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IN SEARCH OF HAVEN AND SEEKING FORTUNE: THE ECONOMIC ROLE OF OTTOMAN ARMENIAN MIGRANTS IN BRITISH- OCCUPIED EGYPT (1882-1914) (PART II)¹

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A LITTLE ARMENIAN KINGDOM OF CIGARETTES AND CAMERAS: EGYPT DURING THE *FIN DE SIÈCLE*

In 2007, writing nostalgically about Egypt's long-dead cosmopolitan past, Bruce Fleming noted that many of the cigarette manufacturers in the country used to be of Armenian, Greek, and Jewish origins.² This also holds true for Bulgaria, where an Armenian of Ottoman extraction

named Megerditch Tomassian is described as the “founding father” of the country's tobacco industry.³ Apart from cigarette production, photography was another occupation in which Armenians excelled for many decades, not only in Egypt but also in the entirety of what became the Middle East. Beginning with the last two decades of the nineteenth century, with the continuous migration of Ottoman Armenians from their ancestral towns and cities in Anatolia and the *Armenian Vilayets* of Ottoman Turkey, a large number of cigarette producers and photographers also made their way to Egypt. What is significant is that their large number was disproportionate to their small demographic presence, thereby, constituting, as it were, what can

¹ The first part of this paper was published in the 40th (2020) volume of the *Haigazian Armenological Review*.

² Bruce Fleming, “In the Brief Egyptian Spring,” *The Antioch Review*, 65/4:2007, p. 643.

³ Relli Shechter, “Selling Luxury: The Rise of the Egyptian Cigarette and the Transformation of the Egyptian Tobacco Market, 1850-1914,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 35:2003, p. 60; Mary C. Neuburger, *Balkan Smoke: Tobacco and the Making of Modern Bulgaria*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2016, p. 51.

be described as a “little kingdom” within the actual Egyptian kingdom (i.e., the Khedivate).

This section does not aim to provide a comprehensive history of tobacco or photography in Egypt. It is rather an attempt to elaborate the less-studied role of Armenians in, and their contribution to, these two sectors of the Egyptian economy, in light of newly identified and still untapped primary sources. In addition, this section also seeks to give voice to the often-neglected, but essential, subalterns employed by Armenian-owned cigarette factories.

CIGARETTES

From Small Tobacco Merchants to Entrepreneurs: The Birth of Armenian Cigarette Workshops and Factories in Egypt

The manufacture of cigarettes by Armenians in Egypt preceded the massive migration of Ottoman Armenians in the late 1890s by more than a decade. What were the actual cause(s) that led to the relocation of several Armenian cigarette producers from Anatolia to Egypt? First, in 1872, the Ottoman state established the Tobacco Monopoly Administration to manage the proceeds generated by the lucrative tobacco trade, a position it maintained until 1877. Then, following the Empire’s bankruptcy in 1875 and its devastating defeat in the war against Russia in 1877-1878, the tobacco monopoly was ceded to the European-controlled Ottoman Public Debt Administration (OPDA, founded in 1881), created exclusively to administer the state’s revenues in order to regularize repayment of the debts previously incurred by the Ottoman government. Finally, in 1883, the OPDA bequeathed its tobacco monopoly rights to the Ottoman Régie Company formed by a consortium of European financial institutions (the Ottoman Bank, the Crédit Ansalt, and the Bleichröder banks).⁴

As Donald Quataert has noted, the Régie proved to be both beneficial and deleterious to different segments of Ottoman society at the same time. Apart from creating a wide range of employment opportunities for thousands of Ottoman subjects (approximately 4000-4500 people), the inauguration of the Régie also delivered a significant blow to the already-operating tobacco cultivators, cigarette manufacturers, money lenders, and cigarette retailers of diverse ethnic and religious backgrounds.⁵ It came to control every single

⁴ Can Nacar, “The Régie Monopoly and Tobacco Workers in Late Ottoman Istanbul,” *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 34/1:2014, pp. 207-8.

⁵ Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881-1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration*, London, New

step of the tobacco production cycle from growing the crop to the point of determining the prices of manufactured cigarettes in the market.⁶ This brought about a wave of hostility and aversion against the said company's self-interest, both in terms of prices and the obligation of collecting debts formerly incurred by the Ottoman government, compelling local tobacco cultivators to sell their harvests at cheap prices and closing down more than 300 cigarette factories in Anatolia in favor of its own.⁷ These developments no doubt explain why at this particular moment in time several Armenian tobacconists chose to settle on Egyptian soil, encouraged to do so by the country's more liberal political and economic environment and the availability of an abundant and inexpensive labor force, as well as its suitable climate for the processing of a variety of cigarette types.⁸

The Matossians and Melkonians came to Egypt immediately after the formation of the Ottoman Régie, in 1882. Hovhaness Matossian was among the first Ottoman Armenians to settle in Egypt and get involved in the tobacco industry there. Drawing on his experience as a young tobacco merchant and a cigarette producer in Bafra, Samsun, and Tokat in Northern Anatolia, he founded the Matossian Tobacco Commercial House in Alexandria. Observing his brother's economic successes, Garabed, Matossian's younger brother, left his ancestral homeland in 1886 and took up residence in Egypt. He established a separate business in Cairo known as the Garabed Matossian Tobacco Company. Almost a decade later, in 1896, most probably to guard against financial risks in a highly competitive market, both businesses were amalgamated giving birth to the O. and G. Matossian Co., headquartered in Cairo with an initial capital of £E 100,000 divisible into 10,000 shares. These were distributed solely among the members of the Matossian family. The company in time turned into one of the most famous Armenian cigarette factories inside and outside Egypt. Its capital rocketed to £E 150,000, and its branches spread well beyond Cairo, to places like Tanṭa and Aşyut.⁹

York University Press, New York, 1983, pp. 15-8. In 1899, the Régie employed around 8814 people.

⁶ Joan Chaker, "Eastern Tobacco and the Ottoman Régie: A History of Financiers in the Age of Empire," (MA diss., American University of Beirut, 2012), p. 64.

⁷ Quataert, p. 20; Nacar, p. 208.

⁸ Shechter, "Selling Luxury," p. 54. By 1911, only 12 cigarette producing factories, dispersed between Istanbul, Samsun, Smyrna and Salonica, functioned in Anatolia (Quataert, pp. 17-8; Georges Lecarpentier, *L'Égypte Moderne*, P. Roger, Paris, 1925, p. 81.

