VLADIMIR-KAYE-KYSILEWSKYJ

IN EUROPE, CANADA, AND BRITAIN

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DR Kaye, as he was affectionately known in Canada, or Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewskyj (1896-1976), as he is more precisely known to historians (Ukrainian version pronounced "kis-i-LEV-skee"), was a prominent scholar and political activist, who was a main figure in the pre-history of Canadian multiculturalism. Concurrently with this, he also contributed a great deal to the development and understanding of the Ukrainian group in Canada, which during the time of his maturity in the 1940s, was relatively large. On another important level, he also contributed to the cause of Ukrainian political autonomy and future independence in Europe.

Kysilewskyj was a native son of Western Ukraine under the Habsburg Monarchy; that is, Austria-Hungary. He was born in Austrian Galicia and educated in the town of Chernivtsi in Austrian Bukovina. The scion of an old Ukrainian family with clerical roots, and the son of a prominent parliamentarian and leader in the Ukrainian women's movement, from his youth he had been exposed to a number of languages, and even seems to have known some English, which was quite rare for that time and place. He served during the Great War in the so-called *Ukrainski sichovi striltsi* (Ukrainian Sich Rifles), a special legion of Galician Ukrainian volunteers in the Imperial Austrian Army; and when the Habsburg Monarchy collapsed in 1918, he served in the Galician Ukrainian Army, which replaced the *Striltsi* and strove to uphold Ukrainian rights in the former Galicia and defend the newly-formed Western Ukrainian People's Republic.

On behalf of that Galician Ukrainian Army, and given some knowledge of English, he was sent to Odessa in the collapsing Russian Empire to negotiate with the British forces temporarily stationed in that city. The British were in Odessa rather briefly, and he was soon sent to Vienna on a similar diplomatic mission. Not long afterwards, he left the military to study at the University of Vienna. At the university, he specialized in history and soon was able to defend a doctoral thesis on the Ukrainian gentry in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was at Vienna that he received his first PhD.

Thereafter, Kysilewskyj emigrated to Canada, which was then still a self-governing "Dominion" within the British Empire, at that time still one of the world's great powers. His immigration to Canada, which took place in 1925, coincided with the first year of the so-called Railway Agreement between the North American Dominion and the new Republic of Poland, which had just completed its annexation of Galicia. The Railway Agreement encouraged the immigration of Polish citizens to Canada, including those of Ukrainian background from old Galicia, who, in fact, were the group most affected by it.

In Canada, Kysilewskyj was always known as a quiet gentleman of sorts, a low-profile political figure with moderate opinions, who successfully navigated the stormy waters of the post-1918 period, in particular, the so-called "roaring twenties" when North America was in the middle of an economic boom. Prairie Canada, where Kysilewskyj settled (at first in Manitoba

A young Vladimir Kaye-Kysilewskyj (in military uniform) and his mother Olena Kyslilevska (1869-1956). Kysilewskyj seems to have been greatly influenced by his mother, an early Ukrainian feminist, who had toured North America in 1924 and was twice elected to the Senate of Poland from the moderate UNDO Party, by far the largest Ukrainian political party in interwar Poland. She was an active journalist in Poland and joined her son in Ottawa in 1948, apparently one of the first of the post-war Ukrainian Displaced Persons (DPs) to arrive in the North American Dominion. Undated photo from the article on "Kysilevskyj" in the Ukrainian version of Wikipedia, Accessed 5/18/2019.

and then later in Alberta) shared considerably in that economic boom, and the young Ukrainian scholar had no trouble finding work.

During the 1920s, Kysilewskyj was fairly active in Ukrainian public life in the Canadian Dominion, though he was never known as a person of great political ambitions. And by his later years, this profile was confirmed by his well-established reputation as a modest but competent scholar, who specialized in the history of the Ukrainian Canadians themselves, especially the settlement of the Prairies by the Ukrainian pioneers who had arrived in the New Country from the 1890s to 1914. The fact that most of Kysilewskyj's major works, histories and reference works, were published in English rather than in Ukrainian made them especially significant to younger generations of curious Ukrainian Canadians, who were largely unacquainted with the Ukrainian language.

But Kysilewskyj's moderation and low-profile concealed a grit, determination, and dedication that belied his gentlemanly demeanour and outward modesty. From his studies in Vienna onward, he was interested in genealogy in Europe and the history of the older Ukrainian gentry and aristocracy (or "boyars" as they were called). This was tied to his appreciation for tradition and moved him to eventually support the small, but significant and relatively well-educated, "Hetman Party" in Canada. The Hetmanites supported the idea of a Ukrainian monarchy in Europe and saw the Revolutionary-era "Hetman," or ruler, Pavlo Skoropadsky (1873-1945), as a potential future monarch in an independent Ukrainian state.

Such an idea seems quite far-fetched today, and indeed, so it did also in the 1920s and 1930s, when Kysilewskyj was active in the Hetman movement. But in Canada, the Hetmanites also cultivated an affection for the British Monarchy and the British Empire, of which the Dominion of Canada, of course, was still an integral part. Good manners, education, and personal integrity were ostensibly encouraged by the movement, and Kysilewskyj was an excellent example of them all.

Moreover, in spite of his Hetmanite sympathies, Kysilewskyj cautiously kept his distance from Skoropadsky, who was resident in Berlin throughout the interwar era. It was rather the Hetmanite ideologue, Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882-1931), whom he seems to have met in Vienna where that ideologue was resident, who influenced him in that direction. That conservative thinker stressed state and political nation rather than ethnicity, and when he died in 1931, Kysilewskyj moved away from the Hetmanite movement. In the late 1920s, Kysilewskyj had for a time edited a conservative Catholic paper in Edmonton, Alberta, called *Ukrainski visti* (The Ukrainian News). But in 1931, an opportunity arose to move to England and open a new

Ukrainian information bureau that was aimed at explaining Ukrainian affairs to the British government and to the British public. He did not hesitate to accept the offer.

