

# Armenians in The Bureaucracy of Ottoman Egypt: The Carier of Bogos Nubar Pasha (1824-1899)

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## Abstract

*The carier of Nubar Pasha and some members of his family in the bureaucracy of Egypt is important in three ways: Firstly, the Armenians had many rights and freedoms in the borders of the Ottoman Empire as one of the nations composing the state. These rights must not only be seen as written texts. As other subjects composing the state, these rights have been used by the Armenians without preventions. Secondly, not only in the central organization of the Ottoman Empire but also in the Provinces bounded to the central authority like Egypt they reached important positions. Thirdly, although Nubar Pasha was not born in the Ottoman territory and immigrated from Karabakh, without facing any prejudices and limitations he reached many important positions in the hierarchy of the State. The basic aim of this article is to see the roles and contributions of the Armenians who are one of the nations that constitute the state to the new policies in Egypt during their modernity efforts. We will also mention the fields they worked, the charity institutions like waqfs and schools the Armenians founded who settled to Egypt with the incitements of Muhammad Ali Pasha. The other goal of this study is to evaluate the problem of the non-Muslim citizens lived in the environment of political crisis of the Ottomans that is called dispersion of loyalty by the case of Nubar Pasha.*

**Keywords:** Egypt Nubar Pasha Armanians loyalty Ottoman

## Osmanlı Mısır'ı Bürokrasisinde Ermeniler: Bogos Nubar Paşa'nın Kariyeri (1824-1899)

### Özet

Nubar Paşa ve ailesinin fertlerinden bazılarının Mısır'da görev alması, üç açıdan önemlidir: İlk olarak Ermeniler, Osmanlı Devleti'ni oluşturan unsurlardan biri olarak ülke sınırları içinde bir takım özgürlüklere ve haklara sahiptirler. Bu haklar sadece yazılı metinler olmayıp diğer unsurlar gibi Ermeniler tarafından da fiilen kullanılmıştır. İkincisi, Ermeniler, sadece merkez teşkilatında değil, Mısır gibi eyaletlerde de yüksek makamlara gelmiştir. Üçüncüsü, Karabağ'dan göç ederek Osmanlı tabiiyetine sonradan giren Nubar Paşa, önyargı ve engelleme ile karşılaşmaksızın bürokraside yükselme şansı elde etmiştir. Bu makalenin başta gelen amacı, Mısır'ın modernleşme çabaları sırasında, Ermenilerin yeni politikalara katkıları ve rollerini irdelemektir. Bir diğer amaç da Osmanlı Devleti'nin yaşadığı siyasi buhran ortamında, gayrimüslim tebaaya mensup bir kişinin "dispersion of loyalty" yani muhtelif sadakatleri şahsında bir araya getirebilme kabiliyetini, Nubar Paşa örneğinde değerlendirmektir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Mısır, Nubar Paşa, Ermeniler, sadakat, Osmanlı

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

As one of the nations that composed the citizens of the Ottoman Empire, like the Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Arabs, Turks etc. Armenians had wide range of rights and liberties within the empire. Compared to the other subjects of the state, the Armenians enjoyed larger privileges. Through Armenian *waqfs*, charitable organizations, the Armenians run their religious, cultural and educational services on their own, in accordance with the Ottoman *millet* system, without large restrictions. In this context as one of the *millets* of the Ottoman Empire, they had all the opportunities to have all levels of education. They could even go abroad for education and then serve for the Ottoman bureaucracy. In this system, there were many Ottomans from the Armenian origin who served in different bureaucratic units and advanced to the minister levels, especially in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Some of them got the special appreciation of the Ottoman state apparatus for their services in their profession. Their sons and descendants were employed in this field for years. There were Armenian families like Dadyans during the reign of Selim III (1789-1807), the Düzoğulları and Balyans during the reign of Mahmut II (1808-1839), who reached important posts in Egypt. It is also possible to see this during and after the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt (1805-1846). For instance, different individuals of the family of Nubar Pasha reached important posts in Egypt.

Up until the Russians became powerful in the Caucasus and threatened the Ottoman territories in Eastern Anatolia in the late 1820s, there was not a great problem between the Ottoman State and the Armenian citizens. After those years, Russia and other great powers of Europe provoked Armenians against the Ottoman Empire for their own national interests. Although these caused little problems between the Ottoman Empire and the Armenian citizens for about a half century, the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877- 1878 was a turning point in destroying the feelings of reliance and loyalty. This war caused disbelief on both sides. The Ottomans accused the Armenians for betrayal by taking side with Russia. And they had enough evidence to do that. Large number of Armenians, who were called the loyal nation, *millet-i sadıka*, sided with Russia against their own state, the Ottoman Empire. Because the Ottomans lost large lands as a result of this war, the Ottoman State it marginalized the loyal Armenians. Therefore, in the context of their relations with each other there was a “crisis. It can be defined as the emergence of Armenian national consciousness and their desire to establish an Armenian State in the Eastern Anatolia. The basics of the crisis can be expressed by the concepts of reliance, loyalty and concerns of future.

Many Armenian intellectuals began to discuss the ideas between staying loyal and founding an independent Armenia. While some of them saw their future by establishing cooperation with the Russians, others had the same ideas to do this

with the British and French. After the United States of America joined World War I and let the other nations see that it is becoming a great power, some Armenians started sought ways to establish cooperation with the US and expected their help. In short, after the second half of the nineteenth century the Armenians were not united in determining their future. The same was valid for the thoughts of the Ottoman statesmen about the Armenians.

The basic aim of this article is to exhibit the roles and contributions of the Armenians, during the early modernization period of Egypt. We will also mention the fields they worked, the charity institutions like waqfs and schools the Armenians founded who settled to Egypt with the incitements of Muhammad Ali Pasha. The carier of Nubar Pasha in the bureaucracy of Egypt is crucial for several points such as the Armenians had many rights and freedoms in the borders of the Ottoman State as one of the nations composing the Ottoman Empire. These rights must not only be seen as written texts. As other subjects of the Empire these rights have been used by the Armenians without preventions. Next, although Nubar Pasha was not born in the Ottoman territory and immigrated from Karabakh, without facing any prejudices and limitations he reached many important positions in the Egyptian Government.

One of the aim of this article is to see the roles and contributions of the Armenians who are one of the nations that constitute the state to the new policies in Egypt during their modernity efforts. In other words, the main goal of this study is to evaluate the problem of the non-Muslim citizens lived in the environment of political crisis of the Ottomans that is called *dispersion of loyalty* as in the case of Nubar Pasha.