⁹ "Hovhaness Bey Matossian," *Arev*, February 23, 1927. The Egyptian government decorated Matossian with the Nile order and conferred upon him the first and second levels of *beyship*. According to Rif'at, 15 years before Matossian's arrival in

In 1882, like the Matossians, the two affluent brothers Krikor and Garabed Melkonian of Kayseri also moved to Egypt. Strikingly, in a period not longer than six years since their arrival, the Melkonians succeeded in establishing a cigarette factory in Cairo as well as tobacco shops in various parts of the country, creating, in the process many job opportunities for locals and fellow nationals. This, of course, was also true for other Armenian factories as well. Due to political push factors, the Gamsaragans also chose to transfer their tobacco trade to Egypt from Istanbul, where they had run a tobacco business since 1856. Their decision to depart was mostly influenced by the rising intolerance of Armenians in Ottoman domains but also due to Egypt's expanding economy. In 1894, immediately after their arrival in Egypt, the two sons of Khatchadur Gamsaragan, namely Armenag and Dikran, established a cigarette factory in Zagazig in Lower Egypt, replacing their former factory in Smyrna, which had functioned until the formation of the Ottoman Régie in 1883.¹⁰

Together with Armenian émigrés hailing from Ottoman domains, Neshan and Hapet Hadjetian, brothers from Arapgir (in the Malatya province), also ended up on the banks of the Nile at a young age.¹¹ Their cigarette factory came into being in 1896 through the efforts of Neshan. Soon, they also opened a shop in the prestigious district of Azbakiyya in Cairo near the Shepherd's Hotel. In addition to selling their cigarettes, the Hadjetians also imported a variety of European cigars and Persian *tembek* to be sold in their store.¹² Besides these firms, there were many smaller Armenian factories such as the Sanossians' in Cairo and the Megerian-Manugian-Arabdjian's, again situated in the Egyptian capital,¹³ as well as Kevork Ipekian's factory in Alexandria.¹⁴ Most of the Armenian-owned firms were in family-related hands throughout their years of operation.

Egypt, the Sarkissian factory, established in 1867, was the first Armenian cigarette producer (Rif'at, *al-Arman*, p. 326). *Arev* was published in Alexandria starting in 1915.

¹⁰ "Egyptian Armenian Excellence in the Tobacco Industry," (Armenian) *Yekibdahay Daretsuytse* 1914, pp. 181, 183-184.

¹¹ Neshan Hadjetian came to Egypt in 1896 (at age 30), while his brother Hapet followed in 1898 (at age 25). They were both married and worked as tobacco merchants. The latter also had the privilege of carrying British citizenship. Mrs. Armin Kredian generously provided these data based on the census conducted by the Armenian Prelacy of Cairo in 1906.

¹² "N. and A. Hadjetian Brothers," *Azad Pem*, December 5, 1906.

¹³ Rif'at, *al-Arman*, p. 327.

¹⁴ "Egyptian Armenian Excellence," pp. 184-5.

In certain instances, cigarette factories came into being when former employees of some renowned Armenian companies, decided to go at it on their own, but failed in the end, leaving hardly any traces. Two exceptions, however, merit attention. G. Dudian began his career as the chief tobacco blender in the Matossian firm, but joined forces with a certain Aslan, and together they set up a new factory that produced different types of cigarettes. A measure of their success is indicated by the fact that they maintained major premises in Cairo which served as an outlet for their hand-made and machine-made products.¹⁵ The second was Harutyun Tchaylakian. In 1882, he too landed on Egyptian soil with his maternal uncles Krikor and Garabed Melkonian. After many years of work in their factory, he established his separate firm, which did not survive beyond one year owing to stiff competition, and the devastating consequences of the great economic depression of 1907. In the end, Tchaylakian had no other choice but to end his venture and to rejoin the Melkonian factory. Its owners Garabed and Krikor apparently appreciated his valuable expertise, and hence appointed their prodigal nephew as their factory's managing director.¹⁶

Towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, around half a dozen Armenian cigarette factories were to emerge in Egypt, seeking to meet the growing local and international market demands. Unfortunately, Relli Schechter has failed to provide us with a comprehensive list of Egyptian cigarette factories, and on that account the names of most Armenian cigarette factories in Egypt, except for a few, still remain unknown.

Apart from running cigarette factories, Armenians also established smaller-scale tobacco and cigarette distribution shops in Egypt. Hovhannes Pembedjian is a good example in this respect. In addition to producing cigarettes in his small workshop in Cairo, Pembedjian also traded various brands of Egyptian and British-American cigarettes.¹⁷ Owing to a deficiency in cigar production in Egypt, and eager to meet the growing upper class demand for them, the V. and S. Prudian, brothers in Alexandria, imported the commodity, known as the Sultaniyye cigars, produced by the Adjemian-Gunchegulian company in Istanbul.¹⁸

¹⁵ "Dudian Aslan and Co.," *Arshaluys*, March 22- April 4, 1900.

¹⁶ "Harutyun Tchaylakian," *Yekibdahay Daretsuytse 1919*, pp. 81-2.

¹⁷ "A Big Workshop of Eastern and Egyptian Cigarettes," *Bardez*, November 1, 1903.

¹⁸ "Maintaining Your Health Despite Smoking the Sultaniyye Cigar," *Arshaluys*, June 1-14, 1910.

The Egyptian Armenian Cigarette in the Local and the Global Market

As cigarettes gradually evolved into a universal icon of modernity, the rate of their consumption increased considerably in the nineteenth century both in Egypt and worldwide.¹⁹ During the same period, the Egyptian cigarette, in particular, also gained popularity and fame both locally and globally. The British, for example, in their home country and colonies, preferred it to American blends to the point of “deifying it into a God itself.”²⁰ In the face of the ever-increasing demands, the numerous factories in Egypt had to work day and night to supply the needs of the local and the global markets. Most of the Egyptian cigarettes were initially made from tobacco locally cultivated or imported from the Ottoman Empire; however, the signing of the Greco-Egyptian Treaty in March 1884 signified a major breakthrough as larger quantities of Greek tobacco leaves became readily available. Imports further escalated after June 25, 1890 with the banning of tobacco cultivation in Egypt. Shechter claims that this happened in anticipation of greater and more immediate financial returns.²¹ At the turn of the century, the sale of tobacco and cigarettes, all in all, contributed to around 10 % of total Egyptian treasury receipts, the export of cigarettes exceeding the export of all other manufactured commodities including textiles.²² It is remarkable that for the first time in modern Egyptian history the periphery started supplying the global center (i.e. the West) with locally manufactured finished products.

Quite contrary to what Shechter, Beinín, and Lockman have suggested, the Egyptian Armenian cigarette was meant not only for local consumption. Available sources show that Armenian cigarette manufacturers not only met local Egyptian demand, but also catered to overseas markets.²³ It is not a mere coincidence that, according to British Consular Reports, the amount of Egyptian cigarette exports dramatically increased from 230,800 kg. in 1895

¹⁹ Shechter, “Selling Luxury,” p. 53. Actually, there were around 37 cigarette factories in Cairo alone in 1914, most of them concentrated in the hands of Greeks and Armenians (Achille Sékaly, “La Commerce Du Tabac Au Point de Vue de L’économie Égyptienne,” *L’Égypte Contemporaine*: Cinquième Année, January 1914, p. 351).