This Ukrainian Bureau, as it was simply called, was financed by one Yakub Makohin (1880-1956), a somewhat mysterious Ukrainian figure in the United States. Makohin, we know today, had been an early Ukrainian immigrant to both Canada and then the USA. Like Kysilewskyj, he too was originally from Galicia and had been educated in Bukovina, a neighbouring province in the Habsburg Monarchy, which was also largely inhabited by Ukrainians, or "Ruthenians," as they were then called. He had served in the American military and had married a wealthy and well-connected American heiress, Suzanne Fallon from Boston, and this provided him with the means to influence Ukrainian public life. It was probably at the time that he first met Suzanne that Makohin began to claim that he was by origin of aristocratic background, a descendant of Count or Prince Cyril Rozumovsky (reigned 1750-1764), the last "Hetman" or ruler of Cossack Ukraine.

At any rate, Makohin was quite disturbed by the extremism of Ukrainian politics in the 1930s, especially by the political positions of the Ukrainian intelligentsia on the eve of the Second World War. He and his wealthy sponsors (probably some of his wife's connections) wished to move Ukrainian opinion more towards the centre and towards cooperation with the western democracies. Kysilewskyj was in complete accord with these ideas, and the two men seemed to click. In London, Kysilewskyj provided accurate information on Ukrainian affairs in Europe (both in the USSR and in Poland) to the British press corps and to British politicians, and he actively lobbied them in favour of a more independent or at least autonomous Ukraine within both Poland and the USSR. This approach was appreciated by certain opinion makers in Britain, and about this time, Kysilewskyj was instrumental in the formation of an English-Ukrainian Committee to support various Ukrainian political claims, most especially the goal of a more autonomous Ukrainian region in Poland, but also the general principles of more democracy and greater respect for human rights in Eastern Europe.

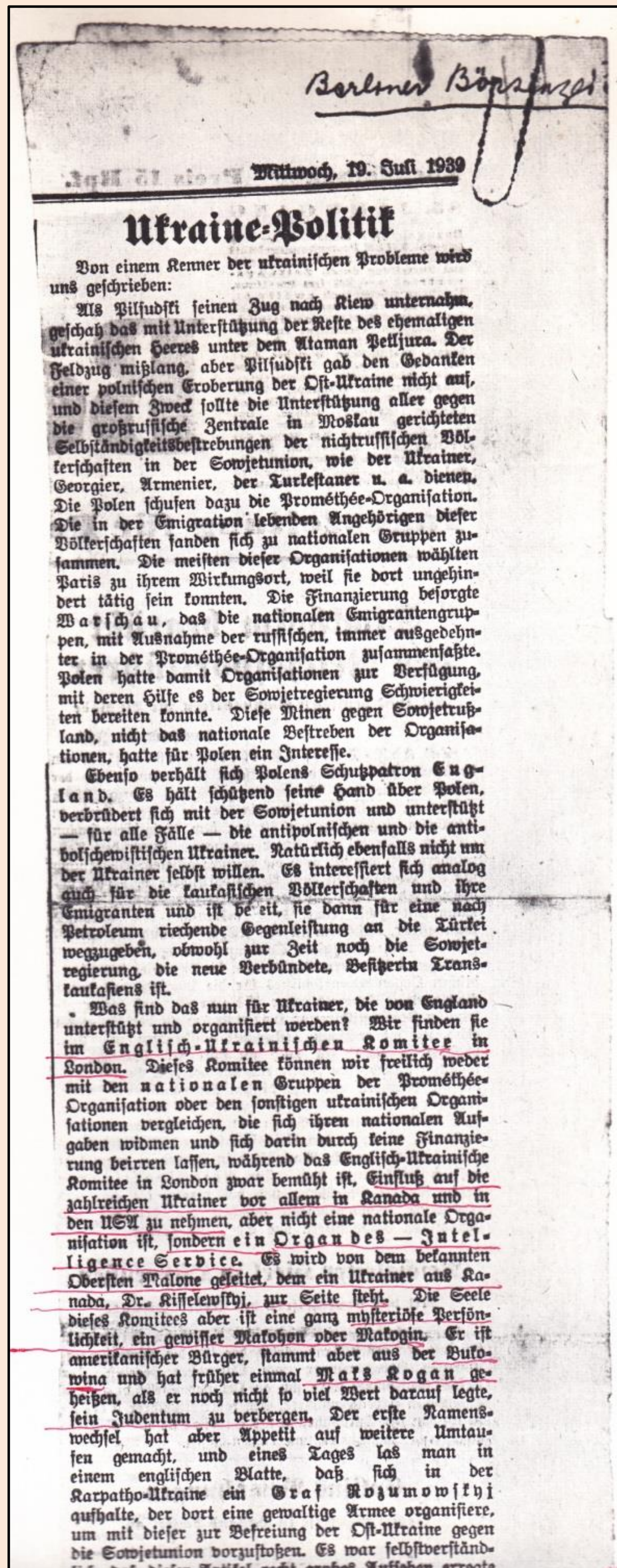
While in London, Kysilewskyj also studied at the School of Slavonic Studies of the University of London, where he worked on the Ukrainian movement in Galicia from 1772 to 1918. His supervisor, the distinguished founder of the School, R. W. Seton-Watson, thought his work to be good, and according to Kysilewskyj's personal diary, their relationship was quite amicable. But in 1938, in spite of a positive recommendation from Seton-Watson, which also mentioned his political work at the Ukrainian Bureau, the Ukrainian scholar was not offered a professorship at the University of Alberta, where the local Ukrainian community was striving to initiate courses in Ukrainian studies. Surprisingly, it was Kysilewskyj's political activity in England at the Bureau that was given as the principle reason for not taking him on. Ukrainian Canadians would have to wait several years more before one of their own was appointed to such a position, and even before any kind of department of Slavic studies was set up in the country. Meanwhile, in England, when Seton-Watson retired, he was replaced by a Canadian specialist on Poland, W. J. Rose, who urged Kysilewskyj to return to London and take his second doctorate there, as his thesis had already been written and Rose thought quite highly of it. But the Ukrainian scholar had already gone on to other things.