## **2.THE ARMENIAN CONGREGATION IN EGYPT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

The Armenian existence in Egypt goes back to the period of the Fatimids (909-1171). During the reign of the Fatimids in Egypt (969-1171) there were several Armenian prominent statesmen who reached the vizier posts and even passed these titles to their descendants. Although the Armenian population decreased after the period of Ayyubids (1171-1462) in Egypt (1171-1250), their existence remained as a congregation during the age of the Mamluk Empire(1250-1517). As from the fourteenth century on the Armenian Church in Egypt was bounded to the Armenian Patriarchy in Jerusalem. The Armenian congregation in Egypt was continuing their social, religious and cultural activities through the Armenian Patriarchy of Jerusalem that is to say through a religious institution. This situation continued until the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans in 1517.

The first secular leaders in the Armenian congregation of Egypt appeared in the 1830s. The Egypt Armenian Bishop Gabriel Marashtsi, who was appointed by the Patriarchy of Jerusalem in 1834, announced that he would be independent from Jerusalem. This revolt also meant that the financial contribution of the Armenian congregation in Egypt and the revenues like rental fees that came from the church foundations could not be controlled by Jerusalem anymore. Finally the dialogue established with the Istanbul Armenian Patriarchy resulted positively in 1852. With the edict obtained that date, the Egypt Armenian Church was separated from Jerusalem and bounded to Istanbul. Until the mid nineteenth century the Ottoman State has seen the Christian elements basically in two nations: Armenians and Greeks. The diofizit Orthodoxes, who are one of the two major branches of the early Christianity, were bounded to the Orthodox Patriarchy of Istanbul and regarded as Greeks. The monofizits, like Jacobians in Syria, the Gypsies in Egypt, Ethiopians and most of the Armenians were bounded to the Istanbul Armenian Patriarchy. The authority of the Armenian Patriarchy over the Christians who were not Armenian was on the paper. The Armenian Patriarchy, who had a nominal authority over the Maronites, Nesturians, Jacobians, Gypsies and Ethiopians, had full authority over the Armenians<sup>1</sup>.

### **2.1.Armenians Moved to Egypt in the Nineteenth Century**

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, because of the reforms of Muhammad Ali Pasha, the economical development the Armenian population in Egypt increased relatively very fast<sup>2</sup>. After Muhammad Ali Pasha (1805-1846) became the governor of Egypt in 1805 many strong and progressive changes in the political and financial areas occurred in Egypt. The enrichment as a result of the investments on the industry and the improvement in the agriculture and the opening of the Suez Canal turned Egypt into a center of attraction. The increase of trade activities in Red Sea and East Mediterranean attracted many entrepreneurs and merchants from the Ottoman State and other countries to Egypt. As a result, many Europeans, mostly British and French settled in Alexandria with the aim of commercial activities<sup>3</sup>. During the French occupation between 1789 and 1801 the population in Alexandria was around 8,000. After Muhammad Ali Pasha founded

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<sup>1</sup> Avedis K. Sanjian, *The Armenian Communities in Syria Under Ottoman Dominion*, Cambridge; Harvard University, 1965, p. 33; Vartan H. Artinian, "The Formaiton of Catholic and Protestant Millets in the Ottoman Empire", *The Armenian Review*, vol. XXVIII, no. 1-109, Spring 1975, p. 3; H.A.R. Gibb- Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West*, vol. I, Oxford, p. 251.

<sup>2</sup> For more information; Rouben Adalian, "The Armenian Colony of Egypt During the Reign of Muhammad Ali (1805-1848)", *The Armenian Review*, vol. XXXIII, no. 2-130, June 1980, p. 115-144.

<sup>3</sup> At the same time many domestic and foreign merchants who were after a quick buck were also moving to Alexandria. For more information; Robert Ilbert, "İskenderiye Kozmopolit Bir Kent Miydi?" Paul Dumont-Francois Georgen (Der.), *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri*, Trans.: Ali Berktaş, Istanbul, 1999, p. 155.

the shipyard and opened water channels and factories, the population of the city increased dramatically. The city attracted many immigrants from inside Egypt and other Ottoman cities. Also Greeks and Armenians from the Ottoman Empire began to settle in Alexandria<sup>4</sup>. Actually, most of the immigrants in Alexandria were non-Muslims Ottoman citizens<sup>5</sup>. At the end of the nineteenth century when the Armenians of Anatolia region started to immigrate to the West, their route was passing over Egypt. Some of them were staying there for a while and working by their relatives. As a result, an important congregation of Armenians compromised in Egypt. They even printed newspapers in their own language. These newspapers were always accusing the Sublime Porte during the Armenian revolts. After the British invaded Egypt in 1881, more Armenians moved to Egypt and issued anti-Ottoman publications<sup>6</sup>.

The Sublime Porte discriminated neither the Armenians nor non-Muslims, who were Ottoman citizens living in Egypt or visiting temporarily for commercial purposes. Capitulations allowed non-Muslim subjects to get double citizenship, which brought them closer to these states. The capitulations were grants of extraterritoriality given by Ottoman Sultans firstly in 1534 to France and then to other European Powers in 1604, along with the right to trade in Ottoman Empire<sup>7</sup>. As the Ottoman Empire weakened and became unable to defend itself against the European economic and politic extension the capitulations were abused by the European Powers. They used capitulations as a means of avoiding both taxation and the law. However, because of their commercial interests and religious values they felt themselves closer to the consulates of countries like Greece, France, Italy, Britain, or Austria. Their increasing nationalistic feelings as a result of the provocations of such countries and their commercial interests were enough reasons for them to retreat from Istanbul<sup>8</sup>.

In 1884, the number of the Armenian families in Egypt was 228<sup>9</sup>. By evaluating this number we can estimate the total population around 1140. After a

<sup>4</sup>BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemi-Mısır* 3-C/68. Also: Esat Uras, *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni Meselesi*, Istanbul, 1987, p. 449.

<sup>5</sup> At that period the numbers that the consulates determined were also not reflecting the reality. At least one third that they were determining as their own citizens were actually Ottoman Citizens. Robert Ilbert states that he determined this prediction according to the crosswise method. R. Ilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> The Egypt Excellent Commissioner wrote some reports about the harmful publications in the newspapers the Armenians in Egypt were printing. For some of those look: BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemi-Mısır* 3-C/68.

<sup>7</sup> For more information about this subject see, Nejdet Kurdakul, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Ticaret Andlaşmaları ve Kapitülasyonlar*, Istanbul, 1981.

