministry of Foreign Affairs - the Embassy of London and Miscellaneous Records of Yıldız Palace. Photographs were obtained from Ottoman Journals. The other resources include old British newspapers in addition to the books, and the articles related to the subject.

## 2. The emergence of the package tours

It is generally agreed that with the developments of railway and marine transportation after the industrial revolution, travel conditions improved. Consequently, individual travels took the form of organized tours (Guillot, 2007, p. 97). There is no doubt that the first tour operators played a major role in this transformation. As Zuelow (2016) stated the obvious potential for profit led a number of individuals to form businesses devoted to prearranged travel because the industrialization caused increase in income, in turn created sizable middle-class people. One of these tourism establishments, Thomas Cook offers an important window into the early development of organized tourism. However, Walton (2010) underlines that Cook was surrounded by other pioneers of the travel trade.

These travel agencies brought basic components of the travel together to provide the earliest form of the package tour. The package tour is defined as ‘the prearranged combination of not fewer than two of the following when sold or offered for sale at an inclusive price and when the service cover a period of more than 24 h or includes overnight accommodation: I (transport); (ii) accommodation (iii) other tourist services (Beaver, 2005, p. 308). The rise of the modern tourism activities brought with it the need for service personnel in all aspects of the tourism industry. These personnel included tour guides who were responsible for escorting groups and individuals, and interpreting the natural and cultural heritage of the area (Weiler & Black, 2015, p. 11) as the part of other tourist services in the package tour.

The role of Thomas Cook has tended to overshadow the work done by other agencies, such as John Frame or Henry Gaze, and that of the railway companies, each of whom had their own excursion departments. In part this is because Cook's records have survived, whereas those of competitors which became bankrupt, have not (Durie, 2017, p. 48). Before the 1860s, Henry Gaze and others actually know more about foreign tourism than Thomas Cook did. (Brendon, 1991, p. 70). Joseph Crisp of Liverpool was already organizing trip from that city to Paris in 1845, though without accompanying them or doing more than putting together itineraries and travel tickets to combine the services of several companies at special prices (Walton, 2010, p. 86). Henry Gaze had organized the very first conducted tour of France in 1844 (Cormack, 2001, p. 31) and had already taken three small tours to the Holy Land before Cook arrived in 1869 (Walton, 2010, p. 87). Thomas Cook did not necessarily invent the railway excursion all by himself or organize trips, even the package tour as has been supposed (Matthews, 2016, p. 3).

Thomas Cook's first venture into Europe was in 1855 when Emperor Napoleon III opened a large exhibition in Paris. He offered the inhabitants of Leicester a trip to France. The success of the two Swiss tours he had conducted in 1863 prompted him to visit Italy. He made arrangements with railways and hotels, as a result announced his first conducted tours to Italy to start in 1864 (Cormack, 2001, p. 33).

Thomas Cook with his son John Cook continually looked for ways of overcoming obstacles to travel, simplifying it for the tourist (Russell & Murphy, 2005, p. 77). Although Hotel Coupon was introduced before by Henry Gaze, John Cook achieved a great success by starting the use of the system of hotel coupons in 1868 to help customers check in hotels without cash payment. While Cook benefited from a favourable cash flow he received from the tourists, the tourists benefited from the knowledge that they could not be overcharged at the hotels and could avoid the complexity of currency change (Brendon, 1991, p. 114). He laid the foundation for mass travel by offering affordable prices to the middle class (Walton, 2010, p. 87). Thus, he simplified, popularized and cheapened travel (Brendon, 1991, p. 17).

Basilgan (2011) points out in his study how Schumpeter (1934) defines entrepreneurs. In Schumpeter's view, individuals, who are prepared to step outside the boundaries of routine, are entrepreneurs. They must overcome a number of difficulties, which may lead to failures and setbacks. Their function does not essentially consist in either inventing anything. It consists in getting things done. It may be the activity of “setting up” and “organizing” that stands out from the others, “simply doing of new things or the doing of things that are already being done in a new way (innovation)”. Schumpeter views innovation as much more than invention. Invention becomes an innovation only when it is put to productive use. In Schumpeter's mind, entrepreneurs are a more special type of people than managers, capitalists and inventors (Schumpeter, 1947, p. 151; Basilgan, 2011, pp. 53, 61).

It is generally accepted that the accessibility of the area and the mix of tourism resources are the most important factors in the development of an area into a tourist destination. However, Thomas Cook did much more than he had to do when he decided to take his first tourists to the Holy Land. Brendon (1991) says that until Cook's time, the dangers, difficulties and discomforts were abundant in Middle Eastern Journeys. There is no doubt that Thomas Cook showed the qualities of creativity and risk-taking. Russell and Murphy (2005) consider these qualities as crucial entrepreneurial leadership ingredients. From Schumpeter's perspective, it can be said that even though Thomas Cook did not invent the package tour, his extension its operation to Egypt and Palestine in 1869 by venturing into unpopular areas bravely should be enough to call him as entrepreneur. Furthermore, 1870s witnessed the development of Middle East into a popular tourist destination under John Cook's endeavours. Thus, invention turned into an innovation thanks to John Cook, innovative entrepreneur.

These efforts helped the company to build business brand identity. As mentioned in the document from the Ottoman achieve, “all over the universe, the well-known and famous Cook Company was established for travellers to travel easily”.

## 3. Pilgrims, tourists, and the Holy Land in the 19th century

As early as the second century Christian pilgrims had travelled to Palestine attempting to discover the locations associated with Jesus' ministry and Passion, to trace the route of the Exodus, or to stand on the sites of other biblical events. Many more Western travellers visited Palestine with the same aspirations in the nineteenth century (Whitelam, 2015, p. 139). During the late twentieth, early twenty-first centuries tourism emerged as one of the principal agencies of social, political, economic and cultural change. Historical towns have always attracted tourists, both in the past and present. (Hattab, 2004, p. 279).

At the end of the nineteenth century, Jerusalem, the common cradle of the three monotheistic religions, was a part of the Ottoman Empire. Since 1872 it had been the administrative capital of a district called ‘Kudüs-i Sherif’ or ‘Filastin’ in the imperial archives. It had 20,000 inhabitants in 1870. The walled part of the city was barely one square kilometre; perched at an altitude of roughly 760 m atop the Palestinian ridge (Lemire, 2013, p. 1).

In 1838, the first European diplomatic presence in Jerusalem was the establishment of the British Consulate that was soon followed by the Prussian, Sardinian, French, Austrian, Spanish, American and Russian consulates between 1842 and 1857. Consulates were soon followed by missionary schools in and around the Jerusalem, Ramallah, and Bethlehem area as well as in Nazareth, Haifa and Jaffa. The religious-political importance of Palestinian Jerusalem by the mid-19th century was further emphasized by the establishment of several key bishoprics and patriarchates beginning with the Anglo-Prussian Bishopric of 1841 and including the restoration of the Latin (Roman Catholic) Patriarchate, the arrival of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate from Constantinople and the beginning of the Russian Orthodox Bishopric in the 1880s (Thomas, 2011, pp. 5–6).

The improvements that began in the roads and transportation in the

Holy Land around the world in the end of the Ottoman era contributed, among other things, to the growth of pilgrimages and tourism to Jerusalem. In the nineteenth century, steamer lines leaving central Mediterranean ports for the beaches of Palestine began to operate. At the same time, traffic to Jerusalem's sites increased, in particular through the central road coming to the city from the Jaffa port. In 1867, prior to the opening of the Suez Canal, the Turkish sultan gave orders to pave the Jerusalem-Jaffa road; when it was done, passenger carriages began to travel the route. In Jerusalem itself a central station was opened next to Jaffa Gate for carriages. Hotels, travel agencies, tour operators, and more were concentrated at Jaffa Gate. Transportation was reinforced in 1892 with the inauguration of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railroad. The railroad began to carry tens of thousands of pilgrims and visitors between the two cities (Hattab & Shoval, 2015, pp. 26–27). In the years before 1850 any traveller reaching Jerusalem would have found it extremely difficult to find a hotel with proper accommodation and satisfactory sanitation. This situation changed rapidly during the second half of the century, with an increasing flow of pilgrims and other organized groups of travellers to the Holy City. Consequently a number of hotels sprang up close to the Damascus and Jaffa Gates, which were the main points of entry for travellers reaching Jerusalem from north or West (Gibson & Chapman, 1995, p. 93).