On the eve of the Second World War, Kysilewskyj worked so closely with various British figures, especially the relatively well-known British "secret" agent, Tracy Philipps, and the Labourite Colonel Cecil Malone, that the Germans soon took notice. For example, an influential article titled "Ukraine-Politik" in a prominent German paper, the *Berliner Börsenzeitung* (July 19, 1939) openly accused the Ukrainian Bureau of being not so much an

instrument of the Ukrainians in Canada, of whom Kysilewskyj was the key, but rather an "organ of an intelligence service," that is, either of the British, or of Makohin himself, who, so the article claimed, was really a Jew from Bukovina named Maks Kogan (*Er ist amerikanischer Bürger, stammt aber aus der Bukowina, und hat früher einmal Maks Kogan geheissen*) who simply dabbled in East European politics by pretending to be a descendant of Count Cyril Rozumovsky.

Insinuating that Makohin might be in turn an agent of American intelligence, the article claimed that the Ukrainian American wished to establish a Ukrainian army in the region called Carpatho-Ukraine, which had been a part of Czechoslovakia to 1938. (This tiny and disputed region, at that time an object of German attention, was then the topic of much discussion in diplomatic circles.) The article then claimed that Makohin hoped to use that Ukrainian army to help push the Soviets eastward out of all Ukraine, including the Donets Basin, which was industrially very important. At any rate, concluded the unsigned article, Kysilewskyj's activities reflected Makohin's ambitions and were not good for German-Ukrainian relations.

By 1938, however, Kysilewskyj was well integrated into British society and had many different political contacts. His positions were well-known to Ukrainians both in Canada and in Europe. In Canada, his pro-British attitudes and admiration for political democracy made him many sympathizers among the moderate, Liberal-inclined *Soiuz ukraintsiv samostiinykiv Kanady* (Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada) which was closely affiliated with the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada. In Europe, not only the Germans, but also the far right *Orhanizatsiia*



Mittwoch, 19. Juli 1939

Ukraine-Politik

Von einem Kenner der ukrainischen Probleme wird uns geschrieben:

Als Pilsudski seinen Zug nach Kiew unternahm, geschah das mit Unterstützung der Reste des ehemaligen ukrainischen Heeres unter dem Ataman Petljura. Der Feldzug mißlang, aber Pilsudski gab den Gedanken einer polnischen Eroberung der Ost-Ukraine nicht auf, und diesem Zweck sollte die Unterstützung aller gegen die großrussische Zentrale in Moskau gerichteten Selbständigkeitsbestrebungen der nichtrussischen Völkerschaften in der Sowjetunion, wie der Ukrainer, Georgier, Armenier, der Turkestaner u. a. dienen. Die Polen schufen dazu die Prométhée-Organisation. Die in der Emigration lebenden Angehörigen dieser Völkerschaften fanden sich zu nationalen Gruppen zusammen. Die meisten dieser Organisationen wählten Paris zu ihrem Wirkungsort, weil sie dort ungehindert tätig sein konnten. Die Finanzierung besorgte Warschau, das die nationalen Emigrantengruppen, mit Ausnahme der russischen, immer ausgedehnter in der Prométhée-Organisation zusammenfaßte. Polen hatte damit Organisationen zur Verfügung, mit deren Hilfe es der Sowjetregierung Schwierigkeiten bereiten konnte. Diese Minen gegen Sowjetrußland, nicht das nationale Bestreben der Organisationen, hatte für Polen ein Interesse.

Ebenso verhält sich Polens Schutzpatron England. Es hält schützend seine Hand über Polen, verbrüdert sich mit der Sowjetunion und unterstützt — für alle Fälle — die antipolnischen und die antibolschewistischen Ukrainer. Natürlich ebenfalls nicht um der Ukrainer selbst willen. Es interessiert sich analog auch für die kaukasischen Völkerschaften und ihre Emigranten und ist be eit, sie dann für eine nach Petroleum riechende Gegenleistung an die Türkei wegzugeben, obwohl zur Zeit noch die Sowjetregierung, die neue Verbündete, Besitzerin Transkaukasiens ist.

