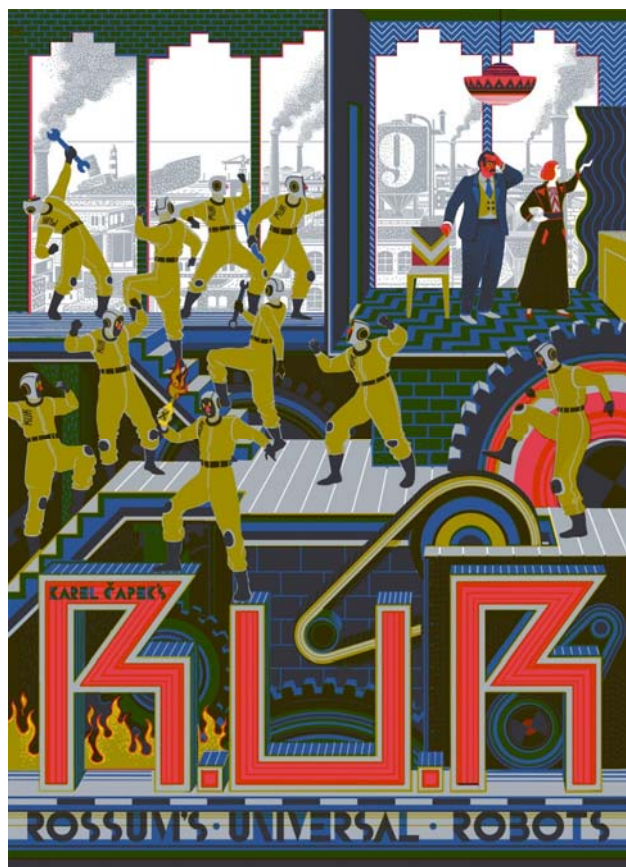


HAPPY BIRTHDAY TO KAREL ČAPEK'S ROBOTS • 1921-2021

Indeed, just as Czech writer Karel Čapek predicted in 1921, robots are universal today. His prediction came in the form of a play, *Rossum's Universal Robots (R.U.R.)*, which was officially premiered at the National Theatre in Prague on 25 January 1921. Soon after, the play itself became a global sensation. By 1924, the play had been translated into more than thirty languages and even performed in Tokyo as the *Artificial Human* (android). The word “robot,” however, does not mean a “mechanical man.” It was invented by Karel Čapek's brother Josef. Karel first considered using “labori” as the name for his artificial workers. This was derived from the Latin word “labor” (work). Instead, Josef suggested a Czech word—“roboti.”

The word “robot” is derived from the Old Church Slavonic word “rab”—a slave labourer. “Rabota” was the servile work done by a slave. Even after feudalism, when serfdom and the practice of indentured servitude had disappeared, the exploitation of workers in the Industrial Age continued. This was one of the reasons that Karl Marx wrote his Communist Manifesto—to free the workers from Capitalist oppression. Karel Čapek's artificial workers are indeed slave labourers created for the sole purpose of serving their human masters. But, Čapek's robots are not mechanical creations. They are a kind of artificial clone of synthetic origin.

Historically, humankind has created mechanical devices that imitated life (plants, animals, human beings) to entertain or even “work” for their owners. These devices are known as “automatons,” from the Greek word “automatos” (self-acting). Those manufactured to appear human are referred to as androids (male) or gynoids (female). In the past, automatons (real, imaginary or fake) were both feared and admired. German writer E.T.A. Hoffmann's story *Der Sandmann*



“R.U.R.” • 2016 poster by Sam Chivers

(*Sandman*, 1816) includes a mechanical doll, Olympia, which drives the hero, Nathanael, to distraction and suicide. In 1769, Hungarian inventor W. von Kempelen created a sensational mechanical chess player that was brought to America in 1825. The illusion was created with a puppet animated by a hidden human chess player as postulated in an 1836 deductive essay by American writer E. A. Poe.