#### 4. The beginning of the conducted tours to the Holy Land

Although the second half of the 20th century had borne witness to the birth of tourism yet and had a long way to develop to be discussed with academic approaches and theories, the Holy Land in the beginning of 1870s could be an example to some extent for Butler's (1980) assertion about the evolution of a tourist area and Cohen's types of tourists. As it happens in the exploration stage (Butler, 1980, p. 6), restricted by lack of transportation, accommodation facilities, and local knowledge, visitors to the Holy Land, apart from the pilgrims from nearby geography, were limited to the small numbers of diplomats, merchants, academicians, and explorers initially. As Cohen's (1972) explorers, the travellers to the Holy Land had to make individual travel arrangements and follow irregular visitation patterns.

The tourism industry is characterized by a large degree of asymmetric information. One of the vital intermediary functions of the tour operators is to collect objective information about alternative destinations and assess the facilities located in faraway destinations, often in foreign countries (Clerides, Nearchou, & Pashardes, 2008, p. 373). In autumn 1868 Thomas Cook set out for Beirut, Jaffa, Alexandria, and Cairo to investigate transport arrangements, assess hotels, and estimate costs because he had received conflicting information on the suitability of the region for western tourists. But his expectation was definitely that the venture would be a success, and he was already promoting and accepting down payments for a proposed group tour a month before setting off on his solo exploratory trip (Humphreys, 2015, p. 12). Before a month elapsed thirty-two ladies and gentlemen had taken tickets for the trip to the Nile and Palestine, and thirty to Palestine only. Two steamers were engaged for the Nile trip, and two camps were formed in Palestine. This was the beginning of the Eastern travel in the spring of 1869 (Fraser, 1891, p. 104). One of the skills that management require is conceptual skills including the ability to figure out opportunity and to see the big picture (Hill & McShane, 2008, p. 16). Thomas Cook had seen the Nile and beyond as opportunity to grow his business.

Thomas Cook returned to the Middle East later that year when he had received an invitation to the opening of the Suez Canal. He planned for a party of sixty people and, since there were no hotels or other amenities available in the Holy Land, he set up his own travelling camp. This consisted of 21 sleeping tents, with beds, carpets, tapestries and other amenities to make them as comfortable and home-like as possible. For meals, he supplied three dining tents with field kitchens. Transport was supplied by 65 saddle horses and the whole caravanserai was moved by 87 pack horses and as many mules as were necessary, led by

56 muleteers (Swinglehurst, 1974, p. 76) to chase in the tracks of Moses and his burning bush. For safety, there were several guards and barking dogs, and for guidance a few dragomen, the guides who always accompanied foreigners throughout the Near East, resolving myriad day-to-day problems, as well as remarking on the sights (Gregory, 1991, p. 159).

At Alexandria, India-bound steamers had to moor for a week to take on more coal and provisions. Cook promptly seized the opportunity to offer trips to the Holy Land during this necessary delay. Thus, his firm's contribution to the re-emergence of the Protestant pilgrimage was considerable (Janin, 2002, p. 175). The Suez Canal's opening in November 1869 and the growth of steamship travel resulted in heightened European and American interest in the Orient. Additionally, Thomas Cook's Eastern Tours attracted an outpouring of five thousand British and American middle-class tourists to Palestine between 1869 and 1882 (Quinn, 2008, p. 91).

Palestine was linked to the Egyptian end of Cook's business. In 1873, an office was opened in Jaffa. Tourists could now be welcomed at the port by a Cook's agent and forwarded to Jerusalem at any time rather than travel together in large caravans, as previously. By the early 1870s, Palestine took its place alongside Egypt as a commercially important site and main feature of Cook's growing Middle Eastern holiday programme (Hunter, 2004, p. 36). Seasonality is one of the main aspects affecting tourism (Cuccia & Rizzo, 2011, p. 589) and has been recurrent topic in academic literature (Rossello & Sanso, 2017, p. 379) since the study of Baron in 1975. The business of Thomas Cook was seasonal, operating primarily between Easter and early fall, when the climate in Europe and America was generally warm and travel was unlikely to be hindered by bad weather. By contrast, Egypt was far too hot for westerners to endure during the summer months and was best suited to visiting in winter. Adding Egypt and Palestine to Cook's annual program would mean that the company could pursue year-round business (Humphreys, 2015, p. 51). As Cook said, now 'it is summer with us all the year around' (Brendon, 1991, p. 129).

Detailed information about the Holy Land tours arranged by Thomas Cook is available from newspapers, travel books, and travel guides of that period. In the travel guide *Cook's Tourists' Handbook for Palestine and Syria* prepared by Thomas Cook & Son, it is underlined that "apart from the question of expense, travelling in the East, either alone, or with only one or two companions, is not desirable. In Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, the mode of life, language, and customs of the country are altogether different from anything to which the European traveller has been accustomed. Therefore, Bedouin escorts for unsafe districts are employed" (Thomas Cook & Son, 1876, pp. 1–16).

The traveller's behaviour in the destination decision making is always associated with the travel risks (Henderson, 2007). For tourism, a safe destination perception is one of the most important factors affecting holiday decisions (Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2003). Therefore, as emphasized in many studies, the safety and security are primary conditions for tourism development of a destination. Risk perceptions have a great effect on avoidance of geographic regions and destinations (Cavlek, 2002; Garg, 2015; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998). Safety and security must have been a particular concern to the travellers in the 19th century and mostly served as deterrents to travel to the unfamiliar destinations such as the regions of the Middle East. It is not without reason that Thomas Cook & Son had underlined its essential role to avoid from the threats in the unsafe districts during the trip.

As defined in simple terms by Page (2015) a tour operator organizes, packages together different elements of the tourism experience and offer them for sale to the public through the medium of advertisement. What the travel company of Thomas Cook & Son did at that time was not different from today's travel arrangements basically. In Cook's tourists' handbook for Palestine and Syria (1876), it says "for the comfort and pleasure of the trip, all arrangements respecting contracts with dragomans, tents, and equipment, tip, charges for visiting mosques and sacred places etc. should be undertaken on behalf of the traveller".



The company could clarify the question of expense as well for the prospective tourists by minimizing and fixing transaction costs. Thus, tour operators as intermediaries started to play their extant prominent role in product and price bundling. Eventually, this led to the emergence of new tourist type defined by Cohen (1972), the organized mass tourist who is represented by the guided tour. The itinerary of his trip is fixed in advance, and all his stops are well-prepared and guided. 'Programmes and Itineraries of Cook's Arrangements for Palestine Tours', printed by Thomas Cook & Sons emphasises this issue that "prior to the year 1867 when the first public announcement was made for special tours, Palestine had been a sealed book except to a comparatively few wealthy noblemen and distinguished students, who had visited it at great expense and considerable risk for the purpose of studying the Biblical and natural history of the country. Since that date, through the facilities Thomas Cook put into operation, about 2000 travellers visited Palestine in ten years" (Thomas Cook & Sons, 1879, p. 5).