Was sind das nun für Ukrainer, die von England unterstützt und organisiert werden? Wir finden sie im Englisch-Ukrainischen Komitee in London. Dieses Komitee können wir freilich weder mit den nationalen Gruppen der Prométhée-Organisation oder den sonstigen ukrainischen Organisationen vergleichen, die sich ihren nationalen Aufgaben widmen und sich darin durch keine Finanzierung beirren lassen, während das Englisch-Ukrainische Komitee in London zwar bemüht ist, Einfluß auf die zahlreichen Ukrainer vor allem in Kanada und in den USA zu nehmen, aber nicht eine nationale Organisation ist, sondern ein Organ des — Intelligence Service. Es wird von dem bekannten Obersten Malone geleitet, dem ein Ukrainer aus Kanada, Dr. Kisselewskyj, zur Seite steht. Die Seele dieses Komitees aber ist eine ganz mysteriöse Persönlichkeit, ein gewisser Makohon oder Makogin. Er ist amerikanischer Bürger, stammt aber aus der Bukowina und hat früher einmal Maks Kogan geheißen, als er noch nicht so viel Wert darauf legte, sein Judentum zu verbergen. Der erste Namenswechsel hat aber Appetit auf weitere Umtaufen gemacht, und eines Tages las man in einem englischen Blatte, daß sich in der Karpatho-Ukraine ein Graf Rozumowskyj aufhalte, der dort eine gewaltige Armee organisiere, um mit dieser zur Befreiung der Ost-Ukraine gegen die Sowjetunion vorzustoßen. Es war selbstverständlich, daß dieser Artikel recht großes Aufsehen erregte

ukrainskykh nationalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists or OUN) was well aware of his activities; the latter, headed by Colonel Yevhen Konovalets (1891-1938), considered itself to be at war with the Polish state and had been carrying out acts of political violence against Polish targets. Most probably, the radical OUN did not fully approve of Kysilewskyj's support for the moderate and legal *Ukrainske nationalno-demokratyche obiednannia* (Ukrainian National Democratic Organization) or UNDO in Poland, which would (at least in the short run) have settled for Ukrainian autonomy within the Polish state.

However, Konovalets wished to retain a certain amount of political flexibility, and not be solely dependent upon his primary ally, Nazi Germany, which was an open enemy of firstly the USSR, and then secondly Poland later on. With this in mind, the OUN established its main newspaper in Paris rather than anywhere in Germany or Italy (that is to say, not on the territories of the Axis Powers). And in 1938, Konovalets sent a young OUN supporter with British citizenship, the Canadian, Stephen Davidovich, to England. It was Davidovich's task to clearly express the position of the OUN to the British.

Upon arriving in London, Davidovich immediately sought out his fellow Canadian, Vladimir Kysilewskyj, who soon befriended the young nationalist and helped him with advice and contacts and attempted to influence him in a more moderate direction. Although the two operated independently of each other, they tried not to duplicate each other's work or to disagree on important matters. Such internal conflicts within the Ukrainian "camp" would have been counterproductive and would have given both local and distant enemies of the Ukrainian cause an untoward advantage.

Nevertheless, there was some tension between the two men. Kysilewskyj struck Davidovich as too genteel, too moderate, and much too anglophile, even in his mannerisms and the way that he spoke English, while Davidovich struck Kysilewskyj as very much a young hot head, who needed to be taught some tact and some diplomatic skills. When war finally broke out in late 1939, Kysilewskyj closed his Bureau while Davidovich opened up a new one to directly represent the OUN. In the summer of 1939, with war already on the horizon, but while Kysilewskyj was still running his Bureau, George Luckyj, the son of Ostap Luckyj, an UNDO member of the Polish Senate like Kysilewskyj's mother, arrived in London to study English literature. He had just been in Germany, where he had witnessed the extreme nationalism and military preparations of the Third Reich. Shortly after Luckyj's arrival in England, the Germans invaded Poland and the war started. By 1940, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and finally France had all fallen to the great German war machine and Hitler was doing his two-step in Paris. Britain stood almost alone, its senior "ally" being the Dominion of Canada.

Sometime during this period, Luckyj visited Kysilewskyj in his office in London, and with images of German mass mobilization and militancy so fresh in his mind, expressed the opinion that it was unlikely that tired and easy-going England could for very long withstand the Nazi onslaught. In reply, Kysilewskyj pointed to the large world map on his office wall, swept his hand across the whole map, and explained to the young student of English literature from Poland that the British Empire (the ubiquitous "red on the map") was the largest empire that the world had ever seen, had unlimited resources upon which it could eventually draw, and that Germany could not possibly defeat Britain. This clearly pro-British position is underlined by the fact that when the Nazis drew up a list of important anti-Nazi figures in Britain to be arrested upon the island's conquest by the Third Reich, Kysilewskyj's name was on it.

After closing his Bureau, Kysilewskyj returned to Canada, where he was soon hired by the Canadian government and had his name changed to "Kaye." Meanwhile, Davidovich

continued to present the OUN case to the British until June, 1941, when the sudden Nazi attack on the USSR automatically made the USSR an ally of Britain. Instantly, criticism of the Communist regime became impossible. Davidovich was compelled to close down his office and urged to join the military. He shortly entered a Canadian army unit stationed in Britain, where he eventually rose to the rank of captain.

At one time, there was considerable mystery about why and how Kysilewskyj had come to change his name to "Kaye" and be hired by the Canadian government. That government was then concerned to get the various "nationalities" resident in Canada on side for the war effort. At its request, and with the full support of Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Minister, London sent Tracy Philipps to Canada to help implement this task. Philipps was chosen because of his extensive experience and knowledge of international relations and East European, especially Ukrainian affairs, and throughout the war, Ottawa was deeply concerned about what it considered to be "unassimilated blocks of Slavs" on the Prairies.