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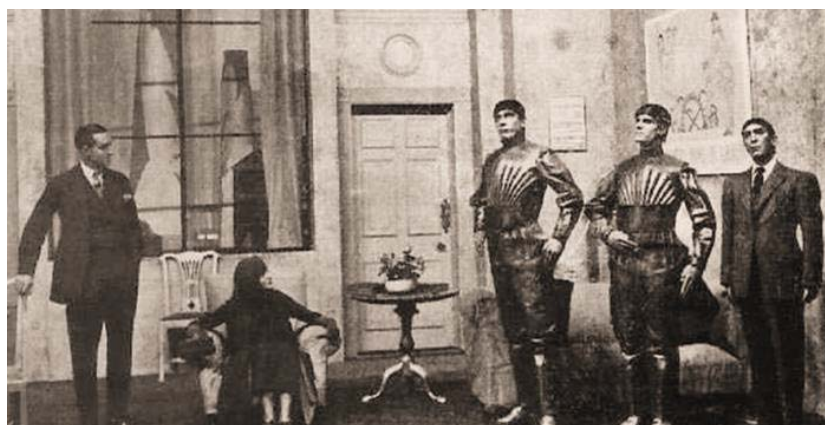
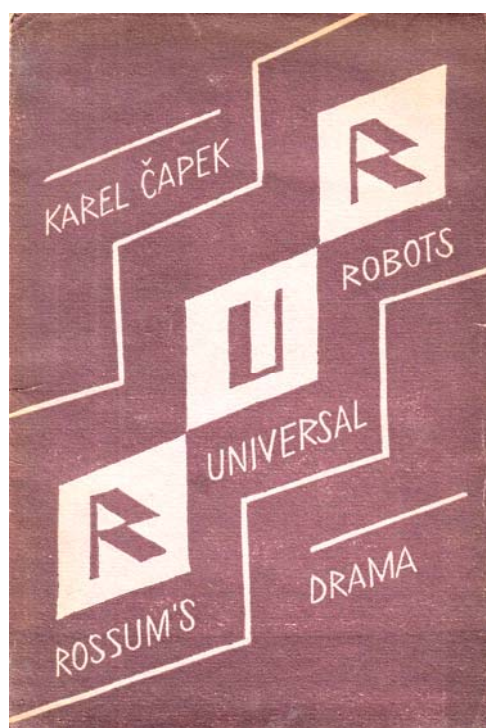
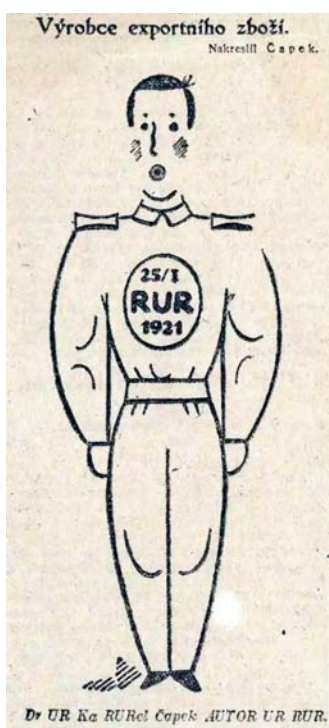
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When God created man, according to the Judaic tradition, He breathed life into a clay figure of His own creation. Thus, Adam was born. A similar story exists in Greek mythology with Prometheus, a Titan, creating humanity out of clay. And, the goddess Aphrodite brought to life the woman Pygmalion had sculpted and fell in love with. In the Middle Ages, Jewish rabbis allegedly imitated God by creating their own animated clay figures known as golems. Best known are the stories of Rabbi Eliyahu of Chełm and Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel of Prague who created golems to work for them and defend the Jewish people from pogroms (anti-Semitic attacks).

Bringing clay figures to life is not restricted to Judaic tradition. There is a Russian fairy tale in which a potter makes a clay boy, Ivanushka, to keep him and his wife company. Once alive, the boy becomes an insatiable monster, devouring everything in sight, including his adoptive parents.

