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London-Rome: a most exciting journey

Rome! What a volume in a word!
Cook’s Traveller’s Gazette, Feb.1906: 16

1. Introduction

Thomas Cook, who as early as 1841 organized the first package tour, holds a pivotal position in the history of tourism. His works (guides and travel books) were mainly meant to advertise and promote Cook’s business. However, with a clever mix of detailed programmes of future trips, factual accounts of previous experiences and reports reminiscent of travel diaries, Cook’s publications represent a milestone in travel literature and a valuable document of language development.

The evolution of language parallels socio-cultural changes, which include the growth of the tourism sector. It is not by chance that David Lightfoot dedicated his book *The Development of Language*¹ “to Homer, who knew that the journey is the thing, and to Heraclitus, who taught us that everything is always travelling”. In Thomas Cook’s hands language becomes a powerful tool to appeal to his readers and prospective travellers who were not yet part of an ‘image-driven culture’ and who relied only on reading for their information.

The focus of the present research is on *Cook’s Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser* (the first travel magazine, henceforth *CE*) with particular reference to the pages concerned with Rome, which has always been a favourite destination for British tourists. Cook is often described as a pioneer of mass tourism and through this journal it is possible to trace the beginning of the transition from elite to a more modern kind of tourism.

This contribution is an analysis based on previous studies carried out in an interdisciplinary project on tourism and in a socio-linguistic research.² As far as the present paper is concerned, the authors agreed on the overall approach to the research, but in particular Rita Salvi is responsible for paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 and Judith Turnbull for paragraphs 4, 5, 6 and 7.

2. Dreaming of Rome: from literary descriptions to tourist guides

From the 17th century travelling in Europe on the Grand Tour was considered an essential experience for members of the English aristocracy and later of the upper-middle class³. It was the

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3 The situation remained totally different for lower class people during the 17th and 18th centuries: “For the mass of the people in the eighteenth century, holidays consisted of a few days away from work for which they were not paid. The idea of travelling away from home except on foot was quite out of the question when wages were so low. Only the top strata of society, the aristocracy for the most part, travelled for pleasure in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Publicly they gave other excuses, such as health or education for leaving their castles, halls and manor houses for a
opportunity to shape their conscience as politicians and men of culture, according to the humanistic ideal of education. English travellers were ready to overcome dangerous situations, such as plague and banditry, as well as to spend an ever increasing amount of money in Italy:

At the beginning of the [17th] century one could probably live in comfort in Italy, and even travel a little, on £60 or £70 a year; towards 1650, £120 or £130 would have been adequate.  

Although commercial interests also moved some English gentlemen, their involvement in art and culture was particularly encouraged by the works of Winckelmann, the engravings of Piranesi, the archaeological excavations in Herculaneum (1719) and Pompeii (1748).  

In the first half of the 18th century the Roman poet Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli wrote his famous sonnet Er Miserere de la Settimana Santa in which the first line was “Tutti gli ingressi de Piazza de Spagna”: the square and indeed the whole area around Trinità dei Monti milled with English people, who visited shops, monuments and artists’ studios (ateliers). They were not tourists, since their presence in Rome had a considerable impact even on the cityscape: examples are the English graveyard and numerous Protestant churches which can still be seen today.  

During the Victorian Age (1837-1901) there was a clearly-marked surge in travelling, due to improving living standards and economic conditions on the one hand, and on the other, the English love for a form of amusement which was also useful in terms of health and education.

The new type of traveller was well acquainted with Italy and Rome thanks to a wide literary production, such as the novels of George Eliot and Henry James, that included descriptions of the city. The binomial relation London-Rome is admirably described in Dickens’s Pictures from Italy (1846):

When we were fairly going off again, we began, in a perfect fever, to strain our eyes for Rome; and when, after another mile or two, the Eternal City appeared, at length, in the distance; it looked like – I am afraid to write the word – like London!!! There it lay, under a thick cloud, with innumerable towers and steeples, and roofs of houses, rising up into the sky, and high above them all, one dome. I swear, that keenly as I felt the seeming absurdity of the comparison. It was like London, at that distance, that if you could have shown it me, in a glass, I should have taken it for nothing else.

