

This is an Open Access document downloaded from ORCA, Cardiff University's institutional repository: <https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/153938/>

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted to / accepted for publication.

Citation for final published version:

Nicholson, Paul 2022. Early 20th century tourism and commercial photography in Egypt and the Holy Land. *Journal of Tourism History* 14 (3) , pp. 263-290. 10.1080/1755182X.2022.2144483

Publishers page: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2022.2144483>

Please note:

Changes made as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing, formatting and page numbers may not be reflected in this version. For the definitive version of this publication, please refer to the published source. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite this paper.

This version is being made available in accordance with publisher policies. See <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/policies.html> for usage policies. Copyright and moral rights for publications made available in ORCA are retained by the copyright holders.



**Abstract:**

Tourism, photography and ancient monuments are intimately linked and have a history stretching back to the beginnings of photography and to early mass-tourism. However, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries many tourists either did not own cameras or preferred to rely on professionally produced photographs. Foreign travel for many was the experience of a lifetime and for those visiting Egypt and the Holy Land the desire to have images of places familiar only from the words of the Bible provided a ready market for commercial photographers. This paper takes a rare surviving collection of images from Egypt and the Holy Land, reconstructs the itinerary which the tourist probably took and examines how the images might have been acquired. In this instance the images are in the form of lantern slides and would probably have been used by the tourist, likely to have been a clergyman, for lecture purposes. To have a complete collection survive is rare and the images offer a window into a now vanished relationship between the tourist interested in the ancient monuments and the commercial photographer whose role it was to provide atmospheric, often iconic, views of the monuments and the countries visited for the tourist. Part of that role may have been to create scenes of a particular type to correspond to what has become known as the 'tourist gaze'.

**Key words**

Egypt

Holy Land

Ancient Monuments

Commercial Photographers

American Colony

Tourist Gaze

## Early 20<sup>th</sup> century Tourism and Commercial Photography In Egypt and the Holy Land

Paul T. Nicholson, School of History, Archaeology and Religion, Cardiff University, U.K.

**Biographical Note:** The author is an Archaeologist and Egyptologist whose interests include travel and tourism in Egypt and the Middle East. As well as lecturing and researching in Egyptian archaeology at Cardiff University he has acted as a tour guide and guest lecturer on commercial tours in Egypt and in Mongolia. He is author of several books on aspects of Egyptian archaeology as well as papers on aspects of early travel photography and, with his colleague Dr. Steve Mills, on soldier-tourism in Egypt during the First World War.

From the time of its invention photography has been linked with archaeology and with travel<sup>1</sup> and photographs for specifically archaeological purposes became common, if not standard, from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards<sup>2</sup>. However, the more general links between photograph, travel and archaeology have not always been appreciated by scholars. The founding of the *Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East* in 1997<sup>3</sup> has done much to draw attention to the importance of travel notebooks, illustrations and photographs which had previously been overlooked but much remains to be done, not least in the field of travel and tourist photography.

This paper examines an apparently rare survival, a large collection of lantern slide views which are believed to represent a tourist journey and which were put together in order to share aspects of that journey with a wider audience. Though the original order in which the views were shown is not known, it is possible to suggest the order by examining tourist itineraries of the time as well as commercially available 'armchair' tours. The images were purchased, unseen, by the author but the integrity of the collection renders them of greater value than the occasional random images which one frequently encounters.

Photography today is an integral part of the tourist experience for most. 'Snapshots' record personal moments of a holiday and though they might be shown to friends they rarely reach a wider audience. Digital photography is cheap and does not require a dedicated camera, many people simply use a mobile phone to record images. This situation is very different from that which prevailed in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries when foreign travel itself was relatively expensive and good photography required more skill than is now the case, a situation which led many to purchase professional images.

The images in this collection and the way in which they seem to have been used raise interesting questions around what their owner actually saw and experienced and what he<sup>4</sup> felt were the most appropriate views to share with an audience<sup>5</sup> in order that they might experience something akin to his personal experience of the trip. In order to this he purchased a large number of images, which brings to the fore the relationship between visitors and images.

---

<sup>1</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot, *The Talbotype Applied to Hieroglyphics* (London 1846); Ricardo Caminos, 'The Talbotype applied to hieroglyphics', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 52, (1966) 65-70; Claudine Cohen, Boucher de Perthes. In Paul G. Bahn (ed.) *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology* (Cambridge: C.U.P., 1996), 84-85.

<sup>2</sup> William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archaeology*, (London: Macmillan, 1904), 73-84.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.astene.org.uk/>

<sup>4</sup> The owner is likely to have been a clergyman as discussed below.

<sup>5</sup> It is likely that this was an audience beyond immediate friends and family since lantern slides required a projector in order for them to be shared. For sharing among a family an album of prints would be more common.

Some images were captured by the visitors themselves, others by professional photographers accompanying wealthy travellers<sup>6</sup> and others by commercial companies who provided professional quality photographs to visitors<sup>7</sup>. Naturally, such commercial photographs were designed to sell and as such provided a view of the places visited which resonated with the purchasers and may, in some ways, have influenced the perception of the monuments and countries visited and to an extent shaped the tourist itineraries. However, the influence of these views on tourism and the 'tourist gaze'<sup>8</sup> and the ways in which they were obtained has received little if any attention. Much the same is true when considering their use as historical and archaeological documents.

Egypt and Palestine ('The Holy Land') are particularly well served by such travel photographs which show the ancient sites as they appeared to visitors of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. For the most part such images are yet to receive the kind of attention that similar photographs are now starting to attract elsewhere. For example, the *Historic Environment Image Resource Project* (HEIR) based in the School of Archaeology at Oxford University is digitising images from the 1860s to the present and with global coverage<sup>9</sup> is adding considerably to our knowledge of lecture content as well as providing images of historic importance.

Janice Kinory<sup>10</sup>, in discussing the HEIR project, notes that "The most common type of image was poorly organized lantern slides, mostly stored in wooden boxes and filing drawers that had been untouched since this format was superseded in the early 1960s by 35mm slides." Whilst it is today common to find individual lantern slides or even collections being sold via the internet, they are rarely coherent and it can be difficult to fully reconstruct their purpose. There are a few notable exceptions to this, for example the Sgt. J. Johnson archive held by the *Egypt Centre* at Swansea University<sup>11</sup> where lantern slides, taken by Sgt. Johnson during travels as part of his First World War service, are accompanied by his subsequent lecture notes and the camera used by him. In general, however, collections held both privately and in museum storage tend to be incomplete and poorly documented.