²⁰ Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800-2000: Perfect Pleasures*, Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2000, pp. 27-8, 32.

²¹ Shechter, “Selling Luxury,” p. 56.

²² Relli Schechter, *Smoking, Culture and Economy in the Middle East: The Egyptian Tobacco Market 1850-2000*, IB Tauris, London, 2006, p. 79; Schechter, “Selling Luxury,” p. 55. About the necessity for reintroducing tobacco plantation in Egypt, see Sékaly, p. 358.

²³ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture*, p. 79; Beinín and Lockman, *Workers on the Nile*, p. 50.

to 702,800 kg. in 1905, which is by about 150%.²⁴ We can safely assume that Armenian cigarette manufactories must have contributed to this rapid rise in cigarette export. In fact, some Egyptian Armenian cigarette brands easily penetrated British and French markets, in particular those produced by the Matossians, who besides being “one of the chief cigarette and tobacco manufacturers in Egypt” were a major competitor of the Greek-owned Melachrino and Gianaclis brands.²⁵ The Matossians proudly announced that they acted as “purveyors of [cigarettes] to the [British] Army of Occupation”²⁶ and also distributed their Sun “gold-tipped” brand in Paris and other European capitals.²⁷ With the intention to further promote the same cigarette brand and to increase its consumption by people of both genders, an advertisement in a widely distributed paper published the following:

... when a stylish Parisian woman asks you for cigarettes, give her, if you would like her to smile sweetly at you, a box of the exquisite Matossian Egyptian Cigarettes, with gold tips, “Sun” brand.²⁸

Another piece of evidence for the circulation of the luxurious Matossian cigarettes abroad was the fact that the Matossians had a special box made from tin specially used for export purposes. Until WWI and after, the Matossians remained one of the most important Armenian firms in Egypt, and in fact, when asked to join the American Tobacco Trust Company, Hovhanness Matossian refused the offer.²⁹

Like the Matossians, perhaps, envious of and eager to emulate their rival’s economic accomplishments, the Hadjetians, too, aspired to spread their cigarettes beyond the narrow borders of Egypt into the far-flung British Empire. In 1910, Hapet Effendi Hadjetian travelled from Egypt to Great

²⁴ “Report on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Progress of Reforms”, London, 1895, p. 8; “Reports by His Majesty’s Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration, and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1905”, London, 1906, p. 30.

²⁵ “Egyptian Cigarettes and Tobacco,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* January 59/3034:1911, p. 201.

²⁶ *The Lands of Sunshine: A Practical Guide to Egypt and Sudan*, Whitehead Morris and Co., Cairo, 1908, p. 109.

²⁷ The evidence for this statement is an announcement appearing in 1908 in the Paris-based *New York Herald* advertising that the “gold-tipped” Sun brand of the ‘Egyptian’ Matossian cigarette is available in “all the Paris tobacco shops.”

²⁸ “New Cigarettes,” *The New York Herald*, October 14, 1908, and “Egyptian Cigarettes,” *The New York Herald*, November 4, 1908.

²⁹ “Egyptian Cigarettes and Tobacco,” p. 202. About the negotiations of the American Tobacco Millionaire Mr. Schinasi with Matossian, see “Gamsaragan Freres, Ltd.” *The Near East*, March 20, 1914, p. 653.

Britain in order to establish a representative office for the Hadjetian Tobacco and Cigarettes Company in the British capital. In doing so, they aimed to sell their brand of Egyptian cigarettes to “English and Colonial consumers” and “open out to the World market,” under the directorship of Englishman Walter G. Crombie, as stated in the firm’s English-language announcement in the Armenian periodical *Arshaluys*.³⁰ On January 11, 1911, the nominal capital of the company in London, located in Conduit Street, amounted to £500. Existing records suggest that the company did not reap substantial returns. In fact, using the terms of the original documents, the British branch located in London was wound up by the ‘British Supreme Court’ for its failure to pay its debt amounting to £148.5 to a certain Mr. Tillotson, apparently a partner of the Hadjetians.³¹

Apart from competing to secure a place in the global market, Armenian and other Egyptian tobacco firms did their utmost, whether legally or illegally, to boost their trade in the local market as well. As Shechter has noted, the Gamsaragans, for instance, were the third largest manufacturers and suppliers of cigarettes in Lower and Upper Egypt. They were famous for their widely consumed “Abu Nigme” cigarette, and some competitors tried to produce and sell an imitation version of the same cigarette brand in 1896. To avoid further counterfeits, as a last resort, the Gamsaragan brothers reported the issue to the Egyptian courts.³² A few years later, a similar incident happened with the Matossians. Driven by the desire to take advantage of the reputation of the Matossian firm and hence amplify their profits, the Sanossians, another small Armenian cigarette factory, utilized a trademark very similar to that of the Matossians. This generated great confusion among the loyal customers of the Matossian firm, who unwittingly bought the Sanossian cigarettes causing a sudden drop in the sales of the Matossian company.³³ In any event, as it turns out, there were also other attempts to undercut the sales of the Matossians. In 1896, some natives, perhaps eager to damage foreign economic interest in Egypt, circulated rumors to the effect that the Matossian cigarettes were detrimental to health as they carried plague germs. *Al-Muqattam*, however, citing the opinions of Egyptian doctors, contested these claims.³⁴

³⁰ “The Hadjetian Freres of Cairo,” *Arshaluys*, December 22 - January 4, 1911.

³¹ See the File of Proceedings in the Matter of Hadjetian Ltd. in the United Kingdom National Archives, reference: J13/5899.

³² Shechter, *Smoking, Culture*, pp. 51, 86; *Al-Ahrām* December 26, 1896; “Announcement of the Gamsaragan Brothers,” *Lusaper-Arev*, June 14, 1910.

³³ *Jurisprudence des Tribunaux de la Réforme en Égypte Recueil Officiel Arrêts de la cour d’Appel d’Alexandrie, Année Judiciaire 1899-1900*, Alexandria, 1901, p. 413.

³⁴ “Dukhān Mātossian,” *Al-Muqattam*, July 6, 1896.