Travel books and tourist guides, instead, were often written with no professional purpose; nevertheless they were addressed to a sophisticated reader. Although mentioning one means penalizing the others, among the large production of literary descriptions we cannot neglect the work of Augustus J.C. Hare (1834-1903), scholar and lover of Roman beauties. His book Walks in Rome, published in 1871 and frequently reprinted, is still surprising.
Hare’s guide is addressed to the well educated tourist, who is able to appreciate the literary references and elegant quotations that are an integral part of the description of the places and masterpieces of interest. His guide can be considered more a work of art than a travel book. The introduction, “An arrival in Rome is very different from that in any other town in Europe. It is coming to a place new and yet most familiar, strange and yet so well known”, testifies to his love for the city, and includes quotations ranging over Niebuhr, Montaigne, Byron, Livio and Ampère. All the chapters are written with the same technique: the description of a place is enriched with erudite quotations. This is Piazza del Popolo in Hare’s work:

The Obelisk of the Piazza del Popolo was placed on this site by Sixtus V in 1589, but was originally brought to Rome and erected in the Circus Maximus in honour of Apollo, his favourite divinity, by the Emperor Augustus. It belongs to the thirteenth century before Christ and relates to Seti and his son Rameses II. It is therefore the second oldest in the city.

Apollo was the patron of the spot which had given a name to the great victory of Actium; Apollo himself, it was proclaimed, had fought for Rome and for Octavius on that auspicious day; the same Apollo, the Sun-god, had shuddered in his bright career at the murder of the Dictator, and terrified the nations by the eclipse of his divine countenance. Therefore, besides building a temple to Apollo on the Palatine hill, the Emperor Augustus sought to honour him by transplanting to the Circus Maximus (the sports of which were under his special protection), an obelisk from Heliopolis, in Egypt. … (Merivale, ‘History of the Romans’)

The red granite obelisk, oldest of things, even in Rome, rises in the centre of the piazza, with a fourfold fountain at its base. All Roman works and ruins (whether of the empire, the far-off republic, or the still more distant kings) assume a transient, a visionary and impalpable character when we think that this indestructible monument supplied one of the recollections which Moses and the Israelites bore from Egypt into the desert. … And now that very obelisk, with hardly a trace of decay upon it, is the first thing that the modern traveller sees after entering the Flaminian Gate. (Hawthorne’s “Transformation”).

Thirty years before the publication of Hare’s work Thomas Cook had left his job as a printer and started his activity as a tour operator, as we say nowadays. In 1841 he organized the first rail trip from Leicester to Loughborough, a twenty-two mile journey which can be considered the first tourist package. In 1845 he offered a tour to Liverpool, including visits and accommodation. His first venture into Europe was in 1855 when Emperor Napoleon III, emulating Prince Albert and the Crystal Palace of 1851, opened a large exhibition in Paris and Cook offered the inhabitants of Leicester a trip to France, to Calais and back for 31 s (£ 1.55). In 1863 a thousand Britons went to Paris and four hundred to Switzerland, all having bought Thomas Cook’s new circular tickets.

To support his business in 1851 he published the first travel magazine, *Cook’s Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser*, which gave details about trips, together with information for travellers and indications about places to visit, including information about Rome from 1864 onwards. In 1902 it was replaced by *The Traveller’s Gazette* which was addressed to rich travellers and included articles on travelling; the publication ended in 1939 because of the Second World War. He also began to publish *Cook’s Guidebooks* (interrupted from 1939 to 1993).

These are the sources of the present research. The texts examined have been kindly provided by Paul Smith, who is in charge of The Thomas Cook Archives in Peterborough (UK) and editor of four volumes on the history of tourism (Smith 2002).

The relevance of Thomas Cook’s work as a means of popularizing culture and tourism has been also underlined by G.M. Trevelyan:

While the town-dwellers were learning to explore the by-ways of their own land on foot or on bicycle, others swarmed over France, Switzerland, and Italy in greater numbers than ever; they were the chief patrons of the best hotels of western Europe, of the Mediterranean, and of Egypt. And Thomas Cook’s ‘tours’ gave a taste of the delights of continental travel to multitudes of the thrifty and the humble.

In this perspective Thomas Cook was the interpreter of a deep social change:

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9 Hare, *Walks in Rome*, cit., p. 27.
Because of the Puritan backlash, the hedonistic nature of holidays was never admitted, until the middle of the nineteenth century. Folk went away for ‘a change of air’, ‘to put the colour back in their cheeks’, ‘to do them good’, ‘to take a well deserved rest’, or ‘to get some fresh air into their lungs’. Only in recent decades has it been openly acknowledged that ‘they went away for a good time’.  

Cook’s work of ‘popularizing’ tourism became the mainstay of the company’s prosperity in later years. It was made, however, a term of derision for a long time by the upper middle class who thought their ivory towers were being breached by the folk. As Bill Cormack reports, one Charles Lever, a vice-consul at Spezia, wrote an article in the Blackwood’s Magazine full of criticism:

… the cities of Italy deluged with droves of these creatures, for they never separate, and you see forty in number pouring along a street with their director, now in front, now at the rear, circling round them like a sheep dog … I have already met three flocks, and anything so uncouth I never saw before, the mostly elderly, dreary and sad looking, the women, somewhat younger, travel tossed and crumpled, but intensely lively, wide awake and facetious … these Devil’s dust tourists have spread over Europe injuring our credit and damaging our character. Their gross ignorance is the very smallest of their sins. They deride our church ceremonies, they ridicule our cookery, they criticise our dress, they barbarise our language.