The travel company offered alternative itineraries as short and longer routes to the travellers. Depending on the number of the day, there tours starting from Jaffa included Jerusalem, Samaria, Galile, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Sidon and Beirut. Many sacred sites such as the convent of Mar Saba, Rachel's tomb, Solomon's Pools, Shepherds' Field, the Dead Sea, Mount of Olives, Ivory Palace of Ahab, and Ruins of a Crusader's Temple, tomb of John the Baptist were visited during these tours (Thomas Cook & Son, 1876, pp. 1–16). The long list of these biblical sites in the programme was very important. Tourism managers use a destination's unique and distinctive characteristics as attractors that increase tourists' attention to the destination and build its image in their minds (Truong, Lenglet, & Mothe, 2018, p. 214). However, taming the Middle East in the interests of tourism was no easy matter. Despite every effort some journeys went disastrously wrong because of bad weather, illness, collapsing tents, and falls from horses. There were always visitors unhappy Eastern experiences (Brendon, 1991, p. 132) because the basic factors only lead to consumer dissatisfaction, and they generate extreme dissatisfaction if they do not meet expectations (Alegre & Garau, 2010, p. 55). One of the basic factors for Cook's travellers were the travel conditions. As Thomas Cook mentioned 'we have too often seen parties in sunshine all joyous and complimentary, who, under the influence of storm and inundated pathways, are too prone to complain and murmur' (Thomas Cook, 1879, p. 13).

Tour leaders play a crucial role in group tours, because they serve as information deliverers and mentors for the group (Tsaour & Teng, 2017, p. 439). They have to take care of their guests from the beginning to the end of the tour (Wong & Lee, 2012, p. 1112). The travel guide provided information about a tour leader in Palestine. Mr. Rolla Floyd, the manager of Palestine business, meet every steamer to land and embark passengers at Jaffa port, and until their departure, travellers are under the supervision of Mr. Floyd and his competent staff of assistants. Mr. Floyd had been for many years resident in Palestine, and had such a reputation with all classes of the community, including governors, consuls, all native officials, the Arabs, and the Bedouins. The dragomans were selected with the greatest possible care by Mr. Floyd, and under no circumstances did he engage a second time a dragoman who could not produce a satisfactory certificate from all the members of his previous party (Thomas Cook & Sons, 1879, p. 6). It is obvious from the expressions above that Mr. Floyd was playing all the roles indicated by Cohen (1985) as a tour leader. As a part of his instrumental role the tour was under his supervision for ensuring tour runs smoothly, his reputation with all classes of the community indicates that he was successful in carrying out social role, being resident in Palestine for a long time give clues on the ability of his interactive role which involves coordinating the issues between the group, tour destination and local communities. Lastly, as for communicative role, although he employs dragomans, professional tour guides of that time to give information about the attractions, selecting dragomans carefully shows his meticulousness about tour explanation capability and disseminating accurate information.

The *Morning Post* newspaper in England reported Thomas Cook and Son's recent published programme of arrangements for winter tours in Palestine and Egypt for the coming season. It was noted that the booklet was illustrated with photographs and maps, and contains details of personally-conducted and independent tours to Lower Egypt, the Nile, Palestine, Turkey, and Greece. Miscellaneous notes for Eastern Travellers were also included, which should prove useful to those who intend travelling in the East. (*The Morning Post*, 1898, p. 6).

Tourism supply chain is based on a network of tourist organizations performing various activities from specific components of products/services such as transportation and accommodation to the distribution and marketing of the end-product (Topolšek, Mrnjavac, & Kovačić, 2014, p. 15). The scarcity and the poor condition of accommodation facilities in the Holy Land seemed to pose an obstacle for Thomas Cook & Son to link the elements of supply chain in time. Therefore, the company bought at that time a valuable plot of land and buildings outside the walls of Jerusalem to establish an hotel and central depot for the business if found necessary (Thomas Cook & Sons, 1879, p. 6) because tour operators are primarily concerned with their own survival and possible growth (Carey, Gountas, & Gilbert, 1997, p. 426).

The theory of entrepreneurs as innovators put forward by Schumpeter (1934) pays attention to developing, driving new products, exploiting new markets, combining resources differently and creating game changing rules of competition for their industry (Smith, Rees, & Murray, 2016, p. 192). It is inarguably clear that besides being the pioneer of escorted tours to the Holy Land in 1869, Thomas Cook who introduced a system of Hotel Coupons in 1868 and the Circular Notes in 1874, had an entrepreneurial spirit. Entrepreneurship requires courage. Thomas Cook made his enterprise successful by incurring large monetary liabilities in a country not considered particularly safe for even ordinary investments and taking upon themselves the entire legal and monetary responsibility by providing financial assurance to the travellers.

## 5. Kaiser Wilhelm II's visit to the Holy Land

Kaiser Friedrich Wilhelm II, German Emperor (1859–1941) acceded to the Prusso-German throne on 15 June 1888 and occupied the throne until the collapse of Germany in 1918 (Clark, 2013, p. 46). Germany, after German unification in 1871, protected the Lutheran Protestant community, buying land in the quarter of the Old City in Jerusalem and building the Redeemer Church in 1898 (Khatib, 2003, p. 34). The Kaiser regarded himself as a pilgrim. The official purpose of his trip was to dedicate the Church of Redeemer (Erlöserkirche) (Fig. 1. - Soy, 2009, p. 147; Istanbul University, Central Library, Rare Works-90621-0007).



Fig. 1. The Church of Redeemer (Erlöserkirche).



The church building represented a reconstruction of the church Santa Maria Latina, founded by the Order of St. John in the thirteenth century (Goebel, 2007, p. 117).

Wilhelm II's visit to the Orient in 1889 was considered a significant development for Germany in terms of globalizing and following the colonial politics. Hence, Germany had already started to follow a diplomacy towards "gaining a place under the sun" by following a policy of "peaceful power" (Soy, 2009, p. 141). The Emperor's visit in made a contribution to Germany's having economic power in the lands of the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Mediterranean. This affected their political standing as well; for example the proposal by Salisbury - Minister of Foreign Affairs of England - on sharing the Ottoman Land, was refused by Germany. Wilhelm II's second visit to the Ottoman Empire in 1898 was in a way the symbolic declaration of this refusal. In fact, Wilhelm announcing himself as the benevolent of the Ottomans and Muslims brought Germany both political power and commercial advantages (Gencer, 2010, pp. 272–274). The financial contract of Anatolian Railway Line up to Baghdad was signed between Anatolian Railway Company and the Ottoman Empire in 1899 (Gencer, 2010, p. 291; Georgeon, 2012, p. 478). Hence, when the Emperor returned to Berlin, he presented the ministers and businessmen who met him with gifts given by Abdulhamit II and also heralded to them a concession of constructing the Constanza-Istanbul telegraph line, improvement of business connections between the two sides and privileges given to Deutsche Bank (Ortaylı, 2010, p. 100). Thanks to this visit Germany started to contribute even more to the Ottomans' "economical modernization" in order to guarantee their political power. Hence, Abdulhamit II offered Wilhelm II to give concessions for the Baghdad Railway Line to a German group which was accepted in October 1898 (Gencer, 2010, pp. 289–291; Georgeon, 2012, p. 478). An allegation that this journey was going to increase the German political power over the Ottomans was mentioned in those days; thus, Serif Pasha, Stockholm Ambassador, stated in a telegram he sent to the Court on the 6th of August 1898 that there was a rumour at political gathering places that this journey was aimed at obtaining some concessions for the Germans and to increase the German political power in the East BOA., Y. PRK. ESA., 30/79 (August 6, 1898).