Facing all challenges, the Matossians continued to produce around 11 different brands of cigarettes such as “Mulūkī,” “Abū Riha,” among others, with prices ranging between 35 and 120 piasters per uqa.³⁵ The Melkonians, on the other hand, came next to the Matossians in the Egyptian market and sold the famous “Ma’dan” cigarette both retail and wholesale.³⁶ As part of their advertising campaigns, the Gamsaragans regularly advertised their prices in local Egyptian newspapers, while others like the Matossians and the Hadjetians, attempting to reach a larger number of foreign customers as well as members of the Egyptian elite, preferred to advertise in foreign-language media like the *Indicateur Égyptien*, and the Paris-based *New York Herald* among others.³⁷

Labor Strikes in Armenian Cigarette Factories in Egypt

Starting in the 1980s, there grew a body of literature dealing with labor history in the Middle East. Speaking about Egypt, most historians tend to identify the year 1899 as the ‘real’ starting point for labor activism in the country on account of the long-lasting and fairly well-organized strikes taking place in multiple cigarette factories, mostly located in Cairo. The eruption of labor unrest in Egypt and the formation of labor unions is due to a mixture of internal and external factors. Both Anthony Gorman and Ilham Khuri-Makdisi attribute these developments to the presence of foreign, migrant workers in Egypt, mostly Italians and Greeks, affiliated to radical global networks. These individuals, inspired by famous Russian anarchist philosopher Mikhail Bakunin’s line of thinking, defied capitalism and institutional hierarchies, regarding them as mere tools for “repression” and “authoritarian rule.” Relying on modern media, they disseminated Bakunin’s revolutionary ideas among Egypt’s multinational workers by publishing newspapers like *La Tribuna Libera* and *L’Operaio*, as well as by circulating manifestos conveying similar political messages. Galvanized by this militant literature, and alienated by growing competition, tobacco workers opted to go on strike in defense of their collective rights.³⁸ According to Beinín and Lockman, first, workers were not guaranteed long-term employment. Second, they had very long working hours (around 10 to 15 hours per day) and no vacations even on Sundays. In

³⁵ “I’lān O. wa J. Mātossian wa sharikāh,” *Al-Muqaṭṭam*, April 10, 1897. *Uqa* is the equivalent of 200 grams.

³⁶ Shechter, *Smoking, Culture*, pp. 81, 83.

³⁷ Shechter, “Selling Luxury,” p. 66.

³⁸ Anthony Gorman, “Foreign Workers in Egypt, 1882-1914: Subaltern or Labour Elite?” in *Subalterns and Social Protest: History from Below in the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Stephanie Cronin, Routledge, New York, N.Y., 2008, pp. 237, 242-3; Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 149.

other words, the laborers were deprived of basic necessities, let alone life's pleasures. As might be expected, all these elements played a role in the labor upsurge in Egypt spearheaded by the cigarette workers.³⁹

These cigarette workers' strikes have attracted the attention of current historians as they signaled the first major proletarian/capitalist confrontation in which workers, irrespective of their national differences, were united.⁴⁰ My aim here is not to write a full account of labor activism in Egypt, but only to bring to the fore the occasions in which Armenian workers were involved. As strikes erupted in the various Egyptian cigarette factories in Cairo in December 1899, the multi-national pool of workers of Armenian-owned manufactories also became involved in them. Around 900 cigarette workers throughout Cairo, among them Armenians, participated in the ongoing strikes with the ultimate hope of pressuring the factory owners to raise their wages and prohibit the arbitrary dismissal of manual laborers.⁴¹ Only some of the events occurring at the Matossian firm during 1899 and early 1900s are recorded either because it was the largest Armenian company, employing around 1200 to 1500 workers,⁴² or because no significant events cropped up at other Armenian firms. It is to be noted, however, that the first labor union, the precursor of later internationalist associations in Egypt championing the rights of cigarette rollers, actually emerged at the Matossian plant.⁴³

Keeping pace with technological advances taking place in the British Empire, the Matossians also shifted from small to large-scale production.⁴⁴ Just like their Greek competitors, they, too, made use of around 15 tobacco-cutting machines, all manufactured in England.⁴⁵ Beginning around the late 1890s, they tended to hire less expensive Egyptian workers as substitutes for

³⁹ Lockman and Beinín, *Workers on the Nile*, pp. 32, 33, 37, 40, 55.

⁴⁰ Zachary Lockman, "Worker" and "Working Class" in Pre-1914 Egypt: A Rereading," in *Workers and Working Class in the Middle East*, ed. Zachary Lockman, State University of New York Press, Albany, 1994, pp. 88-9.

⁴¹ Ra'uf 'Abbās Ḥamīd Muḥammad, *Al-Ḥaraka AL-'ummāliyya fī Miṣr, 1899-1952*, Cairo, 1967, p. 51; Rif'at Al-Sa'id, *Tārīkh AL-ḥaraka AL-ishtirākīyya fī Miṣr, 1900-1925*, fifth edition, Cairo, 1981, p. 177.

⁴² "Egyptian Cigarettes and Tobacco," p. 202.

⁴³ Lockman, "Worker" and "Working Class," pp. 88-9.

⁴⁴ Shechter, "Selling Luxury," pp. 55-8. As in Egypt, in Britain, large groups of girls and women used to roll the cigarettes; however, starting from 1883, the British relied on modern machinery to boost their cigarette production. In fact, James T. Bonsack is claimed to have been the first to purchase a cigarette rolling machine in Britain and thus contribute to what is described as the 'Second Industrial Revolution' (Hilton, pp. 84, 86).

⁴⁵ "Egyptian Cigarettes and Tobacco," p. 202.

Armenians because the latter, in the eyes of the Matossians, seemed to be hard-to-please.⁴⁶ But, still, some of their nationals continued to be employed in the factory along with Syrians, Greeks, and Egyptians, all in all, constituting around 200 people. The Matossian brothers, like any other group of capitalists, desired a return to normalcy. As a result, through police intervention, they got rid of all the troublesome and riotous workers.⁴⁷

A few years later, in December 1903, the second wave of strikes broke out again in the cigarette factories in Cairo. But, this time, the situation was much tenser. The factory owners refused to raise wages, and, moreover, announced a general cut in monthly payments. As a result, severe violence exploded in some firms. It was in such circumstances that a labor union, although a weak one, materialized at the Matossian factory. This set the precedent for the emergence of the International Union of Cigarette Workers and Rollers in the Egyptian capital in 1908.⁴⁸

What is significant is that the process of establishing labor unions and organizing strikes broke rigid interethnic boundaries, paving the way for closer cooperation and collaboration between workers of diverse ethnic origins. Thus Armenian, Greek, Syrian, and Egyptian laborers were united. Emulating the workers' union at the Matossian factory, people of other professions also formed associations to protect their collective rights in the face of mounting capitalist exploitation. Before long, workers' unions of many sorts came into being: among them were the carpenters', blacksmiths', mechanics', cooks', engravers', shoemakers', tailors', and railway workers'. Such were the developments that eventually forged a working class consciousness in Egypt.⁴⁹ In fact, as Makdisi has pointed out, strikes were "contagious" and regarded as a legitimate means to resist continual capitalist exploitation.⁵⁰

CAMERAS

1. Armenian Photographers in Anatolia, the Levant, and Egypt

Apart from cigarette production, Armenians also pioneered in the field of photography. As Stephen Sheehi has put it, the history of Armenian

⁴⁶ "The Issue of Strike," *Arshaluys*, December 25, 1899 - January 6, 1900.