3. Why Rome

Although Thomas Cook, who saw his venture as both a religious and a social service\(^\text{13}\), succeeded in organizing tours all around the world (USA, Australia and New Zealand, Egypt and the Middle East), Rome always remained a pivotal choice which he left as a heritage to his son John Mason and later to his grandsons Frank Henry, Thomas Albert and Ernest Edward who kept the ownership of Thomas Cook and Son until 1928.

It is hard to select a passage to show what Rome represented for the Cook company, not only for business and economic interest but rather for the feeling that “The Eternal City”, “The Mistress of the World”, “The City of the Seven Hills” excites. The following is the description of Rome as it appeared in the Cook’s Traveller’s Gazette\(^\text{14}\) which gives a unique interpretation of the ‘sound’ of Rome.

Rome! What a volume in a word! What a synonym and suggestion of many words! There is a considerable significance in sounds, either according to the vibrations they set up or the conceptions they convey – or both. As a single letter is but the sign of a simple sound, and a word – a combination of such sounds – an expression or symbol of a thought or idea, then different words variously appeal to us, according to what they express, on the basis of the association of ideas.

Take Rome for example. What a fullness and strength there seems in this simple combination of two vowels and two semi-vowels, without even the force of a mute consonant. Why then is this? Mainly because of all that Rome


\(^{12}\) *Ibid.*, p. 34.

\(^{13}\) In 1850 the Organizer Committee for the Scottish Trips declares: “Amongst those who have laudably exerted themselves to promote arrangements for the interest of the public, no one occupies a more prominent position, or is entitled to greater respect than Mr. T. Cook, of Leicester. … all his schemes and arrangements have been characterised by a spirit of enlarged conception, vigorous enterprise, assiduous and devoted efforts to economise the time and resources of his patrons, and unwearied attention to their comfort and pleasures. These remarks apply with peculiar force to his Scottish Trips”.

The following is part of the long letter written by Cook to the Committee: “Gentlemen – receive my thanks for the expression of your generous and grateful impulses; and be assured that … as long as I have health and strength to labour … I shall continue these efforts, believing as I do that they constitute an interesting and important feature in those arrangements and agencies by which Truth, and Morality and Universal Brotherhood will be accelerated. … I see by the light of experience that Railways, Steam and Locomotion will prove great moral and social regenerators; and under this impression, I have the honour to subscribe myself as Willing and devoted servant of the Travelling Public, and, Gentlemen, Your greatly obliged and grateful Thomas Cook”. Leicester Sept .5, 1850. (copy provided by the Thomas Cook Archives)

\(^{14}\) *Cook’s Traveller’s Gazette*, February 1906, p. 16.
represents. Simply to pronounce the name of this old city is to evolve a host of suggestions in the mind. Its very sound evokes a whole gamut of sounds which express as wide a range of ideas. What does Rome stand for? What indeed does she not?
The answer comes echoing from the past: antiquity, greatness, wealth and splendour; heroism, power, conquest and colonization; liberty, law, self-control, beauty – and mighty men. But alas! Still echoing it also answers: cruelty, jealousy and internecine strife, luxury, humiliation and desolation. To the reflective mind the mere mention of Rome creates wonder, excites admiration, quickens thought, stirs pathos, stimulates imagination and awakens interest.

The passage shows how in the period of fifty years Cook’s publications had become much more than information books.

4. ‘Cook’s Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser’: the gentle art of persuasion

Cook’s Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser was first published in 1851 to announce the trips Cook was organizing to visit the Great Exhibition in London and thereafter became a monthly newspaper to publicize all his tours in Great Britain, Europe, America, Palestine and the Far East. In time the Excursionist evolved into a powerful and effective instrument of promotion and publicity, long before the age of mass communication and the development of modern advertising techniques.

The fifty years of its publication, from 1851 to 1902 when it was replaced by the Traveller’s Gazette, produced an enormous amount of material which provides a comprehensive picture of the development of Cook’s business. This paper, however, will focus on the tours visiting Rome in the period between the years 1864 and 1874 to illustrate the entrepreneurial skills of Cook. 1864 was the year of the first trip organised by Cook to travel as far south as Rome and the following decade was marked by a series of dramatic events which were to lead to the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy, but were hardly conducive to a flourishing tourist industry. In spite of the unfavourable conditions, Cook’s business went from strength to strength; whilst 26 tourists visited Rome on a tour in 1865, “we had from 80 to 100 ‘Cooks’ at the hotel Allemagne during the past week” on one of the many trips to Italy in 1874. The approach and strategies adopted by Cook in developing these tours were typical of the way he conducted his tourist business, and the success he achieved is indeed a tribute to his entrepreneurial skills.