Then there is *Frankenstein* (1818) and his “monster” by English novelist M. Shelley. The novel moves from mechanical inventions and mysteriously animated clay figures into the realm of scientific creation of living matter. That life can be created within a laboratory, without divine intervention, secret knowledge, or some kind of miracle, sets the stage for a scientist named Rossum to create his synthetic creatures—robots.



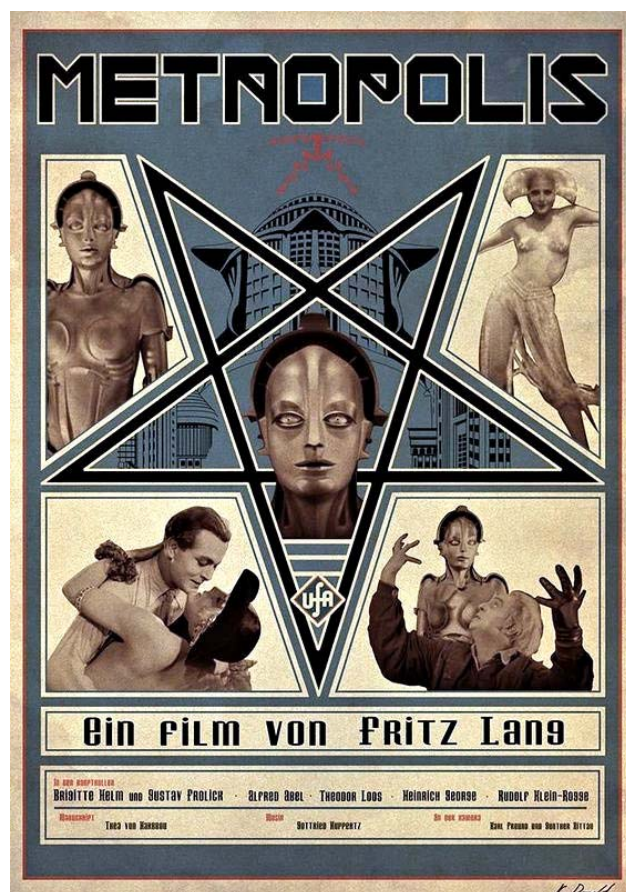
Top: Karel and Josef Čapek, 1920s; middle left: caricature of Karl as a R.U.R. robot by Josef Čapek; middle right: Josef's 1921 cover of the play "R.U.R."; bottom: scene with robots from Act I of the play.

According to the explanation of the origin of Rossum's robots in Act I of *R.U.R.*, a scientist named Rossum ("rozum" in Czech means mind or intelligence) came to an island in 1920 to study marine biology, but in 1932 discovered a chemical-like protoplasm that could be "molded" into whatever one wished. He tried to create the ideal man, but failed. Instead, he began to create all sorts of monsters and creatures. When his nephew, the younger Rossum, came to see him, the two argued about the purpose of trying to create artificial life. Old Rossum only wanted to prove that God was not only unnecessary, He did not exist. Meanwhile, young Rossum wanted to become rich selling his synthetic creations. Eventually, young Rossum locked his uncle in the laboratory to play God, while he built factories and cloned robots for export by the thousands.

One hundred years later, Rossum's robots are cheap and ubiquitous. Nothing can be done without them. They have replaced ordinary workers and soon will replace armies and all of humanity. One day the robots rebel and take over the world. Humanity is extinguished. Now a new pair of synthetic beings (a new Adam and Eve) leave the factory to repopulate Earth in the name of robots. Obviously, there is no need for God.

Despite the fact that Čapek's robots were a series of bioengineered humanoids, robot became the preferred term for automatons, androids, gynoids, and other mechanical creations. Meanwhile, bioengineered humanoids were referred to as synthetic men, clones, and replicants... anything but robots.