⁴⁷ Gorman, pp. 252, 258.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 244.

⁴⁹ Muhammad, p. 62; Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 141.

⁵⁰ Yavuz Selim Karakişla, "The Emergence of the Ottoman Industrial Working Class, 1839-1923," in *Workers and the Working Class in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic 1839-1950*, ed. Donald Quataert and Erik J. Zürcher, Tauris Academic Studies, London, New York, 1995, pp. 22, 27, 30; Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean*, p. 147.

photography in the Middle East is a topic that merits an investigation on its own. A disproportionately large number of Armenians were involved in this domain starting from its formative years in the mid-nineteenth century, when, after the termination of the Crimean War in 1856, it was first introduced by veteran Europeans.⁵¹

Within a short period of time and driven by various, yet to be explored considerations, Armenians scattered across different Ottoman cities and towns came to establish extensive photography networks, and in some instances even ethnically monopolized the business for long decades to come. Thus, they contributed to the European-initiated “Westernization/Modernization” project. As Sarah Graham-Brown has argued, among the obvious motives that propelled nineteenth-century Armenians to become photographers was their intimate connections with Europeans and European culture as well as their earlier mastery of various crafts such as metalworking, engraving and miniature painting.⁵² As a result, we know that 163 photographers of Ottoman Armenian descent practiced the profession in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean including Egypt by the outbreak of WWI.⁵³

Learning the basics of their profession from Europeans running studios in Istanbul, the Abdullah[ian] Freres (Viken, Hovsep and Kevork) of Istanbul ranked among the first and oldest Armenian photographers in the Middle East. What is remarkable is that within a relatively short period of time, the Abdullah brothers, owing to their growing reputation, became the royal photographers of the Ottoman court, a prestigious position accorded by Sultan Abdül Aziz and continuing under Sultan Abdül Hamid II. In fact, in 1874, the Abdullah Freres were granted “...the exclusive copyright on all

⁵¹ Stephen Sheehi, *The Arab Imago: A Social History of Portrait Photography, 1860-1910*, Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2016, p. xxxvi. Currently, a group of art historians in collaboration with the Armenian Ministry of Culture are in the process of establishing an online database containing entries on Armenian photographers in different parts of the world, including the Middle East. The website allows researchers to find brief biographical information, photographic albums, and bibliographies pertaining to Armenian photography (<http://www.lusarvest.org/en/> (accessed February 27, 2019). See also Badr El-Hage, “The Armenian Pioneers of Middle Eastern Photography,” *Jerusalem Quarterly*, 31:2007, p. 25.

⁵² Sarah Graham-Brown, *Images of Women: The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East, 1860-1950*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1988, pp. 38, 54-6.

⁵³ Engin Özendes, *Photography in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1923*, Istanbul, Yem Yayn, 2013, pp. 58-85. Armenian photographers were to be found in the Ottoman capital and in large provincial capitals as well as in the main cities of Anatolia.

photographic portraits of the imperial Ottoman family.”⁵⁴ They were even commissioned by the Sultan to compile around 58 photographic albums summarizing the Empire’s latest achievements to be forwarded to the heads of Western states including France, Great Britain, the USA, and Germany. Obviously, in one way or another, the famous Abdullah brothers decisively influenced the later body of emerging Armenian photographers in the Near East. This particularly holds true for Yessayi Garabedian, later the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, before joining the Armenian ecclesiastical order, apprenticed in photography in their studio. At a later stage in his life, despite his high church ranking, Garabedian established a training workshop within the premises of the St. James Armenian Monastery in Jerusalem, which eventually played a crucial role in the spread of photography in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is claimed that ultimately around five generations of Armenian photographers matriculated from this academy including Garabed Krikorian of Jerusalem, in his turn the mentor of Khalil Ra’ad, more commonly known as the first Arab photographer in Palestine.⁵⁵ Another famous family of photographers in the Levant was that of the Sarrafian brothers: Abraham, Boghos, and Samuel, natives of Diyarbakir, but later, in 1897, relocating to late Ottoman Beirut as a consequence of the turbulent political conditions in Anatolia.⁵⁶

Like cigarette manufacturers, some Armenian photographers came to Egypt in the late 1880s. The majority, however, moved to the country as a result of the Empire’s deteriorating political atmosphere. They mostly resided and worked in Cairo, while only one or two Armenian photographers operated in Alexandria. In the Egyptian capital one finds the studios and workshops of M. Adjemian, Arakel Artinian, Carlo Bukmedjian, Sedefgian, Utudjian, A. Salkimian, Gober Benlian, the Abdullah brothers, and, of course,

⁵⁴ Brown, pp. 55-56.

⁵⁵ Dickinson Jenkins Miller, “The Craftsman’s Art: Armenians and the Growth of Photography in the Near East (1856-1981),” (MA diss., American University of Beirut, 1981), pp. 21-2; Brown, pp. 55-6. For more information on Ra’ad and his activities during WWI, see Salim Tamari, “The War Photography of Khalil Raad: Ottoman Modernity and the Biblical Gaze,” *Jerusalem Quarterly* 2013:52. It should also be noted that in addition to establishing a workshop, Garabedian also published around four technical manuals on photography, in particular how to “treat, expose, develop and print negative plates.” A certain Mitry, who later on moved to Cairo, also learned photography in Jerusalem under the apprenticeship of Krikorian.

⁵⁶ Sheehi, p. xxxvi; Miller, p. 83. The Sarrafian brothers’ studio remained in operation in Beirut until the death of Samuel (1884-1941), the youngest brother, in 1941. For a detailed study of the Sarrafians’ photographic heritage, see: Sami Toubia, *Sarrafian, Liban 1900-1930*, Editions Aleph, Lebanon, 2008.

last but not least, Gabriel Lekegian.⁵⁷ As in the case of the cigarette manufacturing industry, so too in photography, following some years of apprenticeship in prestigious Armenian studios like that of the Abdullah Brothers or Lekegian's, people opted to establish their own studios. Gober Benlian, originally from Istanbul, mastered the secrets of photography by working with the Abdullah brothers in his original hometown, and later on with Lekegian in Cairo for over 12 years. Then, suddenly, in about 1900, he decided to open his own studio in a location not too far from the Lekegian studio in the vicinity of Shepheard's Hotel.⁵⁸