5. The tour to Rome

Rome, with all its ancient glory and religious aura, had always been an essential destination on the Grand Tour. With the spread of rail travel and the new propitious economic and social conditions prevalent in Victorian Britain, Rome was soon integrated into Cook’s continental tours. A trip to Rome usually took four weeks, visiting en route many cities, including Paris, Geneva, Milan, Turin, Pisa, Florence, Venice, as well as being extended eventually to Naples and Pompeii. The cost of the trip, including all travelling arrangements and accommodation, amounted to £32. 10s. in second class in 1865; although Cook tried to contain prices as much as possible, his tours were still clearly beyond the means of the average worker.

The descriptions of the journey to Rome reported in CE are somewhat disconcerting. In addition to the difficult political situation, tourists to Italy had to deal with formidable travelling conditions, including strenuous schedules, overnight travelling and far from comfortable means of transport, such as diligences, sleighs and even mules to cross the Alps.

At present the ordinary Diligence arrangement is to leave St Michel in the afternoon, and arrive at Susa at four or five o’clock in the morning, thus having to cross the summit at midnight. Although the sleigh carriages are made as comfortable as human ingenuity and care can well devise, the changes from Diligence to sleigh and vice versa are unavoidably disagreeable in the darkness of midnight; besides the loss of all the great views of mountain scenery.16

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15 Cook’s Excursionist and International Tourist Advertiser, October 1, 1874, p. 3
16 Cook’s Excursionist cit., March 2, 1868, p. 1
The health of the party was wonderfully sustained throughout all the rapid changes of climate, diet and associations of travel, though several journeys were very long and tedious. Rising early, we accomplished the journey from Florence to Rome in a day of nineteen hours; and in twenty five hours we travelled back from Naples to Leghorn, by railways and diligence, and in the latter being almost smothered by dust between Civita Vecchia and Nunziatella. We are thankful to record the fact that not one was left behind by reasons of accident or illness.\textsuperscript{17}

The almost matter-of-fact language of these accounts suggests that these testing conditions were viewed as ‘par for the course’, though at times the journey could take on unforeseen and rather alarming turns.

Before this change, we had passed, with three of the Diligences, an angle of mountains where avalanches had fallen and nearly blocked the way. One of our diligences lagged behind, and ere it reached the enormous masses of snow, another avalanche had fallen and completely blocked the road, rendering it necessary for the fourth section of the party to return to Isella…. Having passed through the Gorge, the mountain slopes and the deep precipices, through which was cut a new shelving road, severely tested the nerves of the more timid of the travellers, and even the brave men who managed the sleighs, or went before us with snow spades to clear the way, were somewhat apprehensive when the noise of the avalanche near the mountain tops resembled the roar of thunder.\textsuperscript{18}

Other problems included annoying bureaucratic procedures involving passports\textsuperscript{19} and baggage controls for entry into the Papal States, health scares and even the risk of brigands holding up coaches on the road.

...our way to Civita Vecchia was through a district infested by brigands, and a military escort accompanied us. At the frontier station of Montalta passports were demanded and most rigidly scrutinized, and there also our small articles of baggage were examined, a seal being impressed on the larger cases until we arrived at Civita Vecchia, where a general overhauling took place. Added to all these annoyances, we were several times fumigated in a smoking-room at Montalta, which again re-called purgatorial visions.\textsuperscript{20}

The prevalence of cholera at Ancona and the fear that its ravages might be extended to Central and southern Italy, first led the manager of the proposed Excursion to hesitate, and afterwards to advertise his abandonment of the project; but this decision was a source of great disappointment to many who had relied on previous announcements, and as the epidemic has not prevailed at any of the places intended to be visited, and has greatly abated at Ancona, Mr Cook yielded to the importunity of numerous respected correspondents, and has resolved to carry out his original purpose of conducting a party of tourists to Italy at the close of the present Excursion season.\textsuperscript{21}

It is questionable whether many modern day tourists would be willing to put up with the hardships, discomforts and dangers experienced on Cook’s trips to Rome. To some extent they were the normal travelling conditions of the time, but the reports in the CE still bear witness to the courage, determination and spirit of adventure of Cook’s tourists. So how did Cook manage to persuade thousands of tourists to undertake such a demanding journey?