<sup>8</sup> R. Ilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

<sup>9</sup> Armin Albert Kredian, *The Armenian Community in Egypt During World War I*, Unprinted masters thesis; The American University in Cairo, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Cairo, 1997, p. 22-23.

short while, during 1890's this number doubled. The number of the Armenians in Egypt, who came there legally or illegally, reached to between 2000 and 3000<sup>10</sup>. Their activities in Egypt were carefully tracked by Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha<sup>11</sup>. As mentioned before, the Armenians that have seen a problem between themselves and the Sublime Porte and the ones who felt themselves jammed between the demands of their own congregation and the state have seen immigrating to Egypt which was under the British sovereignty as a remedy. Another reason for them to choose Egypt is the perspicacious manner of the British and that the country had good sea road connections with the world<sup>12</sup>. In 1914 there were 300 families in Cairo, 120 families in Alexandria and 80 families in Sudan and other regions of Egypt who were Catholic Armenians<sup>13</sup>. The number of the Protestant Armenians is estimated around 250-300<sup>14</sup>. In short, the total Armenian population at the beginning of the twentieth century who lived in Egypt was around 2750-2800.

### 3. THE MOVEMENT OF BOGOS NUBAR PASHA (1825-1899) TO EGYPT AND HIS CAREER

Nubar was born in 1825 in Izmir. A short time ago his family was moved from Karabağ (Karabakh), which was back then a part of the Ottoman Empire, and settled in Izmir. Nubar's family was busy with commerce and they earned quite well in that period. His family provided him with the chance to take his primary and secondary education in Europe. After his education in Switzerland and France, he returned to Izmir when he was 15. He stayed there for two years and then his uncle Bogos Yusufyan, the Minister of Trade and Foreign Affairs of Egypt invited him to Egypt in 1842. Soon Nubar went to Egypt and became the second secretary under the service of Muhammad Ali Pasha.

His perfect French language skill opened him a road easily in the bureaucracy of Egypt because the reforms started by Muhammad Ali Pasha were spreading rapidly in the other areas of the social structure. Along with the language,

<sup>10</sup> It is normal that there are not certain numbers of the immigrants because many fugitives hid among them. As a result of their situation the statistical numbers should be seen as approximate. The number 2000 that Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha gives is also supported by other resources that it is a pretty accurate number. For instance, the numbers of the immigrants in that period have also been recorded in the memories of Nazaret Agahazarm as 2000. To compare look; Nazaret Aghazarm, (Noter Yegiptosi Hai Gaghouti Vera (Notes on the Armenian Community in Egypt), Kahire, 1911) from that publication translated by Armin Albert Kredian, *op.cit.*, p. 83. In the newspaper *Al-Ahram* published in Egypt at 6 November 1896 this number has been determined as 2300. From the newspaper *Al-Ahram* Mohammed Rifaat al-Imam, *Al-Arman Fî Mısır 1896-1961*, Cairo, 2003, p. 121; For the number that Muhtar Pasha gives, BOA, A. MTZ. (05), 5-A/150, folder no.27.

<sup>11</sup> BOA, A. MTZ. (05), 5-A/150, folder no.27.

<sup>12</sup> Mohammed Rifaat al-Imam, *Al-Arman Fî Mısır Al-Karn Al-Tâsi' 'Aşar*, Cairo, 1995, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Armin Albert Kredian, *op.cit.*, p. 83.

<sup>14</sup> Armin Albert Kredian, *op.cit.*, p. 86.

the French lifestyle became predominant in the bureaucracy and in the major cities especially in Alexandria where the commercial activities were intense. For instance, the majority of Egyptians in Alexandria were speaking only in French<sup>15</sup>. Thus, after the death of his uncle in 1844 Nubar worked in Egypt as secretary and translator. His brother Arakel worked with him as well. After a short period, with his achievements he found the chance to contribute the official contacts with the title counselor in Istanbul and Europe with Ibrahim Pasha the son of Muhammad Ali Pasha. The governorship of Abbas Pasha (1848-1854) halted the careers of the two brothers who were known as French supporters because Abbas Pasha preferred to get closer to the British by abandoning the pro-French policies<sup>16</sup>. In this political environment, Arakel who came from the French school had been dismissed and Nubar fell from grace. Moreover, Abbas Pasha banished the two brothers from Cairo and sent them to Berlin and Vienna as clerks<sup>17</sup>.

Nubar returned to Egypt during the governorship of Sait Pasha (1854-1863). He undertook important responsibilities during the construction of the Suez Canal. During this period Nubar delegated the problems with the Sublime Porte and the French Government. As a result of these conversations, in 1864 he agreed with Napoleon III by paying 84 million Franks to France Egypt would acquire the rights over the enterprise.

Nubar also performed successful functions in the Egyptian Railways organization. During the period of Ismail Pasha (1863-1879) he committed the project of founding the Mixed Law Courts that was composed of European and Egyptian judges. For his performance in these duties he earned many promotions from the Ottoman State. The last and most important of those was the promotion to vizier grade on 5 September 1873<sup>18</sup>. After that Nubar has been called with the title Pasha.

### **3.1.The Contribution of Nubar Pasha to Ismail Pasha to Get the Khedive (Governor of Egypt) Title**

Nubar Pasha realized the most successful and controversial actions during the reign of Ismail Pasha (1863-1879). There have been important changes in the administrative structure of Egypt during the period of Ismail Pasha. The Minister of Foreign Affairs Nubar Pasha had important contributions implementing these changes.

<sup>15</sup> Ilbert, *op.cit.*, p.160

<sup>16</sup> Fatima Ilmuddin Abdulvahid, *Tadavvur el-Nakl ve'l-Muvâsalât el-Dâhiliyye fî Mısır fî Ahdi'l-İhtilâl el-Biritânî 1882-1914*, Cairo: El-Hey'et el-Mısriyye el-Amme li'l-Kütüb, 1989, p. 43.

<sup>17</sup> M. Sabry, "Nubar Paşa", *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Ankara, Vol. IX, p.337.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*; Also Look; *Salname*, Istanbul, 1304.

Ismail Pasha conquered Ethiopia and added it to his governorship. He wanted to modify the restrictions that limited the size of Egyptian army to 18,000 soldiers. He wanted to increase the number of his soldiers to 30,000 so that he could increase his activities over Africa and Red Sea. He also wanted to acquire the rights to give ranks, make laws, sign treaties, and send diplomats to foreign countries and also wanted the title “Khedive (Governor of Egypt)” for himself.

In order to achieve these goals peacefully, Ismail Pasha needed Nubar Pasha’s diplomatic skills choose and the trust of the Ottoman Sultan Abdulaziz. In this context, he tried to improve his relations with Istanbul by giving some valuable presents to the notables of the Ottoman State under the title “*kapıyoldaşı hediyesi (door companion presents)*”. He contributed to the Ottoman Army when a military demand arose. When the revolt in Eflak-Bogdan erupted he sent 8,000 soldiers to Istanbul for help. When another revolt started in Crete in 1866 he sent 18,000 soldiers to Crete. As a result of all of these he was successful to remove any possible doubts on him by the Sublime Porte and to form a trustworthy image of himself<sup>19</sup>.