News of Wilhelm visiting the Ottoman Empire was reported to Sultan Abdulhamit II by the German ambassador, Freiherr von Marschall at a Friday divine service parade in November 1897. According to this, Wilhelm II planned to be at the official opening ceremony of the church constructed in Jerusalem the following year. This news was considered a satisfactory development by Abdulhamit II (Alkan, 2008, pp. 15–16). In March 1898, Sami Bey, one of the Berlin Embassy military attachés - lieutenant colonel, reported that Wilhelm was going to carry out a journey probably in October/November (BOA., Y. PRK. MYD., 20/105 (March 10, 1898). When the Kaiser's visit became definite, a welcoming worthy for him and preparations for the journey were begun. Ottoman Empire Yıldız Palace General Protocol Department demanded information about the region from the governor of Jerusalem. They wanted answers to fourteen questions including the following: "Is there an appropriate pier when reaching Jaffa?" "Is there a road between the pier and the railway area?" "If there is, is it decent enough?" "Is there a coach worthy enough for the Emperor Highness to travel upon?" "Do schools need repair?" "Does the town hall need repair?" and with the answers they started planning what needed to be done (BOA., Y. PRK. TSF., 5/25 (February 28, 1898).

In a report sent from Jerusalem to Yıldız Palace information about preparations for the Emperor's visit took place. According to this report, regional officials were trying really hard for the cleaning and repair of the streets through which the Emperor and Empress might pass. Construction of a new carriage way to Mount of Olives was continuing. A new pier was being built in Haifa, Al-Aqsa Mosque was being repaired and some roads in Jerusalem were on the mend. Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway Company ordered three saloon coaches for the Emperor and his attendants. Sultan Abdulhamit was going to send animals and

carriages for them. Apart from the troops to be sent from Damascus to Jerusalem in order to greet the German Emperor, 600 people from Ertugrul's regiment would come from Istanbul to Jerusalem to accompany him. Besides, in order to monitor the construction of the roads Colonel Abdurrahim Bey and the German engineer Dr. Laved were going to be present in Jerusalem and preparations were to be carried out with all details necessary (BOA., Y. PRK. TKM., 41/2 (August 23, 1898). In addition, to be able to complete the journey without any problems, relevant places were informed to make up deficiencies of the route. For example, repair of the bridge over the Jordan River which was considered possible that the Emperor would cross was demanded (BOA., I. ML., 29/49 (October 17/18, 1898). The Governor of Syria, Nazım Bey, stated in a telegram he sent to Yıldız Palace on 21 October 1898 that necessary precautions were taken for the Emperor's visits to Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Beirut and Syria (BOA., Y. PRK. UM., 43/122 (October 21, 1898). Preparations carried out for this journey started to put their budget in danger, especially the treasury offices of local administrative units were affected seriously (Demiryürek and Ediz, 2010, p. 189).

Through the London Embassy the German authorities were informed that they would not need to deal with supplying munitions like food, drinks, tents etc. for the Emperor and his wife after reaching Istanbul since these matters would be provided by the Ottomans. However Wilhelm thanked Abdulhamit II for his offer and said he had made a deal with a company regarding the possible gossips and the economical situation of the Ottomans. Thus, the London ambassador Ahmet Tevfik Pasha informed Sultan Abdulhamit II about this issue on the 3rd of August 1898 (BOA., Y. PRK. ESA.,30/74; BOA.,Y. PRK. TSF.,5/50). The Emperor has left the entire arrangements for the journey in the hands of Thomas Cook and Sons (The Northern Whig, 1898, p. 5). Thomas Cook's only son, John Mason Cook, had personally conducted the Kaiser up Vesuvius in 1896. Impressed by Cook's organization, Wilhelm then said that he would travel with him to Palestine. John promised to undertake the arrangements (Brendon, 1991, p. 240).

Despite the fact that several hotels were already established in Jerusalem, it was decided that the Kaiser and his entourage would reside in a specially built encampment during their stay. The equipment required for the entourage included everything needed to set up camp and all the transportation for the journey - carriages, horses, and more. These were sent from Germany and Turkey by sea to Jaffa and from there by train to Jerusalem. The encampment itself consisted of 75 tents, 6 reception tents, 6 kitchen tents and barracks (HaMigdal, 2012, p. 1). The cost of the Emperor's journey was considered to be around a few million Marks (Demiryürek & Ediz, 2010, p. 189). The German Empire signed a contract with Cook Company in order to supply the necessary carriages, animals, tents etc. and to get transport services for the Palestine- Syria and Egypt journeys of the Emperor and his attendants. The chief of the company, Mr. John Cook was going to join the Emperor with his son in order to supervise the journey personally (BOA., Y. PRK. TKM., 41/2 (August 23, 1898). Actually, the Kaiser paid Thomas Cook & Son £48,130 for their labours. This is was not an excessive sum, for no other organization could have achieved what they did (Brendon, 1991, p. 241).

Because of the contract between Germany and the Cook Company Ottoman officials gave up on the idea of having a deal with a field equipment supplier called Iskender İvad because they thought that this journey was to be paid for by the Ottoman Empire. When this was finalised, Ottoman officials adopted a different strategy (BOA., İ. ML., 29/15 (September 28, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. TSF., 5/50 (August 25, 1898) and started negotiations with the Cook Company. In a report signed by the Minister of Finance Ahmet Resit Pasha, it is stated that there is consent for the Ministry of General Protocol to sign a contract with the Cook Company about supplying all necessary equipment as well as food, drinks and transport vehicles for the Emperor and Empress's attendants -the officials and their men appointed by the Ottomans-for their journeys including the Palestinian Land, Beirut and Syria

Province. In the same report it was also indicated that the contract with the Cook Company was to be signed on 28 September 1898. The conditions were as follows: The journey would last 23 days; during this period for each of the 27 people forming the first class 60 Francs, and every person out of the 65 to form the second class, 30 Francs would be paid as a daily wage in Jerusalem. Besides, one third of the cost was to be paid on signing the contract. One third of the amount of 4105.50 Francs mentioned in the contract signed between the Cook Company representative and the government had to be paid in advance (BOA., I. ML., 29/15 (September 28, 1898). On a different document in the Ottoman archive on the other hand, there is some different expression and different numbers. According to this, upon the German Government signing a 38-day contract with the Cook Company, the Ottoman cabinet reached the conclusion that civil servants, caretakers, carriages, animals and other necessities for the German Emperor, Empress and their cortege should be supplied by the Cook Company. They also decided that a 38-day contract should be prepared and an amount of 6365 English Sterling ought to be covered through local goods (BOA., Y. PRK. BSK., 57/89 (October 4, 1898). Both the conditions of the contract and how payment was going to be made were also discussed by the cabinet under the presidency of Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha. The cabinet, after taking the Minister of Finance's evaluation into consideration, approved of the payment of 4500.50 Francs by the Jerusalem Lieutenant governor accountancy in advance (BOA., I. ML., 29/15 (September 28, 1898). The total sum given here contradicts the sum given above. Thus, there is a 395-French Franc difference between the two. The archive document in which the total sum is 4500.50 French Francs bears the signature of the cabinet. For this reason it is believed that 4500.50-Franc total sum is more accurate. The decision of having a contract signed with the Cook Company in this way was submitted to Sultan Abdulhamit II by Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha which was confirmed by him (BOA., I. ML., 29/15 (October 2, 1898); BOA., BEO., 1204/90287 (October 4, 1898; BOA., BEO. 1205/90305 (October 3, 1898).

The company being duty free was another important issue, because according to the contract signed with the Cook Company no tax would be charged on the carriages and animals the company brought onto the piers. Hence, this issue was passed along to the Presidency on 8th October by Jerusalem Governor Tevfik Bey and confirmed by the Sultan on 17 October (BOA., I. RSM., 9/5 (October 8/17, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. BSK., 57/95 (October 8, 1898); BOA., I. HUS., 68/92 (October 24, 1898). In the upcoming days when 16 more people were added to this journey, an additional contract between the Cook Company and Jerusalem Governor had to be signed; accordingly for the food, drinks and equipment supplies of these 16 extra people another contract for 22,080 Francs (probably these were French centimes) was signed. One third of this amount which was to be paid in advance was approved to be paid by Jerusalem Governor (BOA., I. HUS., 69/27 (October 28, 1898). It seems as if 108 people in total joined this journey. However, according to the information given by Alkan, based on Frankfurter Zeitung, from the Ottoman wing 138 people 27 of whom were constables joined it (Alkan, 2008, p. 28).