As to the question of name-changing, that was a common practice in those days in what was still occasionally referred to as "British North America." In fact, it was then almost impossible to hold any kind of responsible job in government or in business without having an English sounding name. A "difficult" name that immediately marked one as being "of foreign extraction" (as it was then usually put), was a definite disadvantage. And "Kysilewskyj" was certainly a puzzling tongue-twister for the English Canadians. Indeed, even Kysilewskyj's English wife, Gracie, faced difficulties by being burdened with a label like that of her husband. But Kysilewskyj was very proud of his name – his mother being a prominent member of the

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All For One—One For All

Members of the Ukrainian Canadian committee which formed a united front of all Ukrainian organizations held their first session, Tuesday night, in the Ukrainian home, Mcregor street and Burrows avenue. In picture are: Front row, sitting, S. Chwaliboga, financial secretary; J. W. Arsenych, K.C., secretary; Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, vice-president and chairman of executive committee; Rev. Dr. W. Kushnir, president; W. Swystun, vice-president and chairman of co-ordinating committee; Dr. T. Datzkiw, treasurer. Second row, standing, Dr. M. Mandryka, J. Rudachek, T. Melnychuk, Rev. S. Semczuk, E. Wasylyshyn, Dr. B. Dyma, T. D. Ferley, A. Zaharychuk, P. Barycky, M. Stechishin.

...arning by Wood

London, Nov. 27. (CP cable) — ...r Kingsley Wood, chancellor of exchequer, today warned ... that "It is vital to our war ...ncrease still further the ...ving during the com...

★ ★ ★

UNITED EFFORT

Ukrainian Canadian Committee Elects Kushnir to Presidency

18 Contracts

Ottawa, Nov. 27 (CP) — Awardin... of 18 construction contracts totallin... $1,428,000 was announced today b... the department of munitions supply. The contracts, appr... completion dates, and ... employed include: Engine overha...

Snapshot of the Front Page of the *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 27, 1940, displaying a large press photo of the newly formed Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which was supposed to unite various Ukrainian Canadian factions and churches behind the war effort. Seated at the front table in the middle are (to the left) the Rev. S. W. Sawchuk, principal administrator of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church of Canada, and (to the right), the Rev. Wasyl Kushnir of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Canada (in 1952 officially renamed the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church of Canada). Kushnir became President of the new committee. Kysilewskyj, along with Simpson and others, played a crucial role in getting these warring factions to sit down together. The mustached gentleman standing on the far right is Myroslav Stechishin, editor of Winnipeg's *Ukrainskyi holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), who in the 1930s had been a firm supporter of the Ukrainian Bureau. The seat of the new Committee was in Winnipeg, which at that time was still the unofficial Ukrainian capital of Canada.

Polish Senate from the UNDO Party, which was the most popular Ukrainian political party in Poland – and he seemed to be very reluctant to change it.

Philipps told Kysilewskyj, however, that he simply had to do this in order to work in Ottawa, as otherwise there would be suspicions as to his loyalty to the country among not only the English, but also among Polish and Jewish Canadians. After all, he had once served in the Austrian military during that earlier "World War." Indeed, there is some irony in the fact that the man who only shortly before had been attacked and accused of being a British or American agent was now in danger of being accused of being a German agent! So Philipps simply had Kysilewskyj signed on as Kaye, and the latter was then told that he was now a Canadian civil servant and just had to accept this *fait accompli* regarding his name!

The principal task of the newly created "Nationalities Branch" (the department in which "Kaye" came to serve) was to survey and liaison with the non-English and non-French parts of the Canadian population, primarily through the "foreign language" press, as it was then called. Kaye was in a good position to do this, as he was fluent in not only English, but also in Ukrainian, Polish, and German, and was knowledgeable in French and in several other languages and cultures as well. Moreover, having lived for a time on the Prairies, he already knew a great deal about prairie Canadian culture, in which the various Slavonic groups and the Germans were not only numerous, but also very important. The Ukrainians in Canada at that time outnumbered all of the other Slavonic groups in the country combined. As well, Kaye was conversant with east European politics and knew how to explain them to both English Canadian bureaucrats and to ordinary Canadian citizens.

All of these factors made Kaye instrumental in helping the University of Saskatchewan historian, Professor George Simpson (who was named head of the Nationalities Branch) and the well-known polyglot, Watson Kirkconnell (who had been a prime mover behind its establishment and worked closely with it) to unite the various Ukrainian Canadian organizations and get them behind the war effort. In particular, Kaye quietly pushed behind the scenes for the formation of a new Ukrainian Canadian Committee, which united the two biggest and mutually hostile non-Communist Ukrainian Canadian organizations. Those were the Self-Reliance League (which was largely Orthodox and opposed to the OUN) and the Ukrainian National Federation (which was largely Catholic and supported the OUN).

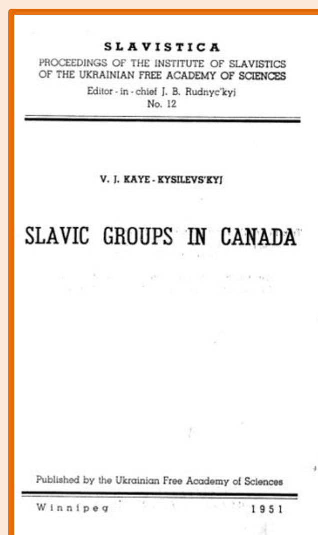
When the war ended, "Dr Kaye," as he was now affectionately known, remained with the Nationalities Branch, which saw its name changed to a more congenial-sounding "Citizenship Branch." In 1939, Canada had already declared war on Germany independently of Great Britain, and by 1947, the government felt strong enough and independent enough of London to establish its own citizenship independent of "the Mother Country," even though Canada was *de jure* still generally considered to be only a self-governing "dominion" within the British Empire. So Ottawa turned to the experts of the Citizenship Branch to draw up a new Citizenship Act, which would enable Canadians to get their own passports, and travel abroad as Canadians, and not just as British subjects.