6. The readers of Cook’s Excursionist
Persuasion has been defined as:

all linguistic behaviour that attempts to either change the thinking or behaviour of an audience, or to strengthen its beliefs, should the audience already agree.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{17} Cook’s Excursionist cit., June 24, 1865, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{18} Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 1, 1866, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{19} At this time the use of passports had been abolished in most parts of Europe, because the passport system and border controls could not cope with the huge numbers of passengers now travelling as a result of the introduction of railways.
\textsuperscript{20} Cook’s Excursionist, cit., November 25, 1870, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{21} Cook’s Excursionist, cit., June 24, 1865, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{22} H.Halmari. and T.Virtanen (eds.), Persuasion Across Genres, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, 2005, p. 3.
In other words, persuasion is always targeted at an audience and therefore it is shaped by contextual factors which may vary in time and place. The audience in question are of course the clients of Cook, who represented the new tourists of the 19th century. Whilst the travellers in the previous century on the Grand Tour were members of the aristocracy, Cook’s clients were middle class and included clergymen, physicians, bankers, civil engineers and merchants (CE, 1865, April 3:5). In a report of a trip to Rome in 1865 he wrote:

[…] and a party of twenty-six made the entire trip to Rome, Naples, Pompeii, &c. […] There was a “happy family” of five from New Zealand; another estimable family party pf father, mother and two amiable daughters from London; a brave-spirited group of two sisters and a brother, on a visit from Australia, […] an enthusiastic friend from Yorkshire, who was with us eighteen years ago, on our first trip to the Scottish Highlands, then alone, but now accompanied by his amiable wife; an elderly gentleman and his lady from Lancashire, who maintained the fatigue amazingly; an elderly gentleman from Cornwall, who was our first-Ticket purchaser for Switzerland last year, and the first to order Tickets for this great Trip; ladies alone, from Cheshire and Lancashire; one brave woman form Herts., who has been with us almost “everywhere” for several years past; and several gentlemen whom we are proud to reckon on our “list of friends”, never weary of, or distrustful about our arrangements. 23

This extract highlights some other interesting characteristics of Cook’s clients. By this time whole families had taken to travelling, a sign of the gradual institutionalisation of holidays in Victorian England. Age was obviously not seen as a barrier to participation, in spite of the risks and strenuous itineraries imposed on travellers. His tourists also included many foreigners; here families from Australia and New Zealand are mentioned, but also many Americans were among his clients. In addition references are made to some ‘habitual’ clients, who had been so satisfied in the past that they returned regularly to partake of Cook’s services. What is particularly striking, however, in this ‘list’ of participants is the female contingent, not only those accompanying their husband or families, but also ladies alone. The security provided by the organisation of Cook’s tours gave single unaccompanied women the possibility to travel, opening up new experiences to them. The Grand Tour had always been an exclusive male preserve and women were only admitted to Cook’s tours from the 1860s 24, but within a very short time as many women as men were embarking on the tours. 25

Although Cook is often ‘accused’ of favouring a kind of impoverishment of the educational and cultural ideals of tourism 26, as conceived at the time of the Grand Tour and earlier, his clients were still keenly interested in collecting as much information about the places they visited as possible. In a letter sent to Cook on his return from a trip to the Continent in 1865 a satisfied traveller wrote:

Time was allowed to see the objects of interest in the various places, and as the party was very industrious and made the best use of the time, a great deal of information was obtained, which doubtless will prove useful to all in connection with their past and future reading. 27

The long hours of travelling together and living in close proximity for an extended period of time with strangers also opened up new interesting and intriguing opportunities for socialising. “[…] self-presentations could be manipulated for larger and more interesting audiences than any at home, and also, given the transience of tourism encounters, ones less capable of blowing one’s cover.” 28 Cook’s clients on their tours therefore looked for and enjoyed both the cultural and educational, together with the pleasure and entertainment aspects of tourism.

23 Cook’s Excursionist cit., June 24, 1865, p. 4.
25 Cook’s Excursionist cit., May 6, 1863, p. 4.
27 Cook’s Excursionist cit., June 24, 1865, p. 5.
Cook ‘knew’ his clients well, not only at a personal level, as many completed a number of tours with him, but also in the sense that he understood and shared their values and habits. He knew what they wanted and expected from the tours and knew how to satisfy their needs. Through the CE Cook was able to propose an organization that had it clients’ interests at heart and catered exclusively for them.

The CE had the format of a newspaper with each page divided into two columns. It provided detailed information about fares, travelling arrangements and hotels to advertise forthcoming tours, just as in a modern holiday brochure. But it also published post-tour accounts, testimonial letters, editorial comments, anecdotes and articles about travelling and events in Europe, which gave the newspaper a broader and more personal approach. As it had no pictures or photographs, Cook had to rely entirely on the power of words to persuade his readers and he did so in a very subtle manner, without the use of hyperbole or slogans, so typical of modern advertising.