While preparations for Wilhelm II's Oriental visit were carried out, the itinerary gradually started to become clearer. According to information provided on 23rd August 1898 the Emperor's Minister of Foreign Affairs Bülow and bureaucrats from Ministries of Law, Navy, Commerce and Education as well as sixteen soldiers from his cortege, which in total was 88 people, were going to join the journey. The Emperor and his attendants would reach Istanbul on the Hohenzollern ship on 17 October 1898 (Fig. 2. - Soy, 2009, p. 157; IU, CL, Rare Works-779-76-0051). At the end of the five-day visit in Istanbul they would arrive in Haifa in the morning of 26th October and from there they would proceed to Jaffa. On 28th October they would set off from Jaffa to Jerusalem to arrive there on the 29th. They would spend the night on the land which belonged to the German Protestant Committee and then enter the city in the morning and go to Jesus Church. Wilhelm, the following day, would join the ceremony to be performed at the

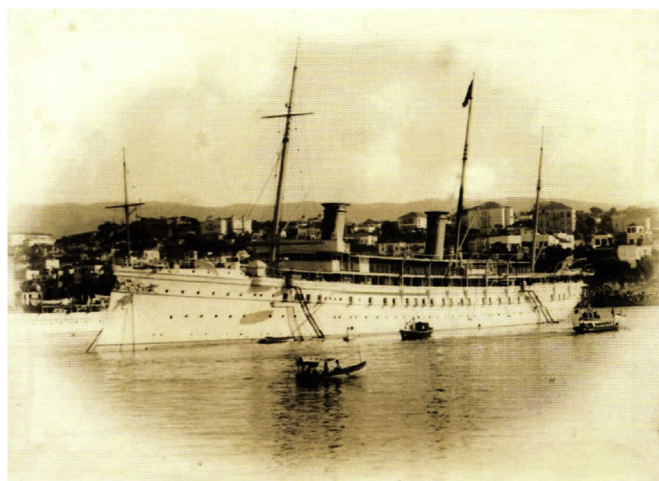


Fig. 2. Hohenzollern ship.

German Church in Bethlehem which was built through the Emperor's appeal and Abdulhamit's permission during his visit in 1889. Straight after this he would climb Mount of Olives. He would perform the official opening of the church that was built on the land which was bestowed upon the Emperor's father on his visit to Jerusalem in 1869 by Sultan Abdulaziz. Then he would go to River Jordan and the Dead Sea to visit Quarantine Mountain. On the second day of November, Wednesday, he would return to Jerusalem, then on 3rd and 4th November there was sightseeing and visits to German ventures. On 4th November he would go to the Greek Sebe Monastery. On the fifth day he would set off for Jaffa at nine in the morning by train and if the weather was decent enough he would stay on board after reaching Haifa. On 6th November he would leave Haifa by carriage and visit Taburdagi, Nazareth, Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee) and then return to Haifa on the 9th. On the tenth, he would go to Beirut by ship and from there to Damascus by train. On the way back ruins in Baalbek and Baal sanctuary would be visited. On 16th November he would leave Beirut by ship to go to Egypt and stay there for ten days (BOA., Y. PRK. TKM., 41/2 (August 23, 1898); (Kış, 2017, pp. 493–494). Although the itinerary was like this, the Egypt leg of the programme had to be cancelled due to the Fashoda Crisis between England and France (Kış, 2017, pp. 493–494).

Wilhelm, who had strong bilateral relations with the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamit II, started his second journey to the Ottoman Land by leaving Berlin on 13th October 1898 (Alkan, 2008, p. 16). The Hohenzollern, a ship with Wilhelm and his wife Augusta on board anchored in front of Dolmabahçe Palace on 18 October 1898 (Fig. 3. - Ma'lumat; Fig. 4. Servet-i Funun, 398) The Emperor and his family stayed in Istanbul until 22nd October, visiting museums and fortifications, and receiving ambassadors (Fig. 5. Servet-i Funun, 399). On his fifth day in Istanbul Abdulhamit II's reception took place when there was a gala dinner in honour of the Emperor. The day after there were birthday celebrations for the Empress (Ortaylı, 2010, p. 95). Abdulhamit II appointed Musir Sakir Pasha for hosting the Emperor. Immediately after this they set off for Haifa to reach the Holy Land which was an important part of this journey on the 22nd of October). The Emperor left on a yacht called the Hohenzollern, while Sakir Pasha and his officials left on a steamer, Hohenzollern anchored at Haifa Harbour on 25 October. When he arrived in Haifa the Emperor visited the German Consulate and the Carmelite Monastery. When it was discovered that the carriages and animals provided by the Cook Company were sent to Jaffa from Haifa due to the delay on the arrival of steamer, Sakir Pasha tried to catch up with the Emperor and only caught him at Tantura area which was set as a stopover by the Cook Company. After this break in Tantura they went to Caesarea where the Emperor Highness visited the ruins. Right after this they went to the Burj area where





Fig. 3. The news on the arrival of the Emperor and Empress in Istanbul.

tents were put up by the Cook Company and where they stayed the night. On Thursday, 27th October 1898 the Emperor and his attendants arrived in Benjamin via Burj-Jaffa and from there to Jaffa. Then on 28th October they lunched in tents prepared by the Cook Company in Ramla on the Jaffa-Jerusalem route. On Saturday 29th October the Emperor visited Kamame Church (Church of the Holy Sepulchre) and went to the

newly-constructed Erlöserkirche Church (the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer) to pray. On 30th October he visited Bethlehem and the Church of the Nativity (Fig. 6. - Soy, 2009, p. 161; IU, CL, Rare Works-90,621-0004). He performed the official opening of German Protestant Church on 31st October. He visited David's holy tomb and other sacred places. The Emperor visited Mount of Olive on the first day of





Fig. 4. The newspaper illustrating the Emperor's journey.

November, Tuesday, then saw Chapel of the Ascension. On 2nd November he went to Temple Mount and visited Omer Mosque, Al-Aqsa Mosque, the German Girls' School and the German Catholic Monastery. On the third he visited the German Monastery and the English Church, then attended the service at Erlöserkirche Church. On Friday, 4th November he went to Jaffa from Jerusalem by train. From there, on Saturday, they went to Beirut. The Emperor and his attendants set off on a private train to Damascus on 7th November. The train stopped off in Muallaka where they lunched in tents prepared by the Cook Company (Fig. 7. - Soy, 2009, p. 169; IU, CL, Rare Works- 90,621–0043). On 8th November he visited the Umayyad Mosque and Selahaddin Eyyubi Tomb in Damascus. On 11th November he set off for Baalbek from Damascus and visited the sanctuaries there. The following day they went to Beirut (BOA., Y. EE., 81/3 (November 20, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. MYD., 21/87 (October 30, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. MYD., 21/88 (October 31, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. MYD., 21/89 (October 31, 1898); BOA., Y. PRK. MYD., 21/91 (November 6, 1898); Karacagil, 2014, pp. 79–90; Kıs, 2017, pp. 493–499).

It is noted in *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, and *General Advertiser* that according to a telegram from Jerusalem that the tour of the Emperor William in the Holy Land was curtailed owing to European

complications. The Emperor abandoned his visit to Jericho and the Dead Sea because of the excessive heat and fatigue, under which horses and men had suffered severely. Thomas Cook had lost twelve horses and the cavalry about twenty-five. The Emperor regretted this abandonment of his plans, but it was unavoidable. He also decided not to return to Haifa by the road upon which the casualties occurred, but the sea from Jaffa, even if he was stopped there by rough weather (*The Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, and *General Advertiser*, 1898: 2).