Almost all of the views discussed in this paper were commercially produced but there are a few that were either taken by the owner himself or by his wife or colleagues, since they show a group, including clergy, on board ship. Sadly there is no view of the actual vessel, and a precise date for the views is uncertain, but the dress of those on board ship suggests that they belong to the period c.1900 – 1910<sup>12</sup>. Although cameras were becoming widely available at this time<sup>13</sup> the results obtained by amateurs did not always match their hopes and an expensive trip, especially abroad, might be documented or supplemented using commercial views.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> See for example Sophie Gordon and Badr el Hage, *Cities, Citadels and Sights of the Near East*, (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2014).

<sup>7</sup> Colin Osman, *Egypt: Caught in time* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999); Colin Osman, *Jerusalem: Caught in time*, (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999).

<sup>8</sup> See John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (Newbury Park, California 1990), also 'The Tourist Gaze "revisited"', *The American Behavioral Scientist* (1992) 36 (2), 172-186, John Urry and Jonas Larsen, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, Sage, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> Janice Kinory, "HEIR to the past: exploring the Historic Environment Image Resource", *Current Archaeology* 369, (2020), 42-49.

<sup>10</sup> Kinory, HEIR, 43.

<sup>11</sup> <https://egyptcentre.abasetcollections.com/Objects?SavedSelections=&Search=sgt+Johnson>

<sup>12</sup> It is not possible to put an exact date on the visit which this set represents since, as will become clear, some of the commercial images clearly predate the visit itself. A few images *may* date later than 1910 and would have been late additions to the set..

<sup>13</sup> While Kodak's 'Vest Pocket Kodak' introduced in 1912 is the best known of the small portable cameras there were several other popular, portable cameras which predated it, see Jon Cooksey, *The Vest Pocket Kodak and the First World War* (Lewes, Ammonite Press 2017), 18-21.

<sup>14</sup> Derek Gregory 'Emperors of the Gaze', in J.M. Schwartz and J.R. Ryan eds., *Picturing Place: photography and the geographical imagination* (London, Tauris 2003), 195-225, see p.205.

Although the original order of the slides is not recorded, most either have a title or can be identified, so allowing them to be grouped in a logical order. The ordering suggested here is, in part, based on commercially available 'stay-at-home travel' itineraries produced by companies such as *Underwood and Underwood* and on guidebooks of the time. Whilst the material discussed is specific to this particular collection it is likely to be representative of many similar collections which have since been lost or broken-up. The survival of this collection therefore makes it of special relevance to those interested in the relationship between tourism, photography and the 'tourist gaze'. The choice of photographs purchased can be used to reconstruct the journey made by their owner and to view the appearance of the countries visited at the start of the twentieth century. They also offer an insight into the often overlooked interaction between photographic companies, tourists and tourist itineraries.

### **The 'Tourist Gaze'**

John Urry has coined the term the 'tourist gaze'<sup>15</sup> in an attempt to clarify and analyse the visual experience of the tourist. His analysis is of interest here because the images under consideration may reflect not only the personal experience of a clergyman-lecturer - who could provide first-hand details of his emotional response to particular places both in terms of his religious faith and in terms of physical environment – but also the construction of a sense of place by commercial photographers who can be regarded as a part of the tourism industry.

Urry has further developed his views<sup>16</sup> since his original publication making them a valuable tool through which to consider images. He notes that in "Western societies sight has long been regarded as the noblest of the senses"<sup>17</sup> and it might be added that it is visual images which are perhaps the easiest to share – through painting and photography – and to describe, much more so than the impression of temperature or of smell or sound. The visual image has an immediacy which can be shared with an individual or with a group and which will help them to make sense of the verbal information conveyed alongside it. The visual image was also the only one which could be readily shared since sound recording outside the home was not possible.<sup>18</sup>

With this in mind Urry notes that visual consumption involves "signifiers", views which stand for or evoke particular reactions in the viewer. In the case of commercially produced photographic views there is an element by which the photographer is both creating and reinforcing a stereotype.<sup>19</sup> The element of creation is the taking of a particular view, usually well thought out and composed, the kind of view to which an amateur photographer might aspire but which, through lack of expertise or resources they may not be able to attain. Reinforcement can come in several ways, one photographer, or artist, using the same viewpoint as another whose images are already well known or tailoring the image to fit with descriptions in a guidebook.<sup>20</sup> Thus "People gaze upon the world through a particular filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations... Gazing is a performance that orders, shapes and

---

<sup>15</sup> Urry *Tourist Gaze*.

<sup>16</sup> John Urry, 'The tourist gaze and the "environment"' *Theory, Culture and Society* (1992) 9, 1-26; 'The tourist gaze "revisited"', *Tourist Gaze* 3.0.

<sup>17</sup> Urry, *Tourist gaze "revisited"*, 174.

<sup>18</sup> The Edison Phonograph, the first practical recording instrument, was patented in 1878 but was used by private individuals mainly to play recordings rather than to make them. Its use to record sounds on a tour would have been impractical.

<sup>19</sup> On stereotypes in stereoscopic images see Churnjeet Mahn, "The virtual tourist gaze in Greece, 1897-1905" *Annals of Tourism Research* (2014) 48, 193-206.

<sup>20</sup> It is noteworthy that many of the images taken by Francis Frith (1882-1898) during his photographic expeditions in Egypt and the Holy Land use viewpoints closely similar to those which were reproduced in engravings from the work of David Roberts (1796-1894) and which were already well known to British audiences. Makers of stereoscopic views, such as the Underwood brothers, frequently adopted what had become 'standard' views of particular places following the work of Frith and others. The desire to reproduce 'brochure' images in personal photographs is discussed by Olivia Jenkins "Photography and Travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation", *Tourism Geographies* (2003), 5 (3), 305-328.

classifies, rather than reflects the world.”<sup>21</sup> Thus a commercial image may not be exactly what particular visitors themselves saw, but rather what they believe they ‘ought’ to have seen based on already well attested, stereotypical images. In this way the gaze of the tourist may be predetermined by the photographed experiences of earlier visitors.

Where it was felt necessary, professional photographers would pose local people in appropriate dress to add a sense of ‘authenticity’ to an image, something which might be difficult for tourists themselves to achieve and yet which they felt was necessary to reflect what they had come to believe was the reality of the place.<sup>22</sup> This is not to say that all professional images were staged and people dressed in other than their daily clothing (though some clearly were) rather that the opportunities to photograph individuals who fitted the preconceptions of the purchaser (themselves formed from viewing other images or reading guides) were preferred.