Stephen Davidovich, whom Kaye had taken on after the war as a co-worker at the Branch, was involved in this, and together with the relevant lawyers, who actually drew up the legislation, was partly responsible for the law that was passed by Parliament and actually established the fact of a Canadian citizenship that was at least partly separate from the British. To the late 1960s, the new Canadian passports carried the identification: "The Bearer of this passport is a Canadian citizen. A Canadian citizen is a British Subject." The latter part of this identification was eventually dropped.

Meanwhile, Kaye joined the University of Ottawa's new Department of Slavic Studies and continued to teach in that department until his retirement many years later. During that time, he published several books, pamphlets, and articles on the history of the Ukrainians in Canada. He also did a significant amount of research on other Canadian "ethnic groups" (rather than "nationalities") as those groups were now coming to be known. In earlier years, he had been very close to Anthony Hlynka, an MP from Alberta, who before the war had supported the OUN in Europe. In later years, he was equally close to Stephen Pawluk, also at one time an OUN supporter, but after the war, the founding President of the Ukrainian Canadian Veteran's Association, which united in a single organization many former Canadian servicemen - soldiers, sailors, and airmen - most of whom had seen action in Europe. It was Pawluk and his organization that financed Kaye's important English language study titled *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (1964), and several other studies as well. That book on the early settlers was one of the first Ukrainian titles edited by the University of Toronto Press's Ron Schoeffel, who thereafter became the chief editor of Ukrainian books for that press. The University of Toronto Press soon established itself as one of the major academic publishing houses in the entire western world specializing in Ukrainian studies.

During the post-war era, Kaye was also instrumental in the establishment of the Canadian Association of Slavists, of which he became the first president. It is possible that it was Kaye himself, together with the much younger George Luckyj (whom, of course, he had first met in London in 1939), and a few others, who were responsible for naming the journal of the association *Canadian Slavonic Papers*. In doing this, the association adopted the use of the more British term "Slavonic" rather than the more American term "Slavic," and this accurately reflected the general situation of late "dominion" Canada, which was both culturally and geographically placed somewhere in the middle between Britain and the United States. During this same period, however, Kaye was also active in the American-based Ukrainian Historical Association, where he served on its board of directors and contributed to its journal *Ukrainskyi istoryk* (The Ukrainian Historian). He was, in fact, one of the very few pre-1945 Ukrainian immigrants to North America who was active in the association.

By the 1970s, Kaye was already fully retired from both the civil service and the university, but he lived long enough to see the great changes that occurred in Canadian life during that time. These included a general move away from the older "imperial" and British identities in Canada toward a newer native Canadian and "multicultural" identity. So Kaye



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V. J. KAYE-KYSILEVS'KYJ

SLAVIC GROUPS IN CANADA

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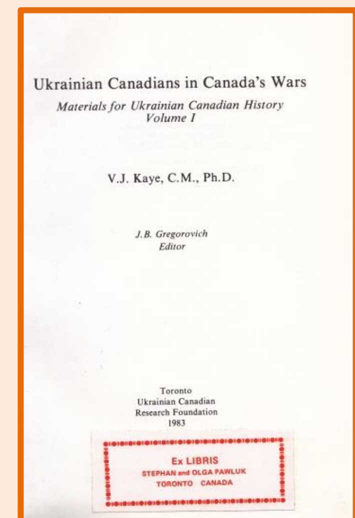
Winnipeg 1951

Two scholarly titles by Vladimir J. Kaye-Kysilewskyj. Left: a booklet on the various Slavonic groups in Canada (1951).That work was based largely on Kaye's statistical studies carried out during the war and shortly afterwards. Right: A little volume of materials on Ukrainian participation in Canada's military operations abroad (1963), beginning with the Boer War in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century.



Ukrainian Canadians in Canada's Wars
Materials for Ukrainian Canadian History
Volume I

V.J. Kaye, C.M., Ph.D.

J.B. Gregorovich
Editor

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TORONTO CANADA

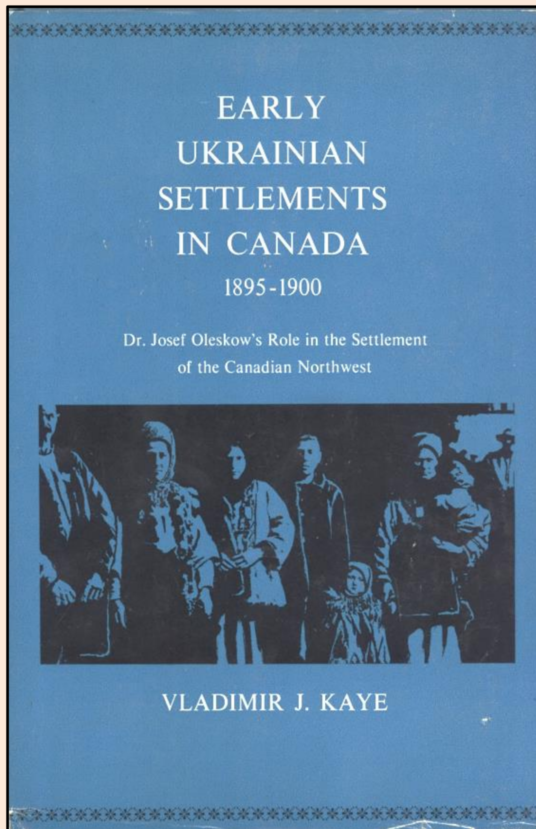
witnessed the work of the famous 1960s Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, out of which came the new government policy of "Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework." Eventually that policy was known simply as "Multiculturalism." The policy, for which Ukrainian Canadians had pushed very hard, gave some new official recognition to the country's cultural minorities, especially those peoples once called "nationalities."