In his policy of improving relations with the Sublime Porte and the palace to obtain some privileges Ismail Pasha got the most important help from Nubar Pasha. Sultan Abdulaziz and Grand Vizier Fuat Pasha were both satisfied that Ismail Pasha was sending soldiers, giving presents and increasing the taxes<sup>20</sup>. Taking advantage of this warm environment Ismail Pasha was frequently sending Nubar Pasha to Istanbul to find out about the opportunities of gaining some political privileges<sup>21</sup>. As a result of the debates important changes in the administrative structure of Egypt materialized in the direction that Ismail Pasha wanted. With the edict of 8 June 1867 Ismail Pasha reached all his above mentioned goals. In this context of privileges, the Khedive gained a same level statue as a vizier in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Now the Khedive of Egypt had the legislative power to apply in Egypt and gained the right to establish commercial connections with foreign countries. However, the restrictions on the number of the Egyptian soldiers continued. Nevertheless, during the wars this number had been increased to 45,000<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> The delegation of Ismail Pasha gave ten thousand gold money to the members of the Council of Attorneys and other high degree bureaucrats with the name of gift. For instance, while Mithat Pasha was in Rome Ismail Pasha sent him a check of 10,000 lira on 30 December 1878. Vasıf Kılıçyan, the secretary of Mithat Pasha confirmed that this money was collected. Vasıf Kılıçyan later became the private secretary of Ismail Pasha. Look; Ali Haydar Mithat, *Hatıralarım, 1872-1946*, Istanbul, 1946, p. 38-39 and 134-135.

<sup>20</sup> Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Ankara, 1983, Vol. VII, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> Sabry, *op.cit.*, p. 337-339.

<sup>22</sup> Ismail Pasha got the Khedive title in 1867. By the edict of 1872 he earned the rights to loan money without the permission of the Sublime Porte. The edict of 1873 covers all the privileges that were granted to Egypt since 1841. As a result of his good relation with Sultan Abdülaziz, Ismail Pasha was able to put all the privileges in one document. For more information look; Ahmed Lütü Efendi, *Lütü Tarihi*, Published by:



The edict of 1873 that was given to the Khedive of Egypt recorded all the privileges given to Ismail Pasha. The importance of the document comes from its confirming feature. With this edict Egypt obtained a new status. Since then, Egypt started to take this edict of 1873 as reference in its relations with the Sublime Porte and foreign countries. Therefore the edict of 1873 was like a constitution of Egypt<sup>23</sup>.

With this edict the new status of Egypt seemed to be legally bounded to the Ottoman Empire but politically it was in a semi-autonomous status. Therefore, the international treaties that the Ottoman Empire signed along with the responsibilities and liabilities they promised, were also valid for Egypt. The most important of those was the capitulations that were given to the European States<sup>24</sup>.

### 3.2. The Role of Nubar Pasha in the Egyptian Financial Crisis

Nubar Pasha wanted to grant some privileges to the European investors in Egypt and by this he wish to let them continue some of the public improvements and prosperity services. He was thinking that by this Egypt could cover the venture and capital deficits it lacked. At first sight, this approach seemed to be beneficial however it also included new threats for Egypt. Without caring the dangerous sides of this policy Khedive Ismail Pasha became indebted incalculably. Therefore, after a short while, it became subject to the ruthless and opportunist pressures of the European capital holders who were mostly from Britain and France.

Firms like the Sea Transport Enterprise, Sudan Enterprise and Agriculture and Commerce Enterprise that were founded with the foreigner capitals in Egypt had voice in almost every area of investment. The directors of these firms were foreigners like Nubar, Oppenheim and Derviu or people from the minorities in Egypt to whom they trusted a lot. It was very important for the foreigners to give

Münif Aktepe, Ankara, 1989, Vol. XIV, p. 47. Also look; Ahmed Abdurrahim Mustafa, *Alakatü Mısır bi-Türkiya fî Ahdi el-Hidiv İsmâ'il 1863-1879*, Cairo: Dârü'l-Maârif, 1967, p. 178-181.

<sup>23</sup> Dilek Gündeş, *Urabi Paşa Hareketi ve İngilizlerin Mısır'ı İşgali (1881-1882)*, Unprinted Graduate Thesis, Istanbul, Marmara University 1999, p. 16.

<sup>24</sup> According to the capitulations the merchants of the related countries had some legal privileges along with exemption from some revenues and commercial regulations. Instead of the local law courts the legal problems of the foreigner merchants were held in the Trade Courts which were specially founded for them. Therefore the foreigners were happy with the application of the edict which was the base for the capitulations to be applied without any changes also in Egypt as they were applied in any other province bounded to the Ottoman State. Look; E. Baring (Earl Of Cromer), *Political And Literaray Essays 1908-1913*, London: Macmillan And Co., 1913, p. 156-174; Bilal Eryılmaz, *Tanzimat ve Modernleşme*, Istanbul: 1992, p. 81; Mahmud Y. Zayid, *Egypt's Struggle For Independence*, Beirut: Khayats, 1965, p.11; E. Baring (Earl of Cromer) *Abbas II*, London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1915, p. XIX; Lord Lloyd, *Egypt Since Cromer*, New York: AMS Press, 1970, p. 21-35; Sir Valentine Chirol, *The Egyptian Problem*, London: Mcmillan And Co. Limited, 1920, 57-64.

Nubar positions like director because the profits of these companies were guaranteed by the Khedive of Egypt. The financial losses of the companies that bankrupted or bore a loss were paid by the treasury of Egypt.

With the right of loan contracting that the Khedive of Egypt obtained from the Sublime Porte at 1872, Ismail Pasha tried to cover the financial deficit. On the other side, he was realizing lavish military expenditures by conquering Sudan and Ethiopia<sup>25</sup>. To be able to finance his developments he first borrowed money from the Greek bankers in Alexandria. When this internal borrowing was insufficient he made loan agreements with the European bankers. Nubar Pasha was his counselor in this period. Nubar Pasha was realizing the conversations with the European states and the Ottoman State for Ismail Pasha's place and was also getting in touch with the European bankers for loan agreements<sup>26</sup>. Therefore following Ismail Pasha, Nubar Pasha is one of the most responsible persons for the big borrowing problem that Egypt faced<sup>27</sup>. While Nubar Pasha was borrowing money for Egypt he was also accepting a bribe-like a commission from the European bankers. By this way he made a big fortune<sup>28</sup>. Therefore, Ismail Pasha was displeased about the meetings that Nubar Pasha held with the European bankers and with the fact that the Egypt had to pay for the losses of the bankrupted enterprises. Ismail Pasha held Nubar Pasha responsible for the financial crisis. Therefore, some problems occurred between them. During the period of Ismail Pasha, 96 millions E£ (Egyptian Pound ) was borrowed from Europe but only 54 millions E£ were handed to the Egyptian treasury<sup>29</sup>. The rest, 42 millions E£ was the interest to be paid to the bankers. The Rothschilds were Khedive's chief creditors. Egypt, was, however financially in the hands of the Britons<sup>30</sup>.