Much the same as their counterparts in the Ottoman center, most of these photographers also established their workshops in locations close to luxurious European hotels. It seems that there was much demand for photographers in Cairo.⁵⁹ That is why, incidentally Lekegian, Utudjian, and Salkimian, for example, established themselves in the vicinity of the fashionable Shepheard's Hotel, in the process conceivably creating some competition among themselves. Aside from foreign tourists, the cream of Middle Eastern society (among them Armenians), as well as foreign and local notables, also revealed a strong desire to be frequently photographed.⁶⁰ In fact, this seems to be the reason why two of the Abdullah brothers, namely, Kevork and Hovsep, established a branch of their main Istanbul-based studio in Cairo in 1886, complying with the invitation of Khedive Tawfiq, who wanted, as far as one can tell, and similar to his suzerain Sultan Abdül Hamid, to benefit from these court photographers' accomplished photographic skills. As a matter of fact, in 1891, these two Armenian photographers traveled with the Khedive and his wife Emine Hanim to Luxor in Upper Egypt, where they took photos of them in front of the ancient Egyptian Karnak temple complex dating back to the fourteenth century BC. However, due to Egypt's dry and hot climate as well as

⁵⁷ For a more general treatment see Özendes, pp. 80, 82; Stefano G. Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien Administratif et Commercial 1897*, Alexandria, 1896, p. 148 and Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien 1904*, p. 333. Lekegian remained in business until his retirement in 1918, when he sold his shop along with its equipment, furniture, and clichés to the later established Kodak Company in Egypt. See the file belonging to Kodak Company (Egypt) in the British Library, reference: Kodak A1682.

⁵⁸ "Gober Benlian," *Arshaluys*, February 5-17, 1900.

⁵⁹ Miller, p. 26. See "Copy of Letter from Mr. H.M. Smith to Mr. Gifford," December 29, 1910, 8, reference: Kodak A1682.

⁶⁰ Brown, pp. 57-8. When the prices of photo portraits became cheaper in the twentieth century, the more "popular" segments of Near Eastern society also started buying photos or had themselves photographed in studios (Michele Hannoosh, "Practices of Photography: Circulation and Mobility in the Nineteenth-Century Mediterranean," *History of Photography*, 40/1:2016, p. 10.

his worsening health conditions, Kevork was forced to return to his hometown Istanbul, while his nephew Abraham came to replace him.⁶¹ Not long after this event, in 1895, the Abdullah brothers sold their shop to other famous photographers, namely, Sebah and Joaillier, and subsequently returned to Istanbul in 1900. Unfortunately, nothing is known about their later photographic activities.⁶²

Neither Lekegian's origins nor his earlier career nor the causes that drove him to move to Egypt are known. However, what we are sure of is his widespread fame and thriving career in Egypt. Shortly after his arrival in Cairo in 1887, Lekegian, who claimed to have mastered photography in Europe,⁶³ eventually became "Cairo's leading photographer"⁶⁴ and took pictures of Armenian, Egyptian and British notables and dignitaries in his Cairo studio including Boghos Nubar Pasha,⁶⁵ Lord Edward Cecil⁶⁶ and Egyptian Princess Nazli Hanım, a descendent of Muhammad 'Ali's dynasty.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Özendes, pp. 162, 164, 167. Apart from photographing local notables, the Abdullah brothers, when in Istanbul, also took photos of prominent foreign figures like Prince Albert Edward of Wales, Emperor Napoleon III of France and his wife Eugenie and Emperor Franz of Austria, among others, when these were visiting the Ottoman capital (Sheehi, p. 9).

⁶² Özendes, pp. 164-5, 169, 176. The Abdullah brothers also took pictures of natural and archeological sites in Egypt. Kevork spent around 39 days in Upper Egypt for this purpose. It is said that after leaving Egypt, the Abdullah photographers converted to Islam (Miller, p. 18). See more about the Abdullah brothers in Sheehi, *The Arab Image*.

⁶³ It is said that Lekegian learned modern photographic techniques during his stay in Europe. Lekegian also expressed his willingness to giving private lessons to all those interested in photography during his free time ("l'tān khuṣuṣī li ḥadārāt dubbāt al-jaysh al-miṣrī," *Al-Muqattam*, July 28, 1892).

⁶⁴ "Cairo's Leading Photographer," *Supplement of the Near East*, January 24, 1913, p. 18.

⁶⁵ The son of former Egyptian Prime Minister Nubar Pasha.

⁶⁶ *The Leisure of an Egyptian Official* written by Sir Edward Cecil was posthumously published in London in 1921. On the first page there was the portrait of him taken by Lekegian.

⁶⁷ These photos appeared in A.B. de Guerville's book *La Nouvelle Égypte*, Paris, 1905. Around 10 other photos taken by Lekegian are available online on the Jafet Library website, (accessed February 27, 2019), <http://ddc.aub.edu.lb/projects/jafet/blatchford/html/index.html>. Other pictures are available online: see <https://www.willemwitteveen.com/pdf/>, <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/collections/collection-of-views-of-egypt-including-cairo-and-the-pyramids#/?tab=about>, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1299582/funerary-complex-of-mamluk-sultan>

Among the other services provided by Armenian photographers in Egypt were photo development, producing miniatures, resizing existing pictures, coloring photos, and retouching.⁶⁸ Most of them claimed to follow what they described as American photographic techniques and methods.⁶⁹ But, being one of the oldest photographers in Egypt, Lekegian, apart from his work in the studio, also seemed to be involved in important projects owing to his close ties with British colonial and Egyptian government circles. Like the Matossians, Lekegian also advertised himself as the ‘photographer of the British Army of Occupation.’ The Cairene *Al-Muqattam* newspaper announced that he had produced photo albums of the Anglo-Egyptian army available for sale.⁷⁰ Added to this, Lekegian accompanied the army at times of peace and war, sometimes to the point of endangering his own life. In 1889, Lekegian accompanied that army to the Sudan, where he was commissioned to capture photos of the Battle of Toski, which ultimately ended with Anglo-Egyptian victory over the Mahdist rebels. A few years later, these shots made their appearance in multiple publications. In 1891, it was announced that around 95 of these photographs, relating to natives, Egyptian and Sudanese scenery and the battle itself, had been transmitted by Sir Francis Reginald Wingate, a leading British general during the battle, to the London-based Royal Geographical Society. Much the same as the later-established American National Geographic Society, the organization meant to expand the geographical sciences and to represent the wilds of Africa.⁷¹ In the final analysis, these photographs mostly served Wingate himself, since they enabled him to illustrate his books *Mahdism and the Egyptian Sudan* (published in 1891) and *Ten Years’ Captivity in the Mahdi’s Camp* (published in 1892) by including many of Lekegian’s pictures, “... remarkable for their clearness, and the amount of detail they show.”⁷² Aside from these publications, some other pictures also appeared in other books like A.B. de Guerville’s *Le Nouvelle Égypte* (published in 1905) and S.H. Leeder’s *Veiled Mysteries in Egypt and the Religion of Islam* (published in 1912). They represented scenes from the exotic but backward East. Most of the pictures

photograph-lekegian-gabriel/, <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/mirage/cl11-223.htm>, (accessed April 15, 2019).