7. Persuasion in Cook’s Excursionist
In view of the historical period under consideration and the absence of many of the characteristics of modern advertising, such as visual aids, colour, sound, music, etc., the following analysis of CE will not adopt the approaches used in the studies of the modern language of advertising. A more appropriate framework for the analysis is provided by the three classic Aristotelian types of appeal to the audience - ethos, logos and pathos. Each makes a rhetorical appeal based, respectively, on the character of the speaker (his credibility, reliability and competence), the logical argument presented and the emotional reaction of the audience.

7.1 Ethos
Although anonymity is an important characteristic of the language of tourism, it has been noted that this is not so in early promotional pamphlets, such as CE. Indeed, Thomas Cook’s presence and authority pervades the CE. He is often defined as the pioneer of modern tourism and his reports and articles in CE reveal how he was continually creating, improving and perfecting the travel arrangements he offered to his clients. He first provided circular railway tickets, that is, blocks of tickets to cover the separate stretches of the trip, stressing that he did not sell single tickets which was the work of the train companies. He then applied the same kind of system of pre-paid tickets for accommodation and also food by introducing hotel coupons in 1866 and later, in 1874, the first travellers’ cheques, known as ‘circular notes’. All these measures were completely innovatory and were intended to overcome difficulties encountered by his clients.

Since the circular was issued the question has been asked whether it is a necessity to pay for hotel accommodation in connection with the travelling fares. By no means. We only offer to take the engagement of paying hotel bills as a matter of convenience to those who wish to escape the annoyances of frequent exchanges of money and small settlements.

Although many people — clients, fellow travellers, his assistants or others — were free to voice their opinions in the CE, it is Cook’s persona which dominates the publication. In the announcements of trips he used the pronoun I, or sometimes we in the sense of the company, when discussing the travelling and accommodation arrangements he was making, thus distinguishing himself from his readers and highlighting his authority, professional integrity and expertise as an efficient and capable tour operator.

31 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., February 26, 1866, p. 2.
It was my intention to take, *en route*, Paris, Turin, Florence, Pisa, Leghorn, and Milan, and these places I include in my special contract of fares and hotel accommodation....

He discussed many of the problems that had arisen on trips in the past in order to assure his readers that he could guarantee the safest and most comfortable passage at as low a cost as possible:

I have heard of individuals who paid as much in a day as it cost my party for a week, and I want to show the real advantage of going as a party, and under efficiently arranged plans.

He also published testimonial letters bearing witness to the fine organisation of his agency, the experiences of fellow travellers, professional people and respectable members of the community acting as endorsements to the trips organised by Cook. Interesting and amusing anecdotes recommending his agency were also presented in *CE*. For example, in 1871, during a parliamentary debate on the excessive war expenditure incurred by the British government, it was suggested that, if Cook were invited to ‘conduct the transport of our troops, the country would probably be a gainer to the extent of something like £120,000 or £130,000, while the soldiers would find the change attended with a great increase of comfort’.

However, he was careful not to impose himself too much on the readers; his clients were members of the middle class who were happy to avoid the harassment of arranging their own trips, but proud enough not to want to subject themselves entirely to the dictates of Cook. He offered a number of possibilities to buy rail tickets or hotel coupons, follow alternative itineraries or, if they preferred, to travel in his company. His flexibility enhanced his image as a tour operator offering what can be defined as ‘inclusive independent travel’.

He was always careful to display his good will and honest character in order to win over his audience. The well-being and desires of clients were always at the centre of his attention: “I am thus earnestly at work for the comfort of the party,” “I am anxious to avoid all extras” and “I have pledged myself […] that it should not exceed £15 for the month”, thus appealing to the parsimony and thrift of the hard-working middle class.

Furthermore, Cook viewed tourism as a social cause, which meant that he did not set profit-maximising as his prime objective:

> We began our work more than twenty four years ago, with a conviction of the great social advantages of railways, steam power and locomotion; and every succeeding year has deepened that first impression, and added new life to our energies.

> We have been accustomed to look upon our work in the character of a mission of good will and universal brotherhood.

Twelve years earlier Cook had published an article in *CE* arguing in favour of rail travel and the benefits of tourism for self-improvement.

> To travel is to feed the mind, humanize the soul, and rub off the rust of circumstance – to travel is to read the last new book, enjoy to its full the blessings of invention- to travel is to have Nature’s palm and her high works simplified, and her broad features of hill and dale, mountain and flood, spread like a map at one’s feet- to travel is to dispel the mists of fable and clear the mind of prejudice taught from babyhood, and facilitate perfectness of seeing eye to eye.