#### 6. The correspondences between the Ottoman authorities and the Thomas Cook & son

We can understand that the Cook Company applied to the Ottoman authorities to collect their claims about six or seven months after the journey. In fact, they had already been paid the amount that was in the contract, but because they spent extra on things outside the contract they demanded to be paid for that. In a letter sent by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Prime Ministry it indicates that the Cook Company had some extra spending outside the contract and claimed 61,626 Francs, 35 Centimes out of which 34,051 Francs and 85 Centimes had to be accepted to be paid as required in the contract,





Fig. 5. German Emperor Wilhelm II's family.

whereas, it was not possible to pay the amount of 22,651 Francs, 65 Centimes. Besides, acceptance of the 4922 Francs, 85 Centimes was optional. As a result, the decision was that paying the required and optional amount which totalled 38,974 Francs in total was appropriate (BOA., DH. MKT., 2210/61 (May 25, 1899); BOA., DH. MKT., 2248/89 (September 17, 1899); BOA., DH. MKT., 2228/60 (August 19, 1898). A couple of months later it is seen that the Istanbul Agency of Cook Company petitioned to demand 76,000 odd Francs. The Ministry of Internal Affairs decided that Jerusalem Governor should analyse this demand and report the result, upon which they would act accordingly (BOA., DH. MKT., 2245/29 (August 30, 1898). Probably this enquiry about the demand resulted in a negative action, because in July 1900 it appeared that the Cook Company gave up on this 76,000-Franc demand. In fact, it is stated in a report written to the Prime Ministry from the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the company withdrew their demand of 76,000 odd Francs. The company's only wish was to be paid the amount of 38,974 Francs, 75 Centimes. The Ministry of Internal Affairs in this report demanded that this amount should be added to the

budget and paid immediately (BOA., DH. MKT., 2375/92 (July 14, 1900). Moreover, the Istanbul agency of the Cook Company applied directly to the Prime Ministry and stated that in accordance with an imperial decree the cost of animals, tents and other necessities with the transport fees spent on the Emperor and his wife's journey in the Land of Palestine, which was 61,626 Francs, 35 Centimes, was asked for from the Ministry of Internal Affairs through Jerusalem Governor on 25 February 1899. They also applied to the Prime Ministry over the same issue several times yet, since there was no payment for about fifteen months they demanded a solution (BOA., I. DH., 1376/59 (Fig. 8). In a report signed by the Minister of Internal Affairs it is clear that Jerusalem Governor informed the Prime Ministry that it was suitable to accept and pay the amount of 38,974 Francs, 65 Centimes spent outside the contract by adding it to the budget (BOA., I. DH., 1376/59 (July 18, 1900). Again a difference in the total sum can be noticed. On the document above the sum was 38,974 Francs, 75 Centimes while here it is 38,974 Francs, 65 Centimes. There seems to be a 10-Centime difference. Only a short time before this date the Prime Ministry sent a





Fig. 6. Kaiser Wilhelm II on the way to Bethlehem.



Fig. 7. Kaiser Wilhelm II in front of his tent near Damascus.

report to the Ministries of Finance and Internal Affairs stating to do whatever necessary for the Cook Company payment (BOA., BEO., 1538/115309 (August 20, 1900). In fact, the Ministry of Internal Affairs notified the Jerusalem Governor that it was necessary to pay 38,974 Francs, 75 Centimes out of the 1898 subsidy (BOA., DH. MKT., 2560/126 (November 25, 1901).

As there was no solution to this money issue despite all demands it is clear that the British Embassy got involved in the matter. In a report dated 2nd January 1902 and signed by the Minister of Finance Ahmet Resat Pasha it says the Jerusalem Governor was informed that the Cook Company, an English subject, should be paid in accordance with an imperial decree the amount of 38,974 Francs, 65 Centimes which comes (in the then Ottoman currency) to 168,906, 25 kurus, via remittance.

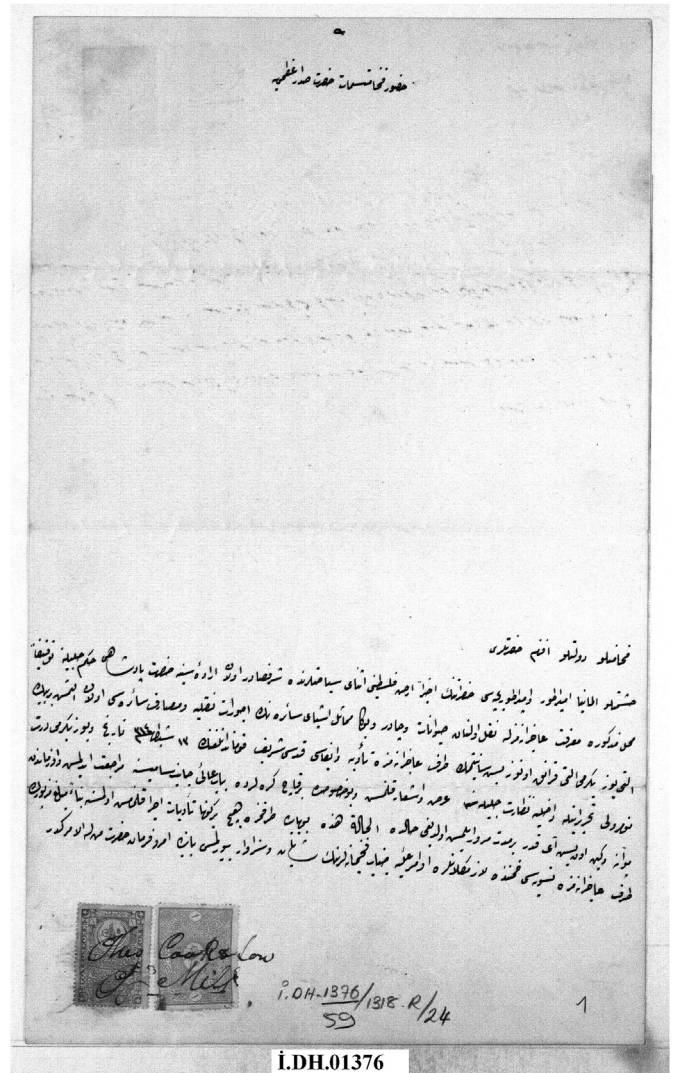


Fig. 8. Istanbul Thomas Cook Agency's demand on the payment.

Yet, the governor stated that they did not have enough money and so it could only be paid in 1902. In a memorandum given by British Embassy it says that the governor informed the British Consulate in Jerusalem that the relevant amount could be covered by the current year's goods. They also stated that they would accept this on condition that the amount was paid all at once around March–April in the following year. As a result, it seems that it was impossible to pay them in the current year, so it would be convenient to send notice to the Jerusalem Governor to pay that amount as the first debt-collection of the following year (BOA., BEO., 1783/133697 (January 20, 1902) Fig. 9; for a script related to the payment for an earlier date written by Ministry of Internal Affairs to Jerusalem Lieutenant Governor see: BOA., DH. MKT., 2440/79 (December 11, 1900). Indeed, it is stated in a document from the Prime Ministry to the Ministry of Finance that the payment to the Cook Company would be decent to be paid as the first debt-collection of 1902 (BOA.,BEO., 1783/133697 (January 22, 1902). The issue of the Cook Company's remaining claim was handled by the Council of State on 28th July as a result of a remittance dated 15th July 1902 from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the decision was that 15,926 Franc, 65 Centime-payment was fair enough and should be paid as soon as possible. The information of this payment to be paid within a month's time had to be announced to the agent of the Cook Company there and then (BOA.,I DH., 1399/26 (July 28/29, 1902, see Fig. 7). In a report sent to the Prime Ministry dated 31st October 1902 signed by Minister of