⁶⁸ “Gober Benlian,” and “H. Utudjian and Co. American Photography Studio,” *Lusaper*, December 13, 1904.

⁶⁹ “H. Utudjian,” and “American Studio,” *Azad Khosk*, August 17, 1907.

⁷⁰ Miller, p. 23; “İ‘lān khuşuşı.”

⁷¹ “Photographs,” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography* 13/11 (1891), p. 700; Michelle L. Woodward, “Between Orientalist Clichés and Images of Modernization,” *History of Photography* 27/4:2003, p. 364.

⁷² “Photographs,” p. 700.

dealt with mosques, palaces, streets in Cairo, veiled women, children, peasants, craftsmen, traditional technologies in irrigation and plowing, scenes from village life, Egyptian historic sites and so on. Thanks to his photographic expertise Lekegian even received a gold medal during the International Photography Exhibition held in Paris in 1892.⁷³

The Economic Ventures of Onnig Diradour and the Birth of the Kodak Company in Egypt

Besides practicing photography, some members of the Armenian minority in Egypt also acted as importers of various photographic films, equipment and cameras from abroad. Onnig Diradour, whose commercial activities will be discussed in some detail in the coming paragraphs, was one of the dominant figures, who actually drew the attention of the Kodak Company to the market potential of the Middle East.

In her MA thesis “The Craftsman’s Art: Armenians and the Growth of Photography in the Near East (1856-1981),” Dickinson Jenkins Miller sheds light on the prosperous economic ventures of Onnig Diradour in his hometown Istanbul, while paying less attention to his later, more crucial business successes in Egypt. By relying on documents I have uncovered in the British Library, this section of the paper will explore the story behind the birth of the Kodak Company in Egypt. Combining balance sheets and ledgers, bills of exchange and memoranda of sale, these sources will illuminate our understanding of early Armenian involvement in photography, the rise of Diradour as principal salesman and dealer of photographic equipment in Istanbul and Cairo, and the negotiations which ultimately led to the takeover of his company by the giant Kodak conglomerate.

In his early days in Istanbul, it appears that Diradour devoted more time developing his trade in photographic equipment than in taking pictures, acting, we are told by the *Annuaire Oriental*, as the representative of ten multinational photographic companies in the Ottoman domains.⁷⁴ Judging by the wide variety of camera-related products available at the Diradour store, located in Istanbul’s Samatya quarter, a photographer planning to furnish his studio had almost no other option but to pay a visit to the man’s shop, where he could find all the necessities of his profession.

Despite his success in the Ottoman capital, at some point after the first outbreak of violence against Armenians in Istanbul, Diradour relocated to Cairo in the late 1890s. There, he pursued the same profession in his newly rented shop, which became known as the Cairo Photographic Store, situated

⁷³ See Lekegian’s *carte de visite*.

⁷⁴ Özendes, pp. 44-5; Dickinson, pp. 50-1.

in Opera Square in the neighborhood of many foreign consulates and luxurious hotels – Shepherd’s, Continental Savoy, and Metropole.⁷⁵

Not long after his arrival, he gained the upper hand in what can be described as the trade in Kodak products, a fact quickly recognized by Hedley M. Smith, Kodak’s Paris manager touring Egypt at the time. According to his report to his home office, Diradour controlled nearly 60% of the Kodak trade in Egypt, distributing Kodak merchandise in the deep south of the country.⁷⁶ As the report of the Diradour store for the year 1911 indicates, it not only sold photographic equipment retail and wholesale, but also catered to the needs of the higher echelons of Egyptian society (both native and foreign). We do know that Lekegian and a number of Greek and Austrian photographers, namely, Piromali and Fiorillo as well as Paul Dittrich, were among Diradour’s loyal customers. In addition, members of the Khedivial family like Sa’id Halim Pasha,⁷⁷ Prince Ibrāhīm Halim, several high British officials like Lord Edward Cecil, and a number of foreigners including Germans and Frenchmen also appeared on his long list of clients. In 1911, he had around 145 customers from all nationalities including Egyptian nationals.⁷⁸

Struck by Diradour’s marked success and, more important, Kodak’s market potential, Smith toyed with the idea of appointing him as Kodak’s exclusive agent in Egypt and possibly in nearby Syria and Palestine.⁷⁹ But the company, more interested in multiplying its profits rather than magnifying Diradour’s role and wealth, opted for outright ownership. Following several encounters with Kodak representatives in Paris and London, Diradour, somewhat reluctantly, sold his business to the newly established Company in return for part ownership of the founding shares and the position of Egyptian director for a period of five years. Diradour, and three other Armenian relatives Arshag and Yervant Ferman[ian] and Hrant Nassibian, had 40% of

⁷⁵ In 1910-1911, Diradour paid £E 9000 for rent (“The Balance Sheet of 1910-1911: 1 June 1910-31 May 1911.” Reference: Kodak A1682).

⁷⁶ See “Copy of Letter from Mr. Smith to Mr. Gifford,” 6 January 1911, 1; Poffandi, *Indicateur Égyptien 1904*, p. 84; “Balance Sheet 31 Mai 1911.” Reference: Kodak A1682.

⁷⁷ Sa’id Halim Pasha (1865-1921), the grandson of Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha, served as the Grand-Vizier of the Ottoman Empire from 1913 to 1917.

⁷⁸ See “Copy of Letter from Mr. Smith to Mr. Gifford,” 6 January 1911 and “Copy of Letter from Mr. H.M. Smith to Gifford,” 12 January 1911. Fiorillo served as the photographer of the engineers working in Aswan. He bought the bulk of his goods from Diradour, who gave him an 11% discount (“Kodak [Egypt] Société Anonyme Balances Taken Over from O. Diradour 1 Nov. 1911.” Reference: Kodak A1682).

⁷⁹ See “Correspondence from H.M. Smith to O. Diradour,” 22 May 1911, 1. Reference: Kodak A1682.

the shares, while 60% were held by the new Company represented by Kodak Limited, Williams Jones Williams, and Armand Notté.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

By positioning Armenians in their local Egyptian context, this paper has reconstructed the multi-layered economic ventures of Ottoman Armenian migrants in British-occupied Egypt and, in the process, disproved all claims made regarding their minimal role in Egypt's economy. Armenians, voluntarily or involuntarily, moved to Egypt, carrying with them a whole bundle of skills, customs, and political grievances from their ancestral hometowns. In stark contrast to the early nineteenth century, when they figured principally as high government employees, the new immigrants, comparatively greater in number but still constituting a small proportion of the total Egyptian population, eventually featured prominently in many segments of the Egyptian economy. To be sure, they were not massively represented in agriculture but were certainly evident in the services sectors as restaurateurs, medics, lawyers, architects, photographers, journalists, jewelers and, more modestly, craftsmen, mechanics, tailors, and shoemakers. In many cases these activities did not represent a rupture but a form of continuity of earlier skills and competence carried over with them. They also ventured into an economic realm which at the time was regarded as a European/Western preserve, namely industry, represented by their great successes in cigarette production for local and international consumption. This paper, therefore, rehabilitates the economic role of the Armenian minority, which, although not as large as that of the Greeks or Jews, nevertheless played an important role in the survival of the community itself and for the evolving Egyptian economy as a whole.