Urry states that photography is “anti-elitist” and “promiscuous”, with photography often becoming a search for the photogenic, a strategy for the accumulation of photographs”.<sup>23</sup> This raises two important points with regard to the kind of commercial images discussed here. First, commercial images were available to the tourist and the arm-chair traveller alike, though only the first would be able to recreate for the viewer their own experience of the scene. The narrative in this respect would help to reinforce the photographic image and to give the viewer a sense of place. Second, because travel in the period concerned was an expensive luxury, the photograph, when seen as part of a set, a pictorial tour, allowed wider participation in ‘travel’ than might otherwise be possible.<sup>24</sup>

Images might be used to conjure particular emotions in the viewer. Urry notes that the “Romantic tourist gaze” is normally a private rather than a communal experience, something experienced by the tourist and gazed upon as an individual.<sup>25</sup> However, when a photographic image is presented by a suitable narrator that private romance might be shared with an audience, each member forming their own impression as if they were there.

To help engender such emotions of ‘being there’ photographs featuring ‘traditional’ costume might be favoured over normal daily dress while sunsets, Urry suggests, might conjure a sense of romance – at least in the broadest sense.<sup>26</sup> Dress in particular fits well into the narrative of the exotic and the oriental, one need only think of the numerous portraits (both photographic and painted) of early European travellers in eastern dress to see that they sought to place themselves within this exotic picture. For those listening to a travel lecture the images allowed them to imagine themselves in such settings.

## The Voyage

The route taken on the voyage is represented by several lantern slides.<sup>27</sup> (hereafter ‘slides’). They comprise views of Gibraltar, Marseilles and Palermo. The other ports visited, which represent the start of the photographic tour proper, were Alexandria in Egypt and Jaffa in Palestine. There is a visit

---

<sup>21</sup> Urry and Larsen *The Tourist Gaze* 3.0...2.

<sup>22</sup> For a discussion of such a set-piece image, clearly designed to give an impression of the exotic see Paul T. Nicholson, “Bert Underwood at work?”, *Journal of 3D Imaging* (2000) 150, 8-11.

<sup>23</sup> Susan Sontag *On Photography* New York (1973) 6, also Urry, *Tourist Gaze* “revisited”180.

<sup>24</sup> This wider participation at a time when travel was limited has, to an extent, come to the fore as a result of the recent pandemic during which only ‘virtual’ tourism was possible.

<sup>25</sup> Urry, *Tourist Gaze* “revisited”173.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid* 173.

<sup>27</sup> B.T.J. Glover, *Lantern Slides* London 1941 [5<sup>th</sup> Impression]] 1, defines a lantern slide as “a positive image supported on glass”. Those in question here are the commonest format measuring 3.25” (82mm) square.

also to the island of Patmos, which may suggest that the vessel left Palermo, sailed through the Straits of Messina and then through the Corinth Canal and on to Patmos before heading south first to Alexandria and then to Jaffa.

If the visitor was travelling from the USA it would be possible to travel from New York or Boston to the Mediterranean ports and it may be that this collection of images reflects the latter part of such a journey. However, there are reasons to believe that the owner of the images was a British tourist, not least the fact that there are three amateur views showing cricket being played on the deck of the vessel (Figure 1). That one of the cricketers is a clergyman is apparent from his clerical collar. He may have joined the vessel at Gibraltar or at Marseilles.

The image of Gibraltar is a fairly standard one, showing the Rock and may have been taken late in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but, like other images, remained available for sale for some years, indeed decades, after production. The view of Marseilles (Figure 2), which is coloured and seen from a high vantage point shows the Basilique Notre Dame de la Garde in the distance and a steam ship in the foreground while the view of Palermo shows a small steam launch being used to tow two lifeboat tenders (lighters) and is captioned "Early Morning, Palermo". The view is crudely hand-coloured and is likely to be a cheaply produced professional view.

Exceptionally, all of the views believed to be of Patmos are hand coloured. Two are titled "Patmos Landing Place" and "Patmos from the Monastery". A third has no caption and shows a white painted church or chapel with small houses nearby.<sup>28</sup> A fourth image shows a large pelican with a figure in Ottoman-style dress behind it. The pelican is said to feed its young with its own blood at the expense of its life and is therefore an allegory for Christian belief. The bird features on the reverse side of Hieronymous Bosch's painting of St. John on Patmos (1485),<sup>29</sup> presumably something known to the owner of the slides. The pelican slide is very well coloured and bears a label from *Newton and Co.* of Fleet Street, London suggesting that it might be an image purchased after the tour to supplement a lecture set. It is evident that purchasers of lantern slides often added to those bought during travel with examples available in their home countries and this can lead to some anachronisms in the series of views.

However, it is the slides of Egypt and Palestine which form the bulk of this collection and which are of greatest importance when considering the role of commercial photography in tourism.

## Egypt

With the exception of an image staged in a studio (below), all of the slides of Egypt are of Cairo, the Giza pyramids or local people – probably in and around Cairo. Interestingly there are no views of Alexandria even though that is almost certainly where the owner of this set disembarked in order to visit Cairo - probably as a trip of only one or two days. Even today, there are day trips from as far afield as Cyprus to visit the Giza pyramids and it is unlikely that a visitor, albeit *en route* for Palestine, would want to miss the opportunity to see them. If the assumption that the visitor was a clergyman is correct, then the connection of the pyramids with Joseph, whose store places they were once thought to be,<sup>30</sup> and with Moses and the Exodus would be reason enough to make a detour.

It seems likely that these images of Egypt were used to set a scene of 'local colour', the kind of 'romantic tourist gaze' suggested by Urry and that may explain the reason behind five of the street

---

<sup>28</sup> It is uncertain if this is Patmos, though it seems likely.

<sup>29</sup> The painting is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, details at <https://www.smb.museum/en/exhibitions/detail/hieronymus-bosch-and-his-pictorial-world-in-the-16th-and-17th-century/>

<sup>30</sup> A view which is represented in St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice where the pyramids are depicted as granaries.

scenes being rendered in colour.<sup>31</sup> The impact of including coloured slides in an otherwise monochrome presentation should not be underestimated and even though these particular images are not the product of the best colourists they would still have had impact. One of them shows the shop of a maker of agricultural riddles<sup>32</sup> (Figure 3), just as can still be found in Egypt today – though they are now less commonly seen in the tourist areas of Cairo. The other four show general scenes in the *souk* with vendors of different kinds included. There is a clear sense of bustle, and of a difference from western experience. The fact that the images are coloured reinforces the view that the exotic East is a place of vibrant colour. Such images fit well with the western perception of the Orient as seen through the predominant filter of ‘Orientalism’<sup>33</sup> as discussed by Edward Said. The observation of the daily lives of people from different cultures remains a feature of travel and tourism and images like this, shown to an audience, many of whom had no experience or expectation of foreign travel, would help to fix the sense of the exotic in the minds of viewers. This would be a presentation the likes of which many would not have seen before.