As a result of the new Multiculturalism policy, the Citizenship Branch was transformed into a new "Multiculturalism Directorate" located within the Department of the Secretary of State. Shortly, a minister responsible for Multiculturalism was appointed, though a full ministry was not permanently established under that name. And so, in a sense, the wartime Nationalities Branch was a forefather of post-1971 official Canadian multiculturalism, and Kaye was one of its nurturing mid-wives.

In conclusion, it is clear that Vladimir Kaye-Kysilewskyj was an outstanding representative of the interwar Ukrainian immigration to Canada. He was one of the very few Ukrainian Canadians of that generation to come to Canada with a higher education and to play some role in the politics of both Canada specifically and the British Empire more generally. Though one American author, who knew him somewhat, thought him to be "an unusual Ukrainian Canadian scholar," he did in fact fit quite well into his times and circumstances.

This modest man, who quietly worked behind the scenes to promote the Ukrainian cause in Europe, was sincerely devoted to both the British Empire and also to his adopted country of residence, the Dominion of Canada. Not only did he raise the profile of the Ukrainian question in interwar Britain, but he also promoted and worked to protect the Ukrainian group in wartime Canada, and continued along the same lines throughout the post-war era. He helped to spread accurate information about the Ukrainian Canadians and assisted in the effort to dissolve some of the old Canadian prejudices against them, and he endeavoured to raise their status within Canadian society as a whole. His contribution to Canadian scholarship was pioneering, but solid.

Though Vladimir Kaye-Kysilewskyj was seldom in the newspaper headlines, from the early twentieth century in Eastern Europe, to the 1920s in Edmonton, through the 1930s in London, England, to the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s in Ottawa, he helped to draft many headlines relevant to his interests, make the news what it was, and also to describe these events in scholarship about his own times and those of his immediate predecessors. It is fitting that this modest and unassuming European gentleman should be remembered as he really was and, moreover, become somewhat better known today.

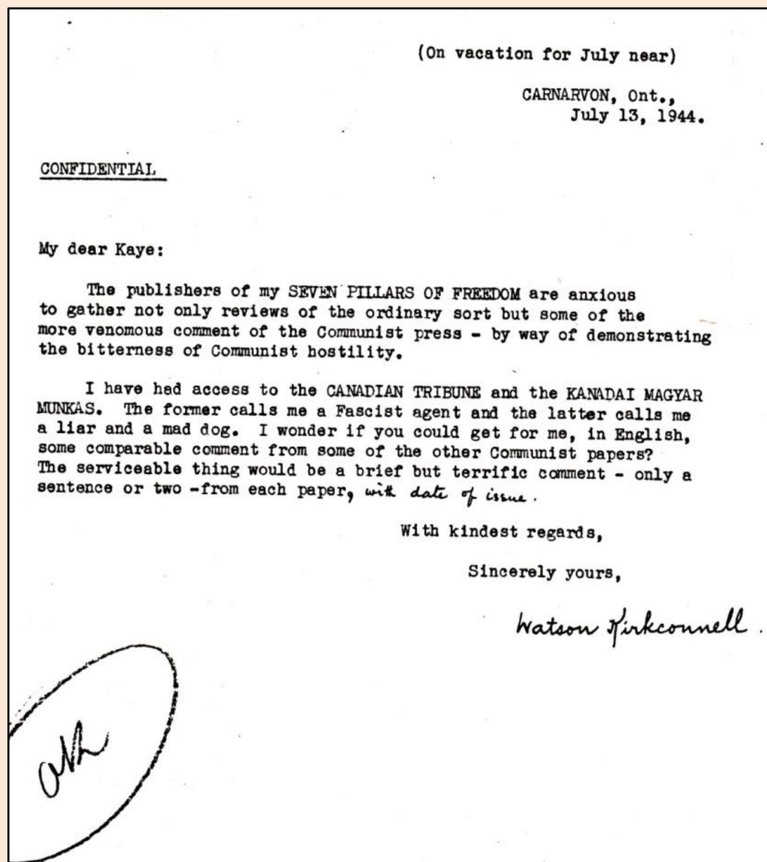


Dust Jacket of Kaye's *magnum opus* on early Ukrainian immigration to Canada (1964). The photo on the cover shows a family of Galician immigrants to the Prairies from the pre-1914, pioneer period, dressed in their iconic "sheep skin coats."

A NOTE ON SOURCES

A major reason for writing this brief article was to document information given to me in a telephone interview of April 4, 2019, by Askold Basil Hankiwskyj of Toronto. Hankiwskyj is a nephew of Kysilewskyj, who, at the age of seventeen in the late 1940s, came to Canada, and for a while lived with the scholar/civil servant in Ottawa. It was at that time that Kysilewskyj told the younger man about how he came to be hired by the Canadian government and pretty much compelled to change his "foreign-sounding" name. Hankiwskyj also recounted to me something about the relationship between Kysilewskyj and Davidovich, particularly the former's characterization of the young OUN agent. In December, 1983, in Toronto, I had earlier interviewed Davidovich, who at that time gave me his own impressions of Kysilewskyj. In the 1990s, George Luckyj, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Toronto, also related to me something of the atmosphere among Ukrainians in London from 1939 through to the end of the war and told me his story about Kysilewskyj in London. Luckyj knew both men well and held them both in high esteem.