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32 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., February 26, 1866, p. 1.
33 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., March 2, 1868, p. 1.
34 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., May 15, 1871, p. 2.
35 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., March 2, 1868, p. 2
38 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., August 27, 1864, p. 3.
39 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., May 1, 1866, p. 5.
40 *Cook’s Excursionist*, cit., July 22, 1854, p. 10.
In fact, Cook’s moral, almost religious, appreciation of tourism is echoed in the aptly named title one of the subsections of Kark’s paper “Piety and Innovative Entrepreneurship in England”.  

7.2 Logos

*Logos* represents the arguments used to appeal to the rationality of the audience; indeed, many of the points put forward by Cook to convince his readers of his expertise also act as inductive arguments in favour of his organisation. By openly discussing the difficulties faced and the relatively easy solutions he offered, he provided logical reasons for them to trust him.

Never could travellers get over thousands of miles of difficult travelling, by various modes of conveyance, and among strange peoples, with less annoyance than was encountered in this long journey.  

In view of the informative and promotional nature of the paper, there is surprisingly very little information given about the city of Rome. At least in the early years of the publication, Cook did not usually make any attempt to persuade his audience with wondrous descriptions of the city in his announcements of future trips; it was sufficient to use appellatives like the “City of the Seven Hills”, the “Eternal City” or the “City of the Caesars” to conjure up magical images in the minds of his readers.  

Even the on-trip or post-trip reports, which he published to give an inside view of the tour, were frequently in a very down-to-earth, prosaic style; at times there was little to distinguish them from the announcement advertising the trip itself. Often fears were expressed of being unable to do justice to the wonderful treasures the travellers had visited in the small space available. Nevertheless, the almost perfunctory nature of these accounts is somewhat surprising, considering the spectacular places they were referring to.

Rome was ‘done’ in a most expeditious and effective way. The museums and some of the palaces were visited. The ruins of ancient Rome were explored, the churches were examined and admired, and the magnificent ceremonies of St Peters, St. Maria Maggiore, and St. John the Lateran were attended.  

The frequent use of the passive form only increases the impersonal and cold tone of the account. Cook himself defined this style as “flying narrative”, in which he preferred to list the essential moments of the trip without much additional information.

The fact is that Cook, as a tour operator, had to sell his travel and hotel arrangements, not the city of Rome, which had long been a favourite destination of British travellers since the time of the Grand Tour and earlier. The emphasis on the details of arrangements and the matter-of-fact accounts of the tours were intended to highlight his organizational activities.

It was only after Rome became the capital of Italy and important archaeological discoveries were made that Cook began to publish articles actually promoting the city. The uncertainty of the political situation may have discouraged tourists to some extent and articles were published describing the changes and improvements that were taking place in the city after its annexation. Even though these articles had a referential function, it is interesting to note the use of a much more poetic style than in previous descriptions of the city. For example, metaphors are used to suggest the reawakening of the city:

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41 Kark, “From pilgrimage to budding tourism”, *cit.*, p. 2.
42 *Cook’s Excursionist, cit.*, May 1, 1866, p. 4.
43 *Cook’s Excursionist, cit.*, May 24, 1870, p. 5.
44 *Cook’s Excursionist, cit.*, May 1, 1866, p. 2.
The city [...] has arisen from its slumber of ages, and arisen once more to take its place in the social and political history of the world. [...] Rome is no more the City of the Dead, but of the Living. Her hour of prosperity has dawned at last...45

After the annexation of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy and the withdrawal of the Pope to the Vatican, Cook was forced to ‘restyle’ his tours to Rome. The sumptuous and lavish ceremonials in St Peter’s during Easter week, which had previously been the focal point of the tours to Rome, were cancelled and so Cook promptly proposed an Archaeological Tour to explore the ‘remarkable and extensive discoveries of the last two years’46. To whet the appetites of potential tourists images of what might have happened in ancient times in the places to be visited were evoked.

Of the Imperial Palace itself we see where the sensual Vitellius sat feasting, and enjoying the spectacle of the capitol in flames and the combat at its foot between his soldiers and those of Vespasian...47

7.3 Pathos

At a time when most advertising was still done by word of mouth, Cook was well aware of the value of forging a strong relationship with his readers. In fact, the relationship between Cook and his clients was the key to his commercial success and it is quite clear that pathos is the predominant element in his persuasive discourse.