By selling the shares of the Suez Canal, the Khedive could cover only a small part of the losses caused by the financial crisis and therefore he sought to find a short loan with a 30% interest, which was the highest interest rate for the moment for short term<sup>31</sup>. Egypt had no more chance to get loans. Ismail Pasha who could not pay the debts on the maturity dates continued to borrow money with high interests. When all the debts increased up to 91 million E£ in 1875, he could not find a new source.

<sup>25</sup> Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, *Türk İnkılap Tarihi*, Istanbul, 1940, p.22.

<sup>26</sup> F. Robert Hunter, *Egypt Under the Khidives 1805-1879; From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy*, Londra; University of Pittsburg Press, 1984, p. 174-175.

<sup>27</sup> BOA, *Yıldız Esas Evrakı* 84/1, İç no: 2/b.

<sup>28</sup> Necib Muhallef, *Nubar Paşa*, Kahire, 1903, p. 5-6.

<sup>29</sup> J.C. McCoan, *The Egyptian Problem*, London: Spottiswoode And Co., 1884, p.13.

<sup>30</sup> Duse Mohamed, *In the Land of the Pharaohs*, London; Frank Cass &Co. Ltd., 1968, p. 16-17.

<sup>31</sup> David S. Landes, *Bankers and Pashas; International Finance and Economic Imperialism in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1958, p. 317. Bent Hansen, determined the average interest rate in Britain as 4.3% at that period. Look; Bent Hansen, "Interest Rates and Foreign Capital in Egypt Under the British Occupation", *Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 43, Nr. 4, December 1983, p. 867.

At the end of 1875, Khedive Ismail Pasha asked England to send a specialist to Cairo to solve the financial problems. Stephen Cave came to Cairo with this duty. In order to let Khedive to lose more power and to gain the sympathy of the citizens, Nubar Pasha opposed to the committee of Cave. He applied to the Russian and German consulates with the claim that because of the works the said committee would do British intervention in the Egyptian domestic affairs would have increased and thus Nubar Pasha asked Russia and Germany to prevent this. The Russian and German governments proposed to help Khedive Ismail Pasha against the demands of Cave committee. However he refused their proposals. Furthermore, he used this opportunity to corner Nubar Pasha and he told this situation to the British<sup>32</sup>. The secret contacts of Nubar Pasha that were against the British left him in an embarrassing situation.

### **3.3.Nubar Pasha's Struggle Against Ismail Pasha**

After Ismail Pasha publicly embarrassed Nubar Pasha by revealing his anti-British stance Nubar Pasha resigned from his duty on 5 January 1876 and went to Europe. After the most important defeat in his career, Nubar Pasha planned to take his revenge. To abrogate the power of the Khedive Ismail Pasha and to satisfy his personal desires he preferred to re-establish close relations with the British.

He proposed that Britain should intervene to Egypt to help them come out of the financial and political crisis. This proposal gained the sympathy of Britain. He argued that intervention on Egypt was unavoidable and as the biggest payee Britain should do this.

At the same time the German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck encouraged Britain to occupy Egypt. His scenario was; England would occupy Egypt and Russia would occupy Istanbul and then they would struggle against each other to dominate the Mediterranean Sea. The war between them would result with a big loss of power for both sides. Then, Germany would remain as the only major power in Europe<sup>33</sup>.

With personal concerns Nubar Pasha tried to convince Britain to occupy Egypt and he also added that he was ready to do whatever services were expected from him. As a result of these efforts, although an occupation did not happen immediately, the British began to put their pressure on Khedive Ismail Pasha and asked that Nubar Pasha forms a new cabinet<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>32</sup> Sabry, *op.cit.*, p. 337

<sup>33</sup> Look; Bismarck's June 15, 1877 dated note: J. Lepsius, A.M. Bartholdy, F. Thimme, (Der.) *Die Grosse Politik der Europäischen Kabinette, 1871-1914: Sammlung der Diplomatischen Akten des Auswärtigen Amtes*, Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1922-1927, Vol. II, p. 153.

<sup>34</sup> Sabry, *op.cit.*, p.338-339.

As a result, for the first time Britain and France officially cooperated about Egypt. Britain and France agreed to found the Debts Fund Institution to collect their claims. The British- French Dual Controllershship, which was called the *Goschen Code* was announced on 18 November 1876<sup>35</sup>. After that code the British and French started to control the financial affairs of Egypt with the Dual Controllershship method. They also continued to put their political pressure on the Sublime Porte and Egypt by talking in the international area that Nubar Pasha should form a cabinet<sup>36</sup>. As Nubar Pasha re-established confidence with Britain he returned to Egypt. For the British and French Nubar Pasha was the most suitable cabinet president. Nubar Pasha became the *reis-i nüzzer* (president) of the cabinet in 1878, in which the French M. de Blignières was the head of the Department the Public Works and British Sir Rivers Wilson was the Minister of Finance. Especially British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury had important expectations from Nubar Pasha<sup>37</sup>. As a result this was the first victory of Nubar Pasha against Ismail Pasha.

#### 4. THE ARMENIAN PROJECT OF NUBAR PASHA AT THE BERLIN CONGRESS

At that moment there were preparations to gather at the Berlin Conference. Russia and England gathered on 30 May 1878 in London and signed a memorandum after determining on which points they could agree on. One of those points was the Armenian Issue. Russia agreed to change some of the clauses that were about the Armenians in the 16th Article<sup>38</sup>.

In order to join the Berlin Conference, the Armenian Patriarch Nerses Varjabedyan formed an Armenian Delegation under the presidency of the former Patriarch Hrimyan. This delegation had contacts in Rome, Paris, Berlin, London and Russia to find support for their proposal to establish an independent Armenia<sup>39</sup>.

At the same period Nubar Pasha prepared another project. As a member of the Egyptian Government, which was bounded to the Ottoman State, he proposed his report “*A view over the reform that will be applied to Armenia*”<sup>40</sup> to the Ottoman sultan. The sultan’s reaction was not negative. The style in the proposal

<sup>35</sup> William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments 1871-1890*, New York, 1931, p. 258.

<sup>36</sup> For the details about the formation of the Cabinet by Nubar Pasha and other developments look; Abdurrahman el-Râfî‘i, *Asru Ismail*, Cairo: Dârü’l-Maârif, 1982, Vol. II, p. 56-71.

<sup>37</sup> From Lord Salisbury to Lord Lyons; 20 July 1878, look; Lady Gwendolyn Cecil, *The Life of Robert Cecil Marguis Salisbury*, Londra: Hodder and Stoughton, 1921, Vol. II, p. 334.