Top right: movie poster for the German film "Metropolis" (1927) showing Maria, the robot (gynoid), and the cyborg Maria; bottom right: movie poster for the Soviet film "Gibel' sensatsii" (Loss of Feeling, 1935) with *R.U.R.* robots not by Rossum, but by an engineer named Jim Ripple. They were controlled by Ripple playing specially coded melodies on his saxophone.



The film *Metropolis* (1927) by the German director F. Lang features a society of factory workers exploited like robots by the elite—the Capitalist owners of the tools of production. Rumor has it that a rebellion is brewing. To confuse the workers, the scientist Rotwang constructs a mechanical robot that he covers with synthetic flesh to impersonate Maria, the spiritual leader of the workers. In a laboratory scene right out of *Frankenstein*, Rotwang's robot becomes a kind of cyborg—half biological, half machine, referred to as a *Maschinenmensch* (Machine-Person), although its forms are definitely female. Once the deception is revealed, Robot-Maria is burned at the stake, the synthetic flesh disappears, and the soulless mechanical monstrosity that masqueraded as a human being is destroyed.

Soviet-Ukrainian writer V. Vladko wrote his novel *Zaliznyi bunt* (*Iron Riot*) in 1929. In a fictional Capitalist country, not unlike America, an industrialist is planning to break a strike with the use of newly invented radio-controlled robots. The strikers are undaunted and proceed to plan their counterattack. As the robots are being prepared for action, the strikers, with help from one of the company's engineers, manage to take control of them and crush the Capitalists. The novel was reissued in 1936 as *Idut' robotari* (*The Robot Workers are Coming*). In 1935, Soviet film director A. Andriievskiy made the book into a movie—*Gibel' sensatsii* (*Loss of Feeling*). It was also known as *Robot Dzhima Rip'l'* (*Jim Ripple's Robot*). In the movie, Ripple the engineer is able to control the robots with specially coded melodies he plays on the saxophone. Nonetheless, as in the book, the workers gain radio control over them.

Top right: cover of the second edition of “*Zaliznyi bunt*” with its revised title “*Idut' robotari*” (*The Robot Workers are Coming*, 1936); bottom right: E. R. Burroughs 1940 novel featuring the “*Synthetic Men of Mars*”—a kind of robotic fighting force envisaged by Rossum in “*R.U.R.*”

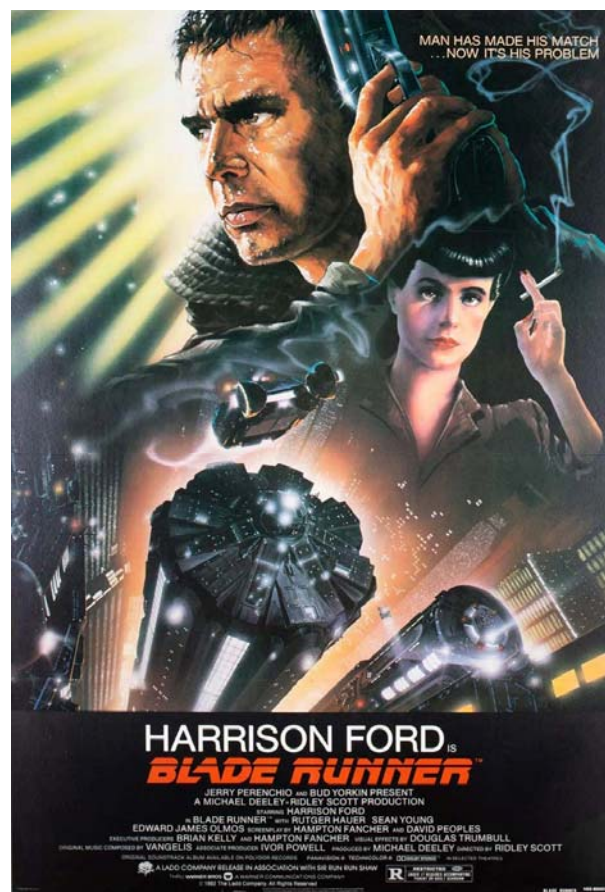


American writer E. R. Burroughs wrote his first novel about Barsoom (Mars) in 1912. The hero, John Carter, battles the mastermind of Mars, Ras Thavas, and his legions of cloned warriors (hormads) in the *Synthetic Men of Mars* (1940), the ninth book of the Barsoom series. This is a late work of Burroughs but it contains an unusual twist in the plot. The brain of John Carter's friend, Vor Daj, is transplanted into the body of a hormad as a form of disguise to infiltrate the enemy. In the end, the whole mass of synthetic flesh growing like cancer is destroyed.