It is worth noting that viewers of these slides, probably including the owner himself, were probably unaware of the idea that the Orient was a creation of the Occident and was a relationship “of power, of domination” in the way that Said suggests.<sup>34</sup> Rather, by the time these images were collected the perception of the exotic Orient was already an almost fixed one in European thought, reinforced by the kinds of signifier images in this collection and those produced by companies such as *Underwood and Underwood* and still earlier by Francis Frith.<sup>35</sup> Derek Gregory<sup>36</sup> claims that “The production of Egypt as such a totality required a ‘visual order’...It would be difficult to find a clearer expression of photography’s complicity in the colonizing powers of European modernity”. Whilst this may be true it was not necessarily a deliberate complicity. Photographers generally had no interest in promoting empires but rather in making money, similarly an ‘itinerary’ (photographic or otherwise) allowed travel in an orderly way for those who might otherwise have lacked the confidence or resources to devise their own itinerary. This point is somewhat reinforced by Gregory’s quote from Susan Sontag<sup>37</sup> stating that the camera allowed people to “take possession of a space in which they are insecure”. It might be argued that a photograph taken by the visitor or perhaps featuring them gives a greater sense of possession than a purchased image.<sup>38</sup> However, given that at least some purchased images would be for sale only in countries visited there would still be a sense of possession, of having been there. The camera (or the purchased image) along with the itinerary – be it read in the field or at home – provided security and anchor points for the visitor.

Food and drink are of course part of the experience of the exotic and unusual and the views include a seller of bread and kebabs and of water carriers equipped with their water-skins. Everyone requires food and water, but the manner of their provision and variation from western practice made (and continue to make) them a subject for photography. The photographer/tourist seeks out the unfamiliar in the familiar – ‘food and water, but not as we know them’. Items such as water skins would therefore add to the exotic flavour of the trip and at the same time hint of Biblical times and a simpler way of life. Whilst many such scenes were typical of their time they are also a part of the construction of the Orient for the west. They deliberately echo aspects of Biblical narrative, of an unchanging antiquity

---

<sup>31</sup> All the coloured views in this collection have been tinted by hand. The Autochrome colour process for genuine colour photographs became commercially available in 1907 but remained rare and expensive. Colour photography in Europe did not become common or affordable until after the Second World War. See Michel Frizot, “Autochromes”, in *A New History of Photography* (ed.) M. Frizot (Köln: Könemann, 1998), 423.

<sup>32</sup> These are sieves for soil.

<sup>33</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>35</sup> Francis Frith, *Egypt and Palestine: photographed and described* (London 1858-1860). 2 Volumes.

<sup>36</sup> Gregory, ‘Emperors of the gaze’, 209.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* 211

<sup>38</sup> See Sontag *On Photography*



and so foster the idea of a romantic east.<sup>39</sup> There is an emotional response to scenes of this kind on two levels, one is an admiration for the simple-life of bygone days, the other a connection to the viewers' pre-conceptions based on background reading or on accounts relayed to them by others.<sup>40</sup>

Some commercial photographic sets, including stereoscopic views,<sup>41</sup> can have a distinct air of superiority and are clearly geared toward a Christian audience. Such can be said of some of the stereoviews produced by the Underwood brothers whose first set of 100 Egyptian views (c.1897) includes a view entitled "Degenerate Egypt" (Figure 4) contrasted with the next view in the set "Industry as taught by the American Mission Assiout" and similar views including "Egypt for Christ! The boys Chapel, Assiout, Upper Egypt".<sup>42</sup> Unlike the boxed sets of stereo views, the set of lantern slides considered here was compiled from individually bought photographs and though it probably belonged to a clergyman it took a more nuanced view. Thus, having introduced the exotic Orient there is no attempt to show Egypt as backward; rather a view of scholars at "Cairo University" is provided and there are images of the Mosque of Mohammed Ali at the Citadel as well as a view looking down from the Citadel on to the Sultan Hassan and Al Rifai' mosques. These mosques had long been visitor attractions, but the inclusion of the Cairo University image suggests a more culturally enlightened view of Egypt than was sometimes taken.

One view, probably intended as part of the Egyptian series, is particularly interesting and shows two Bedouin women carrying infants (Figure 5). The lady on the left has scarification and tattoos, which would be particularly unfamiliar to a western audience. The image has been very competently hand-coloured and was evidently supplied by *Newton and Co.* of Fleet Street, London, suggesting that it might have been a post-tour purchase to supplement the lecture. However, the original photograph is one from the *Maison Bonfils* and is attributed to the famous nineteenth-century photographer Felix Bonfils (1831-1885).<sup>43</sup> The image has been taken in a studio against a backdrop of painted palm trees, the same backdrop used by Bonfils for a photograph (not in this collection) entitled "Chief of the Bedouin Shepherds", and which was probably staged.<sup>44</sup> The authenticity of a number of these ethnographic scenes by Bonfils and others is questionable, but that would not have been known to the purchasers, nor would the fact that this image predated the trip by several decades, once again promoting the idea of an unchanging world. It was, and has remained until recently, an acceptable practice to continue to sell out-dated images where they are popular. Thus one can still find in Egypt today postcards of the flooded temple at Philae, even though it was moved to higher ground in the 1960s. Tourists are often unaware of the dated nature of these images and can be misled by the impression they convey.

---

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid* 210.

<sup>40</sup> In the author's experience visitors to Egypt today have a sense that their background reading is vindicated when they encounter seemingly unchanged scenes of daily life, and of disappointment that many of the ancient sites are not as they imagined from having seen carefully photographed television documentaries. Egypt and Palestine as developed modern countries often come as a surprise to visitors.

<sup>41</sup> Stereoscopic views remained a popular source of entertainment from the 1850s through to the end of the First World War, with a peak in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and first years of the 20<sup>th</sup>. They were directly marketed as a 'stay at home' travel aid as is made clear by some of the advertising of the time, including a particularly direct piece from *Underwood and Underwood* issued in 1908 – see Paul Wing, *Stereoscopes: the first hundred years* (Nashua, New Hampshire: Transition Publishing, 1996) 147. Although classrooms might be equipped with multiple viewers it was not possible to show stereoscopic images simultaneously, thus making lantern slides a more suitable choice for those wishing to share their travels.

<sup>42</sup> Bert and Elmer Underwood, founders of the *Underwood and Underwood* company seem to have written the text accompanying the cards themselves but anonymously – Anon., *The Land of the Pharaohs Through The Perfecscope: Describing a series of one hundred original stereoscopic photographs*. (New York: Underwood and Underwood); see also Paul T. Nicholson, "Egyptology for the masses: James Henry Breasted and the Underwood Brothers", in eds. D. Magee, J. D. Bourriau and S. Quirke *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek* (Leiden: Peeters 2009) 381-422.

<sup>43</sup> <https://line.17qq.com/articles/agschhgrx.html>

<sup>44</sup> Louis Vaczek and Gail Buckland, *Travellers in Ancient Lands* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1981), 84-85.