<sup>38</sup> Uras, *op.cit.*, p. 216

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, p. 217

<sup>40</sup> About the Project of Nubar Pasha and for the whole translation of the text he presented. Look; Uras, *op.cit.*, p. 219-224

was respectful<sup>41</sup>. Nubar proposal was to make reforms in Armenia with the supervision of the great powers and the approval of the Sultan through an appointed Armenian General Governor. However, because the aim of the Patriarchy was complete independence they strongly opposed his proposal. Instead of the proposal of Nubar Pasha Bismarck preferred the proposal of the Patriarchy and presented the latter to the congress<sup>42</sup>. The congress approved neither the Patriarchy's proposal nor Nubar Pasha's.

Nubar Pasha sent his proposal to the Berlin Congress and defended it in public by writing in *Nineteenth Century*, a prominent magazines of that period<sup>43</sup>.

### **5. NUBAR PASHA: BEFORE AND AFTER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION IN EGYPT**

After Nubar Pasha opposed to the Cave commission he preferred to follow good relations policy with the British during his duty in Egypt.

On 27 August 1878, using the debt issue as a culprit, Britain and France asked the government of Nubar Pasha to place two of their men to the Egyptian cabinet and succeeded. On 26 September British Sir Rivers Wilson appointed as the Minister of Finance and on 16 November French Andre de Blignieres appointed as the Minister of Public Work to this cabinet<sup>44</sup>.

As a result of the revolt of the nationalist party, the Hizb el Watani, on 18 February 1879, who opposed the Europeans to enter the cabinet, Nubar had been banished from Egypt by the Khedive. The demonstrations of the nationalist party against the foreigners were annoying the British and French. According to them, the Khedive was also highly responsible for the breakdown in the economy of Egypt. Therefore, they exerted pressure to the Sublime Porte and asked that Ismail Pasha to be dismissed. On 26 June 1879 Abdulhamid II dismissed and sent Ismail Pasha from his duty and appointed his son Tewfik Pasha (1879-1892) as Khedive<sup>45</sup>.

After that Nubar Pasha returned to Egypt. He reestablished good relations with the British. He took responsibilities in foreign countries when he had no posts

<sup>41</sup>There is another importance of the "Armenian Project" which Nubar Pasha wanted to present to the Berlin Congress. He is the father of Bogos Nubar who has been many times as the president of the Armenian committees and who has finally been in Lousannes at 1923.

<sup>42</sup> Uras, *op.cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>43</sup> Salahi Ramsdam Sonyel, *The Ottoman Armenians*, Londra: K. Rustem and Brother, 1987, p.335.

<sup>44</sup> Younan Labib Rizk, *Târih el-Vizârât el-Mısıryye, 1878-1953*, Cairo; el-Hey'et el-Mısıryye el-Amme li'l-Kütüb, 1999, p. 57

<sup>45</sup> For the reasons of Abdülhamit to dismiss Ismail Pasha. Look; Ramazan Yıldız - Atilla Çetin, *Sultan II Abdülhamid Han, Devlet ve Memleket Görüşlerim*, İstanbul; Çığır Yayınları, 1976, p. 70; For the edict that was given to Tevfik Pasha to declare him as Khedive Look; BOA, *İrade Mısır*, 984; Adminisration Des Biens Privés Et Des Palais Royaux, *Recuil de Firmans Impériaux Ottomans Adressés aux valis et aux Khédives d'Egypte, 1006 H.-1322 H. (1597-1904)*, Cairo; Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archeologie Orientale du Caire, 1934, p. 330-332.

in the government. The consultancy application in Egypt, which was founded on the Ministries of Finance and Public Works that resulted from the Dual Control of Britain and France, spread over other ministries also after the occupation of Britain. However, after the Dual Controllershship was abolished, the British dismissed the Europeans in the ministries except their own citizens. In September 1881 Colonel Ahmad Urabi, placed troops around the Khedive's palace and demanded the appointment of a more nationalist ministry. Khedive accepted the nationalist demands and formed a new government. The growing popularity of the Egyptian military figure so clearly opposed to the French and British interests. Claiming that there was a big threat to civil order and especially to Europeans rights, France and Britain had sent their fleets to Alexandria in May 1882. An outbreak of violence in Alexandria in June, lead to a British bombardment on 11 July 1882. At the end of July, Urabi Pasha and his followers started the Egyptian resistance against British invasion. In the meanwhile, Urabi had become the recognized ruler of the country, although only holding his old title of War Minister. But, on 13 September 1882 the British defeated Urabi Pasha's nationalist army in a surprise attack in Tall al-Kabir and then occupied the country. Still, until the regulations of Lord Dufferin at 1883, in each ministry one or two European observers were ready to interfere in the important decisions<sup>46</sup>. After the regulations of Lord Dufferin, every minister was required to work with a British advisor. Officially, these British advisors had only consultation authorities. However, in practice a minister who could not get their approval even for his simplest decision could not put it into practice<sup>47</sup> because the British General Consul was an advisor of the Khedive and in practice he was the ultimate authority. Still, the British preferred to choose the president of the cabinet from the ones who were acting according to their demands. Finally the Khedive would approve the decisions.

The history of Egypt after the British occupation especially after 1887 took shape in the hands of the advisors and the British General Consul. The freedom of the ministers and the officials was limited<sup>48</sup>. Still instead of feeling uncomfortable Nubar Pasha favored a tighter relation with the British<sup>49</sup>. Nubar Pasha was sometimes expressed that Egypt should be under the patronage of Britain. The High Commissioner of Egypt, Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha was disturbed from this situation and he occasionally reported his complaints to the Sublime Porte<sup>50</sup>. The

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 271

<sup>47</sup> As examples for the influences of the British advisors Look; Peter Mellini, *Sir Eldon Gorst; The Overshadowed Proconsul*, Standford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 1977, p. 42-57.

<sup>48</sup> Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, *The Man Of Egypt*, New York-Londra: Hodder And Stoughton, 1913, p. 56.

<sup>49</sup> M.P. Hornik, "The Mission of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to Constantinople, 1885-1887", *The English Historical Review*, October 1940, p. 608.

<sup>50</sup> BOA, Bab-ı Ali Eyvak Odası Mümataze Kalemi-Mısır 13/44; Also another file in the same classification Look., 4-C/121, İç no 32.

most important one of those are the reports he wrote in late 1886 and early 1887. These reports were about Nubar Pasha and his sudden and secret meetings with the British.