Some biographical information about our "unusual" protagonist is available in general reference works such as Mykhailo H. Marunchak, *Biohrafichyi dovidnyk do istorii ukraintsiv Kanady* [A Biographical Guide to the History of the Ukrainians in Canada] (Winnipeg: UVAN, 1966), pp. 191-92, which, however, is not always a reliable source, and I. O. Rybachok, "Kaiie-Kysilevskyi, Volodymyr Iulianovych," *Entsyklopediia istorii Ukrainy*, vol. IV (Kyiv: URE, 2007), p. 24. The obituary of him by Walter Dushnyck, "Volodymyr Kaye-Kysilewskyj: An Unusual Ukrainian Canadian Scholar," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. XXXIV, 4 (1978), 400-402, though brief, is also quite useful. Other information was gleaned from Stephen Pawluk of Toronto, and my first editor at the University of Toronto Press, Ron Schoeffel, both of whom spoke kindly of Kysilewskyj.



(On vacation for July near)

CARNARVON, Ont.,
July 13, 1944.

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Kaye:

The publishers of my SEVEN PILLARS OF FREEDOM are anxious to gather not only reviews of the ordinary sort but some of the more venomous comment of the Communist press - by way of demonstrating the bitterness of Communist hostility.

I have had access to the CANADIAN TRIBUNE and the KANADAI MAGYAR MUNKAS. The former calls me a Fascist agent and the latter calls me a liar and a mad dog. I wonder if you could get for me, in English, some comparable comment from some of the other Communist papers? The serviceable thing would be a brief but terrific comment - only a sentence or two -from each paper, with date of issue.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

Watson Kirkconnell

Watson Kirkconnell (1895-1977), a classical scholar and a polyglot, was said to have been acquainted with about fifty languages. In succession, he conquered Icelandic, Swedish, Hungarian, Polish, and Ukrainian, and like his contemporaries, Kysilewskyj and Simpson, was a forerunner of Canadian multiculturalism. Though certainly no fundamentalist, he was also a religious man and a political conservative, who wrote against both Nazi and Communist influences in certain parts of Canadian society. In this letter to Kysilewskyj at the Nationalities Branch, where the Ukrainian scholar specialized in the ethnic press, he requests some help in publicizing one of his many books by excoriating the Communists through their own political hyperbole against him. Credit: Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Kaye Papers, Box 6, file 32.

The context and an outline of events pertaining to Kysilewskyj on the eve of and during the War are given in my *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians during the Second World War* (Toronto: MHSO, 1988). This includes how the Ukrainian Bureau in London came to be founded in the 1930s and how the various Ukrainian Canadian political groups came to be united during the war. For a history of the Ukrainian Bureau, see Orest Martynowych, "A Ukrainian Canadian in London: Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau, 1931-1940," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, XLVII, 4-5 (2015), 263-88; alternately numbered XLII, 2-3 (2010).

There also exists a detailed study of the Ukrainian Bureau in Polish, though the author only takes his story to 1932, when the Bureau was just getting started. However, he gives a great deal of background to the institution and much information about its various Ukrainian rivals. See Andrzej Zięba, *Lobbying dla Ukrainy w Europie międzywojennej: Ukraińskie Biuro Prasowe w Londynie oraz jego konkurenci polityczni (do roku 1932)* [Lobbying for Ukraine in Interwar Europe: The Ukrainian Press Bureau in London and its Political Rivals to 1932] (Cracow: Księgarnia akademicka, 2010). The cover of this book displays a 1930s caricature of some Galician Ukrainian politicians (including a scribe who looks a bit like Kysilewskyj) penning a letter of protest to the League of Nations in Geneva as to their treatment by the Poles. This image spoofs Ilya Repin's great painting of "The Zaporozhian Cossacks Writing a Satirical Letter to the Turkish Sultan" (1891). For an analysis of these two pictures, see the essay on "Insulting the Sultan: Ilya Repin's Defiant Ukrainian Cossacks," in my forthcoming volume titled "Ukraine, the Middle East, and the West: Fragments of History, Art, Literature, and Legend," (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press).

On Kysilewskyj's academic career in London and the attempt by the Edmonton Ukrainians to get him hired by the University of Alberta, see my *Gathering a Heritage: Ukrainian, Slavonic, and Ethnic Canada and the USA* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), pp. 123-24, 327, and Roman Sirota, "Ukrainian Studies in Interwar Great Britain: Good Intensions, Major Obstacles," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, XXVII, 1-4 (2004-2005), 149-80. For more on Simpson and the wartime Nationalities Branch, see *Gathering a Heritage*, pp. 119-32.

Further information on Stephen Davidovich is available in my account of his 1938 affair with Gabrielle Roy, the young French Canadian actress, who later became the most important French Canadian female writer of the twentieth century. See my *Gathering a Heritage*, pp. 169-92. As early as the 1980s, for my book on the war, I also consulted Kysilewskyj's papers at "Library and Archives Canada" (LAC) in Ottawa. Thinking it of more than passing interest, I believe, the meticulous scholar/civil servant had deposited that German article on the Bureau in his personal papers for others to later rediscover. (See Box 10, file 46.) Information about the list of important anti-Nazi figures in Britain, whom the Germans would arrest after they had conquered the island, was given to me by the respected Ottawa archivist, Myron Momryk. (E-mail letter to the author of 5/23/2019.)

Finally, I should mention that I personally heard Kysilewskyj speak, and briefly met him in Toronto in the summer of 1974 while working on a federally funded "Opportunities for Youth" project, which had been organized by the Ukrainian Canadian Students Union. My impression of him at that time was of an unpretentious, even shy, but dignified, elderly gentleman of some substance and considerable experience, and this, I believe, has influenced some of the tone of this article.

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