Another American writer, P. K. Dick, based his 1968 novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* on Čapek's *R.U.R.* The story line is different though. Instead of robots taking over the world, rogue androids (replicants) are being hunted down as slaves who have escaped from their masters. Here it is the Rosen Association (a reference to Rossum) that creates these biological robots. Dick, however, uses the word "robot" to describe the artificial animals that real people have as pets in the dystopian future of this book, not the synthetic androids. The book was made into the film *Blade Runner* (1982) by British director R. Scott. In the movie, the artificial androids are referred to as replicants. In the end, the bounty hunter Rick Deckard falls in love with one of the most sophisticated replicants he meets.

The Star Wars universe, which appeared in 1977, is filled with all sorts of cloned beings, including whole armies of synthetic warriors. Although they are referred to as clones, they are covered in armour making them appear as soulless mechanical robots.

Top right: movie poster for the American film "Blade Runner" (1982), based on P. K. Dick's 1968 novel "Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?" which was based on Čapek's "R.U.R."; bottom right: movie poster for the film "Star Wars: Attack of the Clones" (2002) in which it is revealed that entire armies are being cloned and trained by the inhabitants of Kamino, a planet off the star charts.

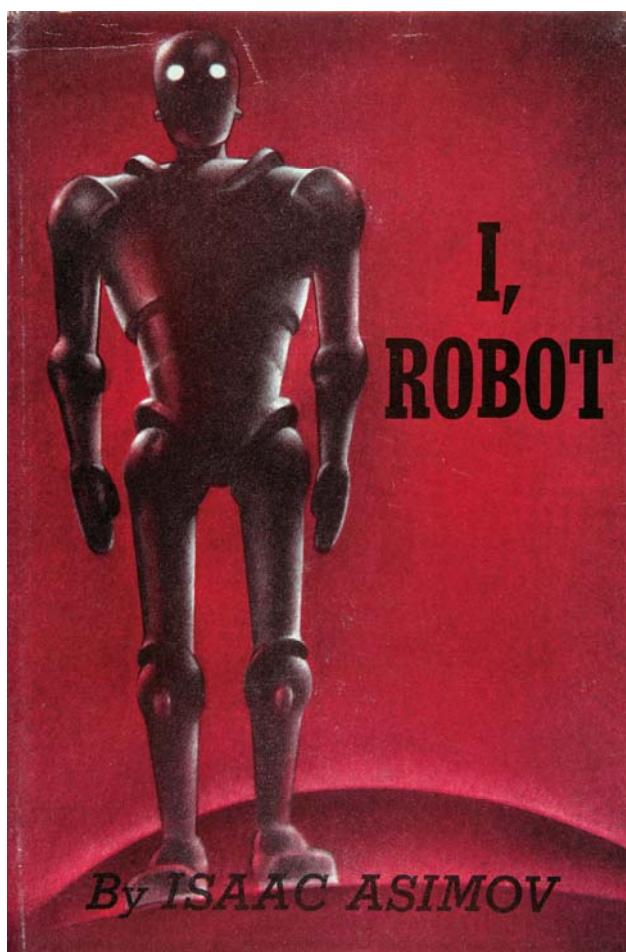


Russian-born American scientist and writer, Isaac Asimov, took the idea of mechanical robots and created a whole science around them, even coining the word “robotics.” Asimov’s *Three Laws of Robotics* were introduced in his 1942 short story *Runaround*: First