A preliminary agreement of was signed between Ottoman State and Britain on 24 October 1885. Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha and Sir Henry Drummond Wolff who were representing their countries in the meetings for the withdrawal of the British soldiers from Egypt but they could not reach an agreement for almost a year. In this meeting, the British prolonged the process by bringing up different issues to the table and they practically didn't want to withdraw from Egypt. As Muhtar Pasha was a good negotiator with his resolute manner against the British tricks, the British started to think if they could use Nubar Pasha to legitimate their stay in Egypt in another manner. With this aim the British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury invited Nubar Pasha secretly to London. Nubar Pasha answered positively. Nubar Pasha officially went from Egypt to Germany for the hot springs. He planned to visit London afterwards. At the beginning Lord Salisbury invited Sir Henry Drummond Wolff to London. However, the British Prime Minister cancelled the return of Wolff because he knew that it would not be approved by the Ottoman State and other states if it would be heard that Nubar and Wolff were in London at the same time.

Muhtar Pasha felt very disturbed of the secret meetings of Nubar Pasha at London. He did not avoid reporting his reactions to the Sublime Porte with heavy expressions. According to him there was no difference between Nubar and Wolff in protecting the interests of Britain and working with this aim<sup>51</sup>:

“Both of them are the same in point of aim and ideas which one of them doesn't matter, they will stay for the place of the other...”

While the two commissioners were responsible to solve problems about Egypt how Britain could meet an unauthorized person. Muhtar Pasha immediately contacted Wolff and asked for an explanation on this subject. He also informed the Sublime Porte about this visit of Nubar Pasha to London. He also asked from Istanbul to follow Nubar Pasha through the Embassy of London and if possible to prevent his meetings<sup>52</sup>. He also asked Khedive Tevfik Pasha if he was aware of the meetings of Nubar Pasha. Khedive answered that he has no authorization about the problems of Egypt however as a result of the insisting demands of the British he authorized him to make meetings about the interior problems of Egypt. Muhtar Pasha explained his thoughts to both the Khedive and the Sublime Porte that the

<sup>51</sup> BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemî-Mısır* 2-C/20-1, Folder no. 25.

<sup>52</sup> The report that Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha sent to the Sublime Porte is right after the visit of Nubar Pasha to Britain became definite. Look: BOA, *Yıldız Esas Evrakı*, 130/13.

aim of British to meet Nubar could be to found a patronage administration in Egypt or to annex Egypt<sup>53</sup>.

When their meetings with Nubar Pasha arose the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs was cornered to admit this. In this declaration they stated that these meetings were held with the permission of the Khedive and they discussed nothing about the Egyptian issue but some issues about East Europe<sup>54</sup>.

The real context of the meetings was as follows: Nubar Pasha was trying to convince his opponents that he was following British advocating policies and he would continue doing this<sup>55</sup>. The British Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed with him if it could be possible to establish a government under the sovereignty of Britain. The Ambassador of Germany in London, Count Munster was informed of those meetings<sup>56</sup>. Consequently as a result of their proposal to Britain, they continued to defend their opinion that it would be for the interest of Egyptians if Britain occupies Egypt. Even they advised Nubar Pasha to work in this direction<sup>57</sup>.

When Nubar Pasha returned to Egypt after more than a month, Muhtar Pasha wanted to learn what has been spoken in London<sup>58</sup>. As a result of the insistence of Muhtar Pasha, Nubar Pasha gave some details about the meetings. In his explanation Nubar Pasha told that he did not talk about the Egyptian issue with the British Prime Minister Lord Salisbury and the Minister of Foreign Affairs but he conveyed the demands to them to lessen their interferences to the interior administration of Egypt. He also told that he had obtained some impressions about the policies of Britain over Egypt. According to him about the Egypt issue the British were indecisive. The British related the Egyptian issue to the conclusion of the Bulgarian problem, and if the Bulgarian problem would be concluded outside the demands of the British, the outcome for Egypt would be in danger. If it was

<sup>53</sup> If Britain chooses to apply this policy, Muhtar Pasha has the possibility to compose an army from Syria under the control of the Ottoman State and to expel the British from Egypt. Look: BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalem-i-Mısır* 2-C/20-1, Folder no. 28.

<sup>54</sup> By Eastern Europe problem it has been meant the Bulgarian issue. Look: BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalem-i-Mısır*, 2-C/20-1, Folder no. 29.

<sup>55</sup> The British advocacy of Nubar Pasha is also reflected in his memories. Look; Nubar Pasha, *Memoires De Nubar Pasha*, (Introduction: Mirrit Butros Ghali), Beirut, 1983, p. 468-479. It has been known by the people who know him that Nubar Pasha was sometimes after his own interests. In his memories Sir James Rennel notes that Nubar Pasha is a stranger to Egypt like a British. Look; Sir James Rennel Rodd, *Social And Diplomatic Memories (Second Series) 1894-1901; Egypt And Abyssinia*, London: Edward Arnold And Co., 1923, p. 31

<sup>56</sup> James Hubbard Goode, *The Fashoda Crisis: A Survey of Anglo-French Imperial Policy on the Upper Nile Question 1882-1899*, Unprinted Graduate Thesis, Texas: North Texas University, 1971, p. 70.

<sup>57</sup> Muhammed Mustafa Safvet, "Mevkîfî Almanyâ İzâ'e'l-Mes'ele el-Mısriyye 1876-1914", *Mecelle el-Târihiyye el-Mısriyye*, 1948, p. 91.

<sup>58</sup> At 7 September 1886 Nubar Pasha left Egypt. After he left Germany he went to London at 20 September. At 19 November 1886 he returned to Egypt. For the dates Look: BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalem-i-Mısır* 2-C/20-1, Folder no. 25, 28, 29 and 32.



concluded as the British wanted to, they would prefer to come to an agreement with the Ottoman State.

Again according to Nubar Pasha the French were defending the idea to establish an international administration in Egypt like it has been tried to be established in the Suez Canal. During his stay in Paris he observed this clearly. Despite of this French policy, the British would withdraw their soldiers from Egypt if the Bulgarian problem would finish in the way they wanted to<sup>59</sup>.

The Ottoman State questioned the visit of Nubar Pasha to London. While Nubar Pasha informed the Sublime Porte about his visit, he did not tell anything more than he told Muhtar Pasha and he did not reveal the real discussed points. He told that Britain was more interested on the problem of Bulgaria than the Egyptian issue<sup>60</sup>.

The French were feared of Nubar Pasha that he was going to follow a British liable policy. Their fear was that their colonial policies on this region would weaken and that the British would control wider areas in opposition to the French interests<sup>61</sup>. Actually this finding was also shared by the other actors of the region. Nubar Pasha was a politician who performed the post of minister during the period of Khedive Ismail, who had responsibility in the financial crisis of Egypt that lead to the occupation of Britain and whose name entangled to corruptions. In spite of the negative thoughts about him, after the occupation of Egypt by Britain he re-appeared twice (first at: January 1884-1888; second at: April 1894-November 1895) and achieved to be the head of the ministers of Egypt. However, his duty brought no positive results for the good of the Egyptians. He was acting like the puppet of Sir Evelyn Baring (Cromer) who was the British general consul for Egypt<sup>62</sup>. Nevertheless, Nubar Pasha was not happy to be in this picture. Although he was a supporter of Britain, he felt disturbed of the excessive pressure of Britain<sup>63</sup>. When he was appointed for the last time he understood that he would not stand for the pressure of the British General Consul Lord Cromer he had to resign. After he resigned from the government he left Egypt at 1895 and began to live in France. Cromer appreciated his last political performance : “The history of Nubar Pasha's Ministry, which lasted eighteen months, may be told in a few lines. He was too much of a statesman not to be aware of the folly of the Khedive's conduct. He came into office avowedly as a Minister of conciliation.