Moving away from Cairo and from studio photography there is a fine coloured image showing a boy ploughing with oxen, with the Great Pyramid of Khufu at Giza in the background. It too has been carefully hand-coloured and is again by Bonfils, this time with his name signed in the negative. Once again it was supplied by Newton. The same image is also found, rendered in monochrome and minus Bonfils's signature, used on a postcard of the early 1900s published by *Union Postale Universelle* (no. 531). Again, this image would have been some decades old when purchased from *Newton & Co.* and the fields shown may well have been built upon by the early 1900s. The 'copying' of images without acknowledgement to the photographer was a practice of considerable antiquity; the views of Egypt taken by Francis Frith were widely, and illegally, copied almost as soon as they were published.<sup>45</sup> This practice came about not only because the views themselves were of high quality, but because it was quickly recognized that certain views would become iconic. In that way such images begin to influence tourist itineraries, sometimes to the extent that guides take visitors to particular places particularly to obtain 'the best' scenic view. As Urry<sup>46</sup> has noted, the tourist experience can be reduced to a collecting of photogenic images, where images are purchased they are designed to sell what tourists have come to believe is the 'real' spirit of the place.

One such typical or signifier view is of the great Sphinx at Giza with the pyramid of Khufu in the background and this set of slides includes such an image, in this case competently hand-coloured (Figure 6). Because the Sphinx has been photographed so often there are a good series of dated images showing it at different periods,<sup>47</sup> these allow undated images to be placed, not least because of the fluctuating levels of sand around the monument. In the case of that purchased for this set the level is that recorded for the early 1900s with the Dream Stele of Pharaoh Thutmose IV (1400-1390 B.C.) between its paws completely buried but with the upper body of the lion exposed.

There are also three more images relating specifically to tourists at the pyramids. The first is a monochrome view showing tourists walking alongside the Sphinx while others stand on its back to view the Great Pyramid (Figure 7). A camel driver, with camel for hire, follows closely behind. The view looks like it may have been taken by a member of the party or perhaps by a local Egyptian photographer hoping to sell to members of the group. By the early 1900s it had become common practice for local photographers in Egypt to photograph tourist groups and to sell the images.<sup>48</sup> However, because of their fragility, cost and the need for a projector,<sup>49</sup> lantern slides would have had a more limited market than the prints usually sold to tourists, which makes it likely that this is a genuine amateur view.

A coloured view showing two tourists mounted on camels whilst a third, in full 'tropical outfit' including pith helmet, speaks with local guides in front of the pyramid, is also included in the set (Figure 8). It could be contemporary with the tour itself, but the dress of the figures suggests that it more likely belongs to the period 1880-1890 and is probably a commercial view, allowing potential tourists (albeit sometimes armchair ones) to imagine themselves in such a setting. A monochrome image titled "Arabs on the pyramid" was purchased from *E.G. Wood* of Cheapside, London. Wood

---

<sup>45</sup> Francis Frith (1822-1898) took photographs in Egypt between 1856 and 1859 and published them via *Negretti and Zambra* of London as stereoscopic views on glass, on card and in book form as Francis Frith, Joseph Bonomi and Samuel Sharpe Egypt, Nubia and Ethiopia: illustrated by one hundred stereoscopic photographs (London: Smith Elder and Co., 1862). The publication was very favourably reviewed (see Anon. 'Photographic contributions to knowledge "Egypt and Palestine" by Francis Frith', *British Journal of Photography* 1860, 7, 60-61) already reinforcing the idea that certain views were iconic, signifiers of the Orient.

<sup>46</sup> Urry, Tourist Gaze "revisited" 180.

<sup>47</sup> See for example Paul Jordan, *Riddles of the Sphinx* (London, Sutton Publishing 1998), 109-126.

<sup>48</sup> Paul T. Nicholson and Steve Mills, 'Soldier tourism in First World War Egypt and Palestine: the evidence of photography' *Journal of Tourism History* 2017, 1-18.

<sup>49</sup> A 'magic lantern' in earlier parlance, hence 'lantern slides'.

died in 1896<sup>50</sup> and his son in 1900<sup>51</sup> which means that this image is to be dated before 1900. The rather poor quality suggests that it is a copy, itself probably from a copy, and shows ‘pushers and draggers’ whose job was to ‘assist’ tourists in climbing the pyramid (Figure 9). Whilst these individuals seem to have continued their work into the early 20<sup>th</sup> century their hey-day was in the mid-late 19<sup>th</sup>, and this image is probably to be dated to this era. It was included, no doubt, to remind the owner of the set to mention that it was possible to ascend the pyramid, by his time a well-established tourist practice and one that was not banned until the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

This interesting series of views completes the Egyptian part of the set, implying that its compiler had indeed made only a fleeting visit to Cairo and travelled no further down the Nile, but wished to use the images to give a flavour of the east and to introduce some Biblical themes before moving on to the main collection of images dealing with the Holy Land. The Egypt views also introduce the relationship between ancient monuments, religious history and tourism which are so intimately connected in this region.

### **Palestine/The Holy Land**

It is not clear where a competent (but not exceptionally so) image showing tourists in a lifeboat tender either landing or departing from a harbour is taken. It may be Alexandria but is more likely to be Jaffa. The image includes at least one clergyman in the boat and it is possible that this is an amateur view of the actual party, though one cannot rule out a professional image.<sup>52</sup> The clothing of the tourists suggests that the image dates from the same era as those showing cricket being played on the ship – namely the early 1900s (Figure 10). Another view showing a similar boat negotiating rocks is also likely to be at Jaffa which had no harbour capable of taking large vessels, so requiring visitors to be ferried ashore by lighter.<sup>53</sup> Such images, whether professional or not, would allow the narrator to give a personal insight into his travels and give authority to his lecture. His would be the authentic voice of one who had been in the places and situations described. This is another area where aspects of the tourist gaze can be reinforced, the speaker assuring his audience that this is a ‘typical’ view, the ‘usual experience’ of a visitor to the Holy Land.

A professionally produced image, in oval mount, titled “Porter” probably shows one of the porters from the port of Jaffa carrying two very large round-topped travel trunks on his back, showing not only a local manner of portering but also introducing the idea that the party have now disembarked for their travels through Palestine. This too may be an image taken some years before, since flat-topped steamer trunks, which were better suited to stacking, became popular from the 1870s onwards. Transport of a different kind is represented by a view showing camels carrying crates of Jaffa oranges.

The location of a second coloured image is not in doubt as it is titled “Jaffa street scene”. The standard of colouring is poor and it was either a local purchase or was coloured by the same person who added the rather untidy colouring on the Cairo street scenes. Its purpose was evidently to add local colour and it includes a butcher’s shop, an ever-popular subject with photographers wishing to show local customs.