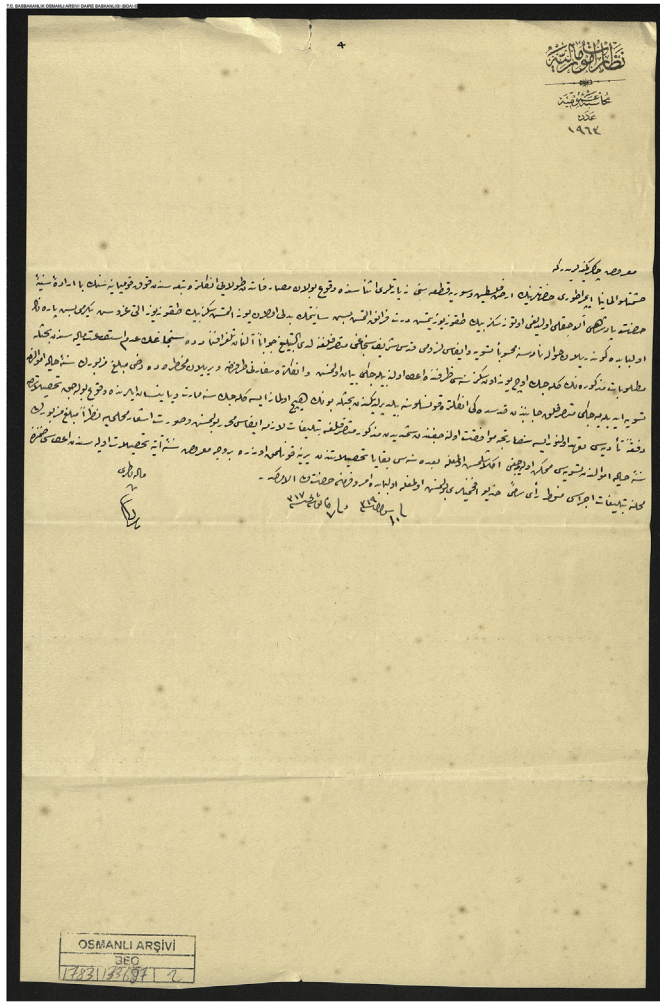


Fig. 9. Document about the steps taken by the British Embassy

Internal Affairs Memduh Pasha, claims of the Cook Company were mentioned and also 69,022 kurus, equivalent to the amount 15,926 Francs, 65 Centimes mentioned in a Prime Ministry decree, which was spent outside the contract by the company, dated 5th August 1902, to be paid by the Ministry of Finance from the current year's budget and to inform the Ministry of Internal Affairs (BOA., BEO., 1972/147838 (November 1, 1902). From a report sent to the Ministry of Finance by the Prime Ministry we find out that the Cook Company made a reduction in order to receive the amount they spent outside the contract. They deducted 6725 Francs from 22,651 Francs, 65 Centimes and demanded the remaining 15,926 Francs, 65 Centimes be paid in a lump sum as soon as possible (BOA., BEO., 1967/147500 (December 25, 1902). However, the further action period was taking a long time (See Fig. 10).

Due to the delay in payment English Embassy submitted a motion: In this motion it was stated that Cook Company's demand for the remaining expenses of the Emperor's journey which was 21,651 Francs 70 Centimes and after a reduction of 5725 Francs became 15,926 Francs, 70 Centimes was ordered to be paid in total to the Jerusalem Governor by the Ministries of Finance and Internal Affairs, but still no action was taken. There was a reduction of 6725 Francs from 22,651 Francs, 65 Centimes above; whereas the reduction from 21,651 Francs, 70 Centimes is 5725 Francs here. There is a difference of 1000 Francs, 5 Centimes between the two sums. Yet, as a result, the sum decreases to 15,926 Francs, 65 Centimes which makes the difference only 5 Centimes, compared to the one demanded before. In the same motion it

was indicated that the Cook Company consented to a reduction of more than a quarter of their claims in order to receive it sooner. Besides, it was emphasized that despite an imperial decree, procrastination of paying such a small amount for years did not befit the Ottomans' dignity. In conclusion, the payment had to be made immediately and in one go without having to re-apply for it (BOA., BEO., 2025/151830 (February 12, 1903; Fig. 11). The related motion was sent to the Prime Ministry by Tevfik Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Prime Ministry then notified Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Finance that the amount had to be paid immediately (BOA., BEO., 2025/151830 (March 17, 1903). During the days that followed correspondences continued for the solution of the problem the Cook Company faced (BOA., BEO., 2040/152938 (April 2, 1903, April 5, 1903). Whether the payment was ever made and the issue closed was never confirmed through the Ottoman archive; yet, an issue subject to such persistent correspondences is thought to be closed in a short time. Also, Ottoman administrators treated this payment issue in a sensitive manner so as not to cause a problem between the two countries due to the pressure and persistent demands of the British Embassy.

### 7. Conclusion

The mid-19th century was a time of great modernization. Transportation conditions improved by technological developments, particularly the coal-fired steamship, the railway and the electric telegraph. Besides, the arrival of groups through the emergence of organized travel agencies necessitated the building of hotels in the cities. During the mid of the twentieth century, the development of tourism in the Levant happened through Thomas Cook's personal efforts. Thomas Cook had already managed to create a brand from scratch when he organized his first continental tour including Brussels, Cologne Strasbourg and Paris in 1855 by offering his customers complete holiday package for the first time. Driven by his ambition to make the Orient accessible for Europe's growing middle classes, Thomas Cook with the help of his son John Mason Cook began to conduct affordable, safe and as much as comfortable tours to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1869. There is no doubt that historical town such as Jerusalem had already attracted individual travellers until that time. Thomas Cook would eventually turn his attention to Egypt and Palestine. Thomas Cook began taking groups of tourists to the Holy Land. Among the thousands of travellers the company of Thomas Cook & Son escorted, there were important political personages as well.

For instance, in the news of *Yorkshire Gazette* it was reported in 1889 that King Milan of Serbia has started for Palestine to spend about six weeks in the Holy Land, visiting all the points of interest, travelling under the arrangements of Thomas Cook and Son. The most famous was the German Kaiser Wilhelm II. As highlighted in *The Freeman's Journal* in 1898, the entry of the German Emperor into Jerusalem and his subsequent visits to the various places made holy by association with the Saviour were arranged with due regard to dramatic effect.

Kaiser Wilhelm II's tour of the Holy Land was organized by John Mason Cook. After his trip to the Middle East to control the arrangements for the Kaiser's tour he fell ill and retired to his home. John Mason Cook himself was badly affected by the heat and during the Kaiser's expedition he contracted dysentery (Brendon, 1991, p. 242). As one contemporary wrote, he was 'killed by the too rigid performance of a task that overtaxed his failing powers', namely organizing Emperor's Wilhelm II' visit to the Holy Land (Brendon, 1991, p. 240). Before his death in 1899 at the age of 64, John Mason wrote: "Thus ended my public career as a Personal Conductor, which commenced in 1844, as a small boy with a long wand assisting the guidance of 500 other small children from Leicester to Syston by special train five miles; then two miles across the fields to the Mount Sorrel Hills for an afternoon picnic, and back the same route to Leicester. Since then I have taken part in conducting almost all classes and conditions of people to all the chief parts of the globe, and I think I may fairly claim to be satisfied with