By focusing on their striking economic role and collective achievement, this paper has not adequately treated the cultural reality of an expatriate community which, regardless of its diasporic state of being, nevertheless, insisted on its distinctive "Armenianness." This essay has, however, indirectly alluded to its lively cultural life. In Egypt, the diminutive Armenian community developed a lively cultural life centering on church and school, on the book and the newspaper, on music and song, on literary, sports and patriotic societies and, not least, on food. In time, this tiny Egyptian community was to

⁸⁰ "Kodak (Egypt) Preliminary Act of the Company," 1, 6, 10. "Kodak (Egypt) (Société Anonyme)" *Supplement Au Journal Officiel*, 2 September 1912, pp. 1-3. Except for Diradour, all the directors of the firm in Egypt were foreigners. The starting capital of the company was 12,000 E.P.; it took over the assets belonging to Diradour's Cairo Photographic Store. Reference: Kodak A1682.

have a considerable impact on the cultural and national life of Armenians living well beyond Egyptian borders, thanks partly to the tireless activities of the AGBU, which was spawned in Egypt.⁸¹ Though culture is not at its center, this article has demonstrated that the study of Armenian culture, in its formative exilic stage in Egypt, is possible because the sources, dispersed though they may be, are available.

Although essentially dealing with the actual socio-economic achievements of a numerically vulnerable Armenian community, this paper, without saying so explicitly, is fundamentally political, surveying the socio-economic fate of a community in exile that came into being because of the inability of two political entities, Turkish and Armenian, to co-exist in the same political space. Even so, this study has not dwelt on the political setting that necessitated migration or the political consequences that derived from Armenians finding refuge in a *de jure* Ottoman entity under informal British Occupation. However, what the thesis has done is to indicate that such a study is indeed necessary and feasible, for the overall political framework as well as the ‘interior’ Armenian politics that obtained. There is ample scope, for instance, to examine the ‘political’ struggle between Armenian clergy and Armenian laity, the class conflict within the immigrant community as well as the internecine, frequently bloody, struggle between rising immigrant Armenian political parties over strategies leading to the reclamation of a recently lost homeland and, finally, the difficult task of reconciling conflicting political ideologies. Once, and if, that is done, then, in all probability, a more complete and historically grounded account of the opening pages of the world Armenian diaspora in Egypt will become available.

**ԴՐԱԽՏԻ ՈՐՈՆՈՒՄԸ ԵՒ ՀԱՐՍՏՈՒԹԵԱՆ ՓՆՏՈՏՈՒՔԸ. ՕՍՄԱՆՅԻ ՀԱՅ
ՊԱՆԴՈՒԽՏՆԵՐՈՒ ՏՆՏԵՍԱԿԱՆ ԴԵՐԸ ԲՐԻՏԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԵԳԻՊՏՈՍԻ ՄԷՋ
(1882-1914) (Բ. ՄԱՍ)**

(Ամփոփում)

ՊԵՏՐՈՍ ԹՈՐՈՍԵԱՆ (btorosia@uci.edu)

Պատմաբանները ընդհանրապես կը խօսին Եգիպտոսի ԺԹ. դարավերջ-Ի. դարասկզբի յոյն եւ հրեայ փոքրամասնութիւններու ունեցած տնտեսական դերին մասին, մինչ հարեանցի կ'ականարկեն Եգիպտահայոց: Իսկ Լորտ Քրոմըր գրած էր, թէ հայերը մեծամասնութեամբ խանութպաններ էին:

Այստեղ լուարձակի տակ կ'առնուի հայ ներդրումը Եգիպտոսի լուսանկարչական եւ ծխախոտի արդիւնաբերութեան, որոնց վրայ օսմանցի հայ գաղթականներ յաջողած էին գրեթէ մենաշնորհի հաստատել, հասնելով բարձր համբաւի տեղական (եգիպտական) եւ միջազգային շուկաներուն մէջ:

⁸¹ After WWI, the AGBU played a major role in Armenian relief work and education.



Saint Theresa Armenian Catholic Church in Heliopolis designed by architect Garo Balian in 1925



The Nubari Plowing Machine. Source: "An Egyptian Steam Cultivator," *Scientific American*, February 13, 1909



Source: *The New York Herald*, November 4, 1908.



Source: *Arshaluys*, December 22-January 4, 1911.

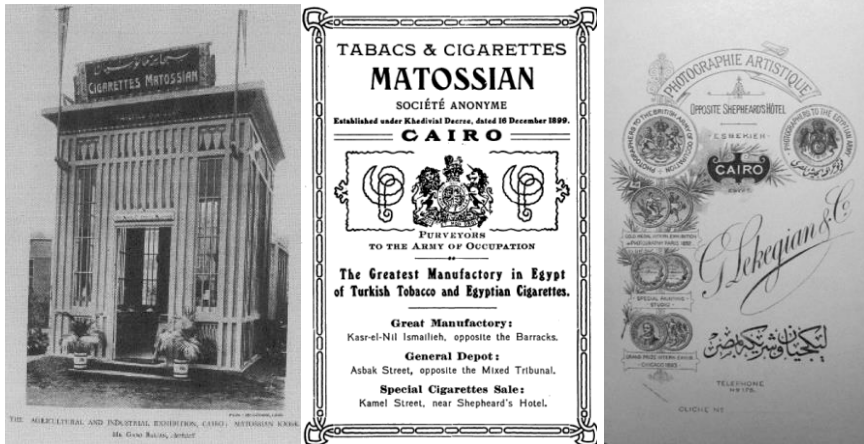


Sources: *Arev*, July 5, 1915 & *L'Annuaire Égyptien* 1908, p. 1433.



Source: *Al-Muqattam*, April 3, 1896.





The Matossian Kiosk and an advertisement
(Sources: "The Agricultural and Industrial
Exhibition, Cairo," *Architecture*, September
1926, p. 143; *The Lands of Sunshine: A
Practical Guide to Egypt and the Sudan*, Cairo,
Whitehead and Morris Co., 1908.)

Source:
[http://www.lusarvest.org/pr
actioners/lekegian-gabriel/](http://www.lusarvest.org/practioners/lekegian-gabriel/),
(accessed April 15, 2019).

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Source: *The Egyptian Directory 1913*, pp. XXI, XXIII, XVII