---

<sup>50</sup>(<http://microscopist.net/HTW.html>)

<sup>51</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG191643>

<sup>52</sup> Where no makers mark is given and where a parallel has not been found it can be difficult to separate some amateur and professional views. This is particularly so since many amateurs attempted to copy the viewpoints used by professionals and which they had seen on postcards or published views.

<sup>53</sup> I am indebted to Professor Denys Pringle for this information.

The majority of views now move to scenes connected with the Bible. In the case of Jaffa there is a very fine image of the “House of Simon the Tanner”<sup>54</sup>; although professionally produced and featuring two local men in Ottoman style dress, it includes a figure of a tourist in western dress standing on the roof of the building (Figure 11). The view provides a reminder that this is the site of ancient Joppa. Such reminders might have been less necessary to those viewing the images as many, perhaps most, would have been familiar with these place names from their knowledge of the Bible, but it also allows an audience to picture themselves as the tourist.

There are a considerable number of slides for this Holy Land section of the tour, but fortunately it is not too difficult to place them into a likely order. This can be achieved by consulting both travel handbooks of the time, that produced for *Thomas Cook*<sup>55</sup> being a typical example, and by looking at some of the ‘photographic tours’. Perhaps the most influential of the photographic tours of the time is that by *Underwood and Underwood*<sup>56</sup> produced to accompany their set of 100 views of the Holy Land. In practice both the guidebook for actual tourists and that for virtual tourists cover essentially the same ground and in the same order.<sup>57</sup> The tourist routes around Palestine and Egypt were already well established by the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>58</sup> and, although some attractions were gradually superseded by others, many of the routes remained fixed. Some of them, notably in Egypt, remain much the same to the present day (though the geography of Egypt lends itself especially well to such fixed itineraries).

The first major stop after Jaffa was Jerusalem. It is likely that the tourist to whom the slides belonged would have entered the city via the Jaffa Gate and there are slides showing the route up to the gate, the area outside it where horse carriages stood waiting for visitors and of the gate itself. This gate would have been especially significant to visitors as just beyond it was the office for *Thomas Cook*, a notice for which appeared beside the gate (seen in some early views for example one taken in c.1905).<sup>59</sup> The view leading up to the gate appears to show (if only just) the breach beside it which was made in 1898 to accommodate the procession of Kaiser Wilhelm who wished to enter the city on a white horse and whose procession required a larger entry point. This places the view after 1898 and suggests that it probably dates to the time of the tour for which the slide was purchased.<sup>60</sup>

The Jaffa Gate has a particular significance in terms of the purchase of photographs by tourists, since it was just through the breach made in the wall that the shop of *Vester* was located.<sup>61</sup> *Vester* were the main stockists for photographs produced by the *American Colony*,<sup>62</sup> the principal purveyors of images to tourists in Palestine. The shop was located next to that of Bonfils, who also had outlets in Cairo, Beirut and elsewhere.

---

<sup>54</sup> It should be borne in mind that many of these sites associated with the Bible have been identified only through folkloric tradition and in that sense are artefacts of tourism.

<sup>55</sup> James Edward Hanauer. and Ernest William Gurney. Masterman, *Cook's Handbook for Palestine and Syria* (London: Thomas Cook and Son, 1907).

<sup>56</sup> Jesse Lyman Hurlbut, *Traveling in the Holy Land Through the Stereoscope* (New York: Underwood and Underwood, 1905).

<sup>57</sup> For a comparison with Greece see Mahn, ‘The virtual tourist gaze’.

<sup>58</sup> For the development of tourism in Egypt before 1850 see Martin Anderson, ‘The development of British tourism in Egypt, 1815 to 1850’ *Journal of Tourism History* 4 (3) (2012), 259-279. Gregory ‘Emperors of the Gaze’, 201 notes that a “standard itinerary” was already in place for Egypt as early as 1850 when Flaubert and Du Camp visited. Much the same situation holds true for Palestine.

<sup>59</sup> Osman, *Jerusalem*, 53.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 42

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 42

<sup>62</sup> Photographs taken by the *American Colony* photographers can be found in the Matson Collection of the Carnegie Library and can be viewed at <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/matpc/item/2019692350/>

The *American Colony* had been started in 1881 as a Utopian community and attracted both American and Swedish pilgrims.<sup>63</sup> As well as running *The American Colony Hotel* from 1902 the group came to specialise in photography selling their images through Frederick Vester, a member of the colony. As a company based in Jerusalem they came to know both the city and Palestine intimately and were able to make high quality photographs of the most popular sights and scenes in the Holy Land. Their hotel, the *Vester* gift shop and proximity to the offices of *Thomas Cook* gave them an intimate familiarity with the tourist trade and there can be little doubt that their images linked closely to the established tourist route as well as providing the kinds of sometimes romanticised 'local colour' scenes which visitors wanted and had come to expect.<sup>64</sup> They were also able to capitalise on their knowledge of Christianity, Judaism and Islam and so provide images with wide appeal to the many travellers who saw their touristic travels as a kind of pilgrimage.

Although many travellers owned cameras by the 1910s<sup>65</sup> many others did not and instead relied upon postcards, print albums or lantern slides (the same images might be used in all three media).<sup>66</sup> The role of the professional photographer as part of the tourist experience has not generally been appreciated which makes this collection of images a particularly valuable one for the history of tourism.<sup>67</sup> The ability of professional photographers, such as those of the *American Colony*, to find and access vantage points which were not always open or apparent to the average visitor and to take multiple pictures before selecting the best always rendered such images saleable. They became part of the tourist experience and the photographs of 'iconic views' (Urry's<sup>68</sup> "signifier" views) became the ones that tourists might try to replicate, albeit often from less exclusive vantage points. Such images also helped to perpetuate a particular impression of these ancient lands.

It is worth considering a few of the views of Jerusalem. As might be expected there are scenes showing the Mount of Olives, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Dome of the Rock. Most are marked *American Colony Photographers Vester and Co.* and would have been purchased from the *Vester* shop. There are also two views of a street leading to the Zion Gate. There are two views of this same street with its distinctive arches (Figures 12 and 13) photographed from the same viewpoint. The two views were evidently taken some years apart, since in one the street is cobbled whilst in the other it is paved. The cobbled surface is clear in an image by Bonfils of the 1870s<sup>69</sup> and this particular view (Figure 12) is dated as 1893 by Schiller<sup>70</sup> who attributes it to the *American Colony*. The *Matson Collection of the Carnegie Library* date a similar view showing the street paved to between 1900 and 1920.<sup>71</sup> It is not clear why the owner of the set had two views of the same spot but one has a camel obscuring some of the detail and the angle is sufficiently different that the owner may not have realised that it was the same place. A further street view is of the Via Dolorosa and shows the place believed to be the fifth station of the cross, the point at which Simon of Cyrene carried the cross for Christ.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 152

<sup>64</sup> Urry, *Tourist Gaze*.