<sup>59</sup> BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemi-Mısır*, 2-C/20-1, Folder no.32.

<sup>60</sup> BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemi-Mısır*, 4-C/21.

<sup>61</sup> BOA, *Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzatı*, 170-35.

<sup>62</sup> BOA, *Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası Mümtaze Kalemi-Mısır* 13/44.

<sup>63</sup> Sabry, op.cit., p. 339.

His efforts to conciliate the British and Egyptian officials were crowned with success. Several useful reforms, the most important of which was the reorganisation of the Ministry of the Interior, were accomplished under his auspices. In the spring of 1895, Nubar Pasha met with a severe accident—the fracture of an ankle—which necessitated a prolonged absence from Egypt. He returned in November broken in health. His work had practically been accomplished. He expressed a very natural wish to retire from public life<sup>64</sup>. Nubar Pasha died in Paris on January 14, 1899.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Nubar Pasha was a statesman who reached important positions in Egypt at the second half of the nineteenth century. He started his career as a secretary but he finished as the president of the ministers. From 1842, when he went from Izmir, to 1895 when he left Egypt as the president of the ministers, he served totally 53 years for Egypt. In this context he has been a person who carried important roles in the destiny of Egypt. During this long period he had many successful works that deserved praise and also many activities for which he was accused and criticized for. In general he was successful in his activities until he was appointed by Khedive Ismail Pasha in 1863. After 1863 in the application of the dreamy policies that exceeded the power of Ismail Pasha and in the financial crisis and a big debt problem, that resulted with the British occupation of Egypt, the responsibility of Nubar Pasha was at least as large as Khedive Ismail Pasha. Nubar Pasha was mostly accused by the Ottoman Statesmen and Egyptians because of his responsibilities during the period of Ismail Pasha (1863-1879) and he was close to the British.

It has been told by some people who were close to Nubar Pasha that he was going after his own interests. Gazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha in his reports to the Sublime Porte mentioned the British supporting attitude of Nubar Pasha and that he was heeded his own interests<sup>65</sup>. In his memories Sir James Rennel tells that Nubar Pasha is as a stranger in Egypt as an English<sup>66</sup>. The nationalist writers of Egypt are accusing Nubar Pasha because he caused the British occupation and the policies which lead to that. Even some of them want to prevent his name to be remembered in some successful projects he contributed. For instance, the modern Egyptian

<sup>64</sup> E. Baring (Earl of Cromer) *Abbas II*, p.62.

<sup>65</sup> BOA, *Yıldız Esas Evrakı*, 129/7. This is also one of the reports of Muhtar Pasha about Nubar Pasha. It has been written after Nubar Pasha left his first time presidency of ministers. Here is a short but an overall and successful criticism about Nubar Pasha.

<sup>66</sup> Rodd, *Social and Diplomatic Memories (Second Series) 1894-1901; Egypt and Abyssinia*, p.31.

historian Abdurrahman el-Râfî'i did not mention the name of Nubar Pasha appointment as the vice president to the Mecidiye Ferry Boat Enterprise that was established with the presidency of Prince Mustafa Fazıl Pasha, son of Ibrahim Pasha in 1857<sup>67</sup>. After Britain occupied Egypt and Nubar Pasha held the posts of minister and the president of ministers, his Armenian identity was explicitly expressed in several reports. written reports<sup>68</sup>. As it has been seen in the instance of Nubar Pasha, some Turkish and Egyptian blamed him for the failures in Egypt.

The service of Nubar Pasha and his family in the bureaucracy of Egypt is important in three ways: Firstly, the Armenians had many rights and freedoms in the borders of the Ottoman State as one of the units composing the state. These rights must not only be seen as written texts. As other units composing the state, these rights have been used by the Armenians without preventions. Secondly, not only in the central organization of the Ottoman State but also in the Provinces bounded to the central authority like Egypt they reached important positions. Thirdly, although Nubar Pasha was not born in the Ottoman territory and immigrated from Karabakh, he reached many important positions in the hierarchy of the State without facing any prejudices and limitations.

As a result, Armenians in the Ottoman State reached many important positions in the central bureaucracy and also after passing through the filters of suitability and efficiency in the provinces they were able to reach the highest posts in the State. In their advancement never a prevention or prejudice of the central government happened. However, the said persons when they acted against the interests of the state on their posts and the assignments they were representing, they face some reactions.

Although Nubar Pasha has sometimes been accused by nationalists, he performed some beneficial duties for Egypt and the Ottoman State. Alongwith his un-repairable mistakes he did with Ismail Pasha that lead the financial crash, he had important contributions to the reforms and public improvement activities in Egypt. Actually between the life story of Nubar Pasha and the Ottoman-Armenian relations there are some parallel points. The reflection of the life story of the Ottoman Armenians between 1820 and 1920 can be seen in the life of Nubar. Nubar was born in the beginning periods of the "crisis" period. After the 1840s, he acquired a shiny career with his ups and downs in the Egypt province of the Ottomans. During the 1870s and the 1880s when the crisis became deeper he was on the peak of his career. Although he had some mistakes, he tried to protect the

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<sup>67</sup> Talhami H. Ghada, *Egypt's Civilizing Mission : Khedive Ismail's Red Sea Province, 1865-1885*, Unprinted Graduate Thesis , University of Illinois, 1975, p. 8.

<sup>68</sup> BOA, *İrade Mısır*, 1253, folder no.1.

interests of Egypt. During this period and especially after the British occupation in Egypt, his pro-British policies can be understood in the framework of the conditions of that period. The power of the Ottoman State was getting weaker. He was one of the most prominent statesman to answer conflicting questions such as what would be the fate of the Ottomans ,what would be future of Egypt and what would be the fate of the Armenians. We can learn the answers given to these questions from the life of Nubar. While he, the president of the cabinet, was following policies close to Britain, he avoided radical expressions about the fate of the Armenians and searched for solutions within the Ottoman State.

There is not not enough document to prove that he followed an ambidexter policy because he had close relations with Britain. Was it not a general characteristic of the Ottoman elites who were educated in the western countries and reached high posts to being close to the British, French or Germans? He was no different from the high ranked statesmen of th late Ottoman period. He also lived with some discrepancies like the others.