Unlike the announcements of forthcoming trips in which he usually used the singular form to refer to himself in his role as tour operator, he always used the inclusive we in his post-trip accounts to create an air of familiarity and often referred to his fellow travellers as “friends”. Furthermore, he included long passages narrating the more personal and intimate moments of the tours, those unplanned and unforeseeable incidents that had occurred on the trip making it quite unique and unforgettable. The prose became more dynamic, whilst the focus fell on the travellers and their emotions. For example, during the Easter festivities in 1866 Cook had had to rent a whole palace near St Peter’s because accommodation in Rome was in such short supply at that time. The prospect of living in a palace belonging to Prince Torlonia thrilled many of his clients, “It was, therefore, with eager anticipation that we hastened from Naples to take possession of our own palatial home”.48

He also gave space to far less gratifying, but no less emotional experiences, such as:

Lost in the Catacombs! Was not a pleasant, though it proved a stern reality, to about half the party. One friend lost the connection of lights [...] But our Guide and friends in advance came to the rescue, after about fifteen minutes of anxious suspense.49

These narrative components, in the midst of otherwise dry accounts of the tour, had very little referential value, in so far as they were one-off incidents and were unlikely to be repeated. But by dwelling on these special moments experienced only by those fortunate enough to be present, Cook played on the psychological concept of exclusion used in modern techniques of communication, thus instilling in his readers the desire to become included in his small group of privileged customers.

The credentials necessary for membership of this exclusive group were highly selective. Cook’s readers were a fairly homogeneous group of Protestant, middle class professionals who sought to emulate the habits and leisure activities of the aristocracy. They shared common values and beliefs

45 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 4, 1872, p. 4.
46 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., August 5, 1872, p. 6.
47 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., August 5, 1872, p. 6.
48 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 1, 1866, p. 3.
49 Cook’s Excursionist, cit., June 24, 1865, p. 4.
as befitting their social class in Victorian England and Cook organised his message to endorse these values. At times this led to some rather surprising requests:

We have but one parting request to make, and that is, that any who cannot accompany us in a genial, sociable and confiding spirit, will be kind enough not to trouble us with their communications or attempt to join our parties.\(^{30}\)

When Cook and his tourists were scorned by members of the upper (middle) classes who described the groups of tourists as ‘droves’, flocks’ and Cook, their director, as circling around them like a sheepdog’, he appealed to their pride and sense of social justice. He reprinted a disparaging article about his trips and tourists that had been written by a British Vice Consul, Charles Lever and in response launched a vehement attack against the author, defending the right of all people, of all social classes and walks of life, to visit “the natural and artistic wonders” of the world.\(^{51}\).

The advantages, however, of being a member of Cook’s parties were presented in both their practical and social aspects.

We have now gone over the same routes several times, and the officials on railways, as well as the hotel keepers, recognise ourselves and our arrangements with much confidence and pleasure, the expression of which is always assuring to the visitors, who though themselves strangers, are regarded as constituting a sort of social family relation to each other.\(^{52}\)

Frequent references were also made to the interest shown by the local press on the arrival of Cook’s travellers in various cities on the Continent, no doubt making the hearts of his clients swell with pride. The idea of belonging to an exclusive group was reinforced by proposals that were announced in the CE, such as the sale of group photographs taken on trips\(^{53}\) or the collection of funds to help the victims of floods in Rome in 1871 from those who had recently returned from a trip to Italy with Cook\(^{54}\). If these strategies are ‘translated’ into modern marketing terminology, it can be said that there was a deliberately strong ‘branding’ of the agency and its tours. Furthermore, Cook’s personal interest in his clients strengthened their ‘brand loyalty’, as shown by the many travellers who returned to Cook.

To myself the party afforded peculiar interest, inasmuch as it consisted chiefly of old and attached fellow travellers, with most of whom I could travel through life’s journey without a word of discontent. It was real happiness to look upon many of the familiar and genial faces of previous expeditions.\(^{55}\)

The focus Cook places in his business on the good relations with clients suggests a comparison of CE with a modern day newsletter, a type of text frequently used by businesses and institutions such as schools and universities. Its communicative purpose is to inform readers of the latest news and activities concerning the company or institution, but also to ‘keep in touch’ and maintain close contact between reader and writer.\(^{56}\) Cook astutely devised his CE to fulfil its informative, promotional, personal and social functions as a newsletter ante litteram.

**Concluding remarks**

Whilst developing this paper we found confirmation of the importance of Rome to British travellers and their interest in the Eternal City seems to have grown for two opposing reasons.

\(^{30}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 1, 1866, p. 5.

\(^{52}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., April 3, 1865, p. 5.

\(^{55}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., February 26, 1866, p. 3.

\(^{56}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 6, 1868, p. 4.

\(^{57}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 15, 1871, p. 4

\(^{58}\) Cook’s Excursionist, cit., May 6, 1868, p. 4.

English curiosity was roused, on the one hand, by the differences between London and Rome, and on the other, by the similarities in the two cities’ urban landscape. Thomas Cook hoped through his work as a tour operator, which enabled thousands of tourists to visit distant places, to bring closer together cities and peoples. His view of tourism as a means increasing our knowledge and awareness of the world and thus nurture harmony and peace among nations is one of his legacies to the modern world.