<sup>65</sup> By the outbreak of war in 1914 some 5,500 individuals owned the popular and reliable 'Vest Pocket Kodak' (VPK) while other models of camera such as Houghton's *Ensignette* of 1909 had made significant inroads in what had previously been an exclusive pastime for the wealthy see Cooksey, *The Vest Pocket Kodak*, 22.

<sup>66</sup> Gregory 'Emperors of the gaze' 220 gives a good example from 1907 whereby one Douglas Sladen, a keen photographer, "took 800 photographs and certainly bought as many more".

<sup>67</sup> According to Elaine Altman Evans, *Scholars, Scoundrels and the Sphinx: a photographic and archaeological adventure up the Nile* (Tennessee McClung Museum 2000) 6-12, the coming of Kodak pocket cameras marked the end of commercial photographic studios but this process was certainly not instantaneous and must be seen alongside the development of low cost mass tourism.

<sup>68</sup> Urry 'Tourist gaze "reconsidered"', 172.

<sup>69</sup> Altman, *Scholars*, 6-12. *Ibid*

<sup>70</sup> Ely Schiller *The First Photographs of Jerusalem: The Old City*. (Jerusalem: Ariel) 149. I am indebted to Professor Denys Pringle for this reference.

<sup>71</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/collection/matpc/item/2019692350/> LC-M32- 40

<sup>72</sup> Osman, *Jerusalem*, 63.

There are also duplicate views of the Damascus Gate (Figures 14 and 15), though in this case the two are probably only a few years apart. One view, without photographers' details, shows the gate with wooden shelters built in front of it, possibly for visitors awaiting carriages or to serve as shops. A near identical view was published by *H.C. White and Company* of New York in 1908.<sup>73</sup> A second view of the scene by *American Colony* has trees in place of the shelters and there is an early motor lorry parked beside the gate. It is probably to be dated around 1910.<sup>74</sup> Motor vehicles are largely absent from the views of Egypt and the Holy Land, probably a deliberate policy by photographers to maintain the impression that the lands of the Bible were unchanging and exotic. It may be that the owner of this set deliberately bought this image to show the encroachment of the modern world. This second image shows no trace of the wooden shelters and so may actually be the earlier of the two views.<sup>75</sup>

Other scenes show the western wall of the Herodian temple, popularly known at the time as the 'Wailing Wall' and a place of prayer and pilgrimage; the Garden Tomb is also featured with a young girl seated to the right of the rolled-away stone. An almost identical image is found amongst the *Underwood* stereoviews of the time though this time with an adult shown. This kind of imitation of images is extremely common and professional photographers frequently emulated one another's images – and where that fails often simply pirated the image.

There are also images of people, again giving an impression of local colour and culture. One is titled "A Jewish Rabi" (Figure 16) and shows an Ashkenazi Jew, a recent arrival in Palestine from Eastern Europe. Though this particular slide does not have a maker's mark the picture is by Lewis Larson of the *American Colony* and is dated to c.1905 by Osman.<sup>76</sup> A further image purports to show a "Samaritan High Priest and Scroll". It is unlabelled but is apparently by *Underwood and Underwood* and was copyrighted by them in 1900. However, the same individual in almost the same pose albeit with a slightly different background, is also in the catalogue of the *American Colony*.<sup>77</sup> It would not be surprising to find that the Underwoods had taken this to be a desirable image and had reproduced it themselves, confirming Urry's suggestion that certain views come to be "signifiers", in this case of a particular religious group in Palestine.

Leaving Jerusalem there are numerous scenes of 'daily life' in the collection, including two identical images showing three women at a grindstone (Figure 17). Both copies are very professionally hand coloured, though in different colours reflecting the fact that strict accuracy was not the aim of these images. Neither has a maker's mark, but the image was marketed by *Vester* and produced by the *American Colony*.<sup>78</sup> The theme is a common one and *Underwood and Underwood* included a stereoview of an almost identical scene in their stereoscopic tour. It is not impossible that it was taken at the same place. Early stages in the production of bread, notably threshing with animals and winnowing are also amongst these views of daily life and have clear links to the Bible. The Orientalist paradigm of an exotic and unchanging land is very much at the forefront of these images and itself draws upon ideas of the Holy Land as they might have been taught in Sunday Schools at the time. In this respect some aspects of Orientalism are reinforced by Bible teaching and *vice versa*.

There is not space here, nor is it necessary, to detail every image, but a few of the more important sites should be mentioned. Amongst these is Bethlehem with the Church of the Nativity and a rather

<sup>73</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/resource/cph.3b22265/> Accessed 12-4-21

<sup>74</sup> The lorry is tentatively identified as by S.A.G. Gaggenau, part of Mercedes-Benz, and dating to c.1908.

<sup>75</sup> I am indebted to Professor Denys Pringle for this observation and a note that the shelters must have been officially sanctioned by the Ottoman authorities.

<sup>76</sup> Osman, *Jerusalem*, 106.

<sup>77</sup> <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/matpc.23097/?co=matpc>

<sup>78</sup> The image, marked as Vester and Co. American Colony and with similarly excellent colouring is illustrated in a Sotheby's sale catalogue for June 21<sup>st</sup>, 2019, sale N10087 Lot 217 <https://www.sothebys.com/en/buy/auction/2019/fine-books-and-manuscripts-online/>

poorly produced slide made from a drawing showing the Nativity, obviously bought for the purposes of the lecture accompanying the slides. A coloured view of Shepherds' Fields looking west towards Bethlehem on the hill behind and produced by the *American Colony* was probably included to provide context for the slides of Bethlehem.<sup>79</sup>

Jericho itself is represented by general views and by "A Jericho Home" showing a large family group seated outside their house (Figure 18). One of the women is breast-feeding a child, something which would be shocking in public in the west and a second image is an enlargement of this first. The two images must have been used one after the other presumably to emphasise the differences in cultural practice and/or to make reference to the Madonna. No maker is indicated on these images.

From Jericho the sequence of slides moves to the river Jordan where a general view is accompanied by one which shows baptism ceremonies taking place at the river. The Dead Sea is featured briefly, complete with tourists floating in it, and then on to Jericho via the Inn of the Good Samaritan.

Nazareth is represented by two views of the same subject, though labelled differently: one as "The Virgin's Well", the other as "The Virgin's Fountain". At least one of them is by the *American Colony* and is the more formal of the two images. The second (Figure 19) shows the women and girls at the well laughing, presumably at something said or done by the photographer. A further image shows "The Mount of Precipitation" near Nazareth and is likely to be the kind of image carefully selected by a tourist intending to use the slides for religious education, since it is not a particularly well-known scene.