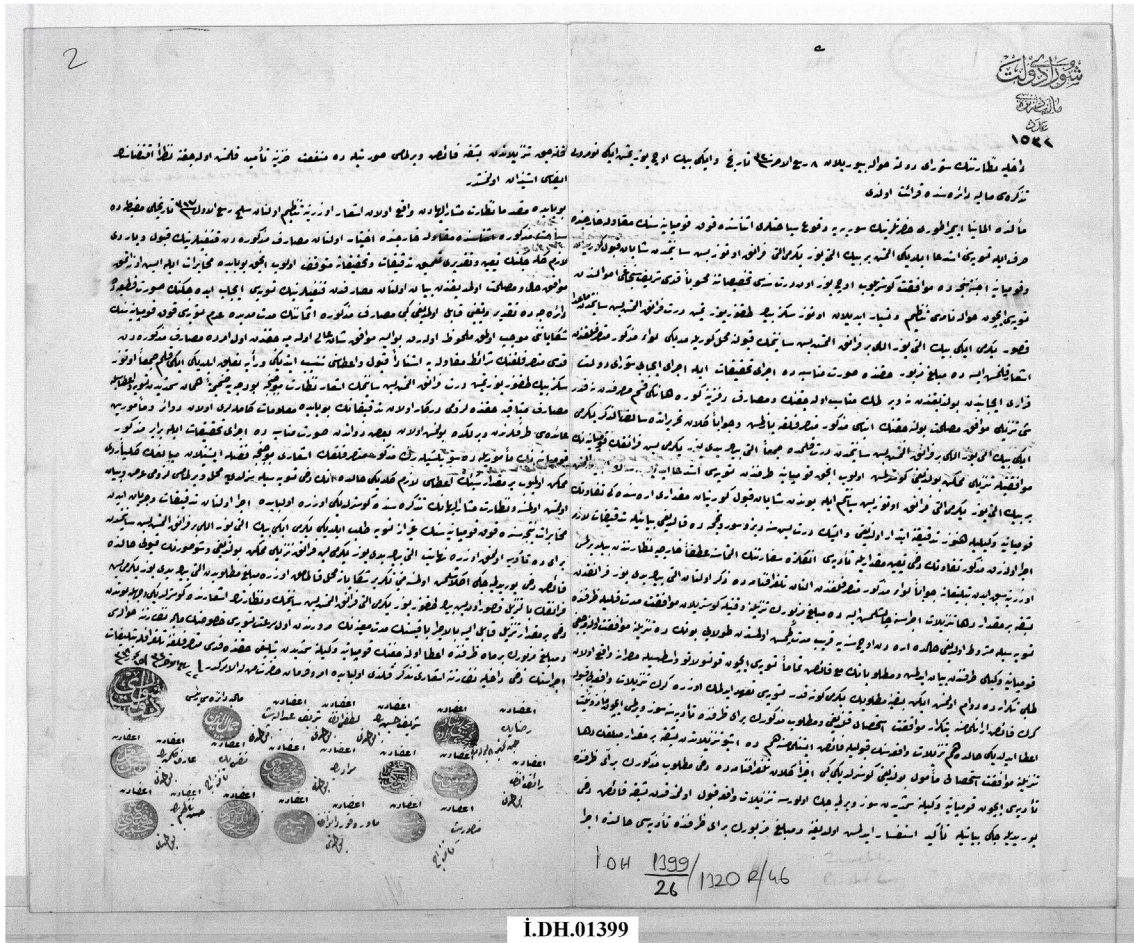


Fig. 10. A document about the meeting of Council of State.

concluding such a career with the German Emperor in Palestine' (Swinglehurst, 1974, pp. 149–150).

While Kaiser Wilhelm II made an agreement with Thomas Cook & Son to organize the entire journey, at the same time the Ottoman Court contracted with the tour operator for supplying all necessary camp equipment as well as food and transport vehicles for the Ottoman officials appointed in order to accompany Emperor and Empress during their journeys. As it is understood from the Ottoman archive documents that the lengthy business correspondence also took place between two tour operator and the Ottoman officials about payment dispute which arose from the additional expenses of the company. After long lasting negotiations, both sides came to a mutual understanding and large proportion of the amount was paid eventually. Although it is not possible to reach precise information, the remaining sum may have been paid when the Ottoman/British diplomatic relations are taken into consideration.

When the similar dispute concerning private law transactions and relations that contain a foreign element occurs at the present time, the conflict is settled according to the related articles of Turkish International Private and Procedural Law (Act No. 5718). The legal process is initiated to recover a debt rather than mutual ever-repeating commercial correspondences between the foreign company and the government bodies. In the Article 24 of the Act, with the title of the 'Applicable Law for Contractual Obligation Relations', it is stated that the law explicitly designated by the parties shall govern the contractual obligation relations. The parties may decide that the designated law shall be applied totally or partially to the contract. The designation of the applicable law can any time be realized and amended by the parties. If the parties have not explicitly designated any law, the relation arising

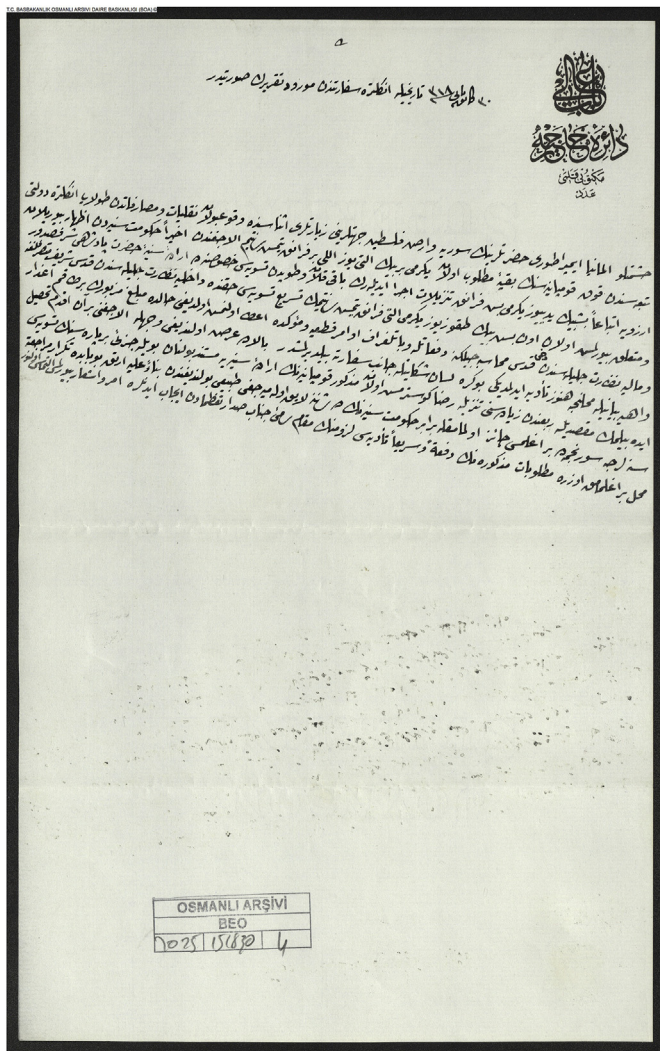
from the contract will be governed by the most connected law to the contract. This law is accepted to be the law of the habitual residence of the debtor of the characteristic performance or the law of the work-place.

Lastly, the fact that more than three-fourths of the total English and American visitors to the Orient during the season 1878–1879 can be seen as an evidence in support of people's trust in the company. There is no doubt that the business management practices of Thomas Cook & Son during the 19th century had revealed primarily the nature of tourism as an integrated multitask system and made it clear that despite of its historical sites and natural beauties, tourism facilities and infrastructure is vital for destination development. Thomas Cook and John Mason Cook's foresights, observations and fieldworks at the potential destination also set a good example of the elements of entrepreneurial management such as mission and values statement, objectives, growth strategy, people and resources, organizational capabilities, financing strategy, and vision of success. Their approaches to grow the brand of Thomas Cook & Sons were ahead of its time and carries the traces of the principles of the business management.

Author contributions

Hasan Ali Polat contributed to the data collection by searching in the Ottoman archive, the translation and interpretation made from Ottoman Turkish historical texts, finding the necessary photos to support the manuscript. Aytuğ Arslan contributed to the conceptualization of the idea, defining the outline of the paper, literature review, data collection by searching the old newspapers and travel guides. Both authors worked together on writing and framing conclusions as well as





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Fig. 11. The motion by British Embassy.

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