There are several views around the Sea of Galilee, including Tiberias. As might be expected these slides include fishermen and the casting of nets.

The views then move to the furthest point north and show the ruins of Baalbek, in Lebanon. This is represented by a single coloured image, the colouring of which renders it more like a painting than a photograph. The label is incomplete but 'Fleet Street' can be made out suggesting that it has come from *Newton & Co.* and was probably purchased post-tour to complete the set.

A number of garishly coloured sunsets over the ocean are included and would have been used to introduce breaks and to mark the end of the presentation.

## Conclusion

There are numerous other views in the collection, not least of local people but enough has been said to illustrate the nature of this set and to make the point that this collection offers the rare opportunity to reconstruct a tourist visit, perhaps seen as a kind of pilgrimage, by someone who wished to record their visit in order to share it with those who could not expect to have the opportunity to travel. That many would find themselves in Egypt and Palestine only a few years later, as the First World War required their service,<sup>80</sup> would have been unthinkable.

The means by which the collection has been assembled is itself informative. These images would not have been cheap. Most other tourists who lacked cameras would have bought postcards, some of the same images, and pasted them into albums or simply kept them as keepsakes. Here though, we have a person of somewhat greater means and with a religious education who is clearly setting out to assemble a set which represented his journey and which was at the same time a means to provide religious education. It seems likely that he did not possess a camera, or if he did then used it very rarely. As a result we see the set being assembled through purchases, largely in Jerusalem and

---

<sup>79</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Denys Pringle for this identification.

<sup>80</sup> Nicholson and Mills *Soldier Tourism*.

probably at the tourist outlet of *Vester*, part of the *American Colony* and then supplemented on his return home by purchases from London slide dealers. At least some of those images bought after the trip were by photographers who have since become famous in studies of early photography in the Middle East, but such images might also be old and served, along with the studies of local culture, to perpetuate the idea of the antiquity and unchanging nature of the Orient. In doing so they become part of the Orientalist view and clearly represented the sometimes constructed reality of the tourist gaze.

That many of the images are closely paralleled by the armchair travel images provided by companies like *Underwood and Underwood*<sup>81</sup> and *H.C. White* and can be grouped in the same way suggests the close interplay between travel itineraries and those provided for individuals whose means did not allow actual foreign journeys. These photographs, whether purchased on the journey, or sold to those who could not travel are an essential aspect of the marketing of countries to tourists and fed into areas with which purchasers were already familiar, in this case Biblical history.

The few spontaneous views, taken on the ship, must have been by someone connected to the owner of the set, perhaps a fellow passenger. They are few in number but they provide a solid foundation for believing that these are not a set purchased *en masse* for lecturing but carefully assembled by a visitor, a tourist, to the region who had in mind more than just a record of his trip.

For the archaeologist and the historian these views represent, quite literally, a snapshot in time. They show changes in the monuments and landscapes, sometimes over quite short periods such as the views of the via Dolorosa or the Damascus Gate, but more especially they highlight the changes which have come about in more recent times, sometimes in direct response to tourism.

Collections such as that described here, which have been carefully (if often accidentally) curated are rare and offer a valuable insight into tourism and its relationship to photography in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a time before landscapes and cultural practices were transformed by the effects of two devastating World Wars.

### **Acknowledgements**

I am indebted to Professor Denys Pringle, Emeritus Professor of Archaeology at Cardiff University for reading a draft of this manuscript and for his helpful comments and to Cerian Whitehurst for her careful reading of the manuscript. Comments by the anonymous reviewers are also greatly appreciated and their recommendations have been followed in preparing this manuscript.

### **Declarations Of Interest Statement**

The author has no declarations of interest to make in relation to this paper.

---

<sup>81</sup> See Nicholson *Egyptology for the masses* and Paul T. Nicholson, 'Bert Underwood at work?' *Journal of 3D Imaging* 150 (2000), 8-11.



## Figure Captions

Figure 1: One of several amateur views showing cricket being played on the deck of a ship. The wicketkeeper, amongst others, appears to be a clergyman. It is thought that the set of views discussed here may have belonged to a member of the clergy.

Figure 2: A view of Marseilles harbour with the Basilique Notre Dame de la Garde in the distance. The steamship in port suggests that the image is of the same era as most of the rest of the slides.

Figure 3: A poorly coloured image showing a Cairo street scene with a shop selling agricultural riddles ('sieves').

Figure 4: A view from *Underwood and Underwood's* first series of Egyptian views. It is entitled 'Degenerate Egypt –Wretchedness of the people' and was positioned in the set in such a way as to suggest the superiority of Christian values.

Figure 5: A professionally coloured image of two Bedouin women carrying infants. The image is by Felix Bonfils (1831-1885) and is staged. It predates other views in this collection by some years.

Figure 6: The Sphinx and Great Pyramid of Khufu at Giza. The level of the sand suggests that this view belongs to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Figure 7: Tourists and their guides walk beside the Sphinx to view the Great Pyramid. Other tourists stand on the back of the Sphinx. The poor composition of the image suggests that it is by an amateur photographer.

Figure 8: Tourists mounted on camels and speaking with local guides. This image may pre-date the actual tour by some years.

Figure 9: 'Pushers and draggers' on the pyramid. These individuals helped tourists to ascend and descend the Great Pyramid. It appears to be a copy from an earlier photograph.

Figure 10: Tourists landing or leaving a port, probably Jaffa.

Figure 11: The House of Simon the Tanner at Jaffa.

Figure 12: A street leading to the Zion Gate in Jerusalem showing the cobbled surface of the street.

Figure 13: A street leading to the Zion Gate from the same location as Figure 12, but now with a paved surface. An example of how photography 'accidentally' documents changes to what might seem timeless scenes.

Figure 14: The Damascus Gate of Jerusalem. Note the trees beside the gate and compare to Figure 15. The motor lorry suggests a date roughly contemporary with most of the other images in the collection. The view was produced by the *American Colony* photographers.

Figure 15: The Damascus Gate of Jerusalem. The trees beside the gate, seen in Figure 14, have now been replaced by wooden shelters of some kind.

Figure 16: A view by Lewis Larson of the *American Colony* titled "A Jewish Rabi" and showing an Ashkenazi Jew, one of many who arrived from Eastern Europe in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Figure 17: One of two identical images in the collection showing women working at a grindstone. The colouring is exceptionally competent and though the image is unmarked it is known to be by the *American Colony*.

Figure 18: A view titled "A Jericho Home" showing a family group. While images of the Madonna and child were common in Western art the concept of breast-feeding in public could be considered rather shocking and is commonly featured in views of the Orient.

Figure 19: The Virgin's Well at Nazareth. A relaxed portrait of local women and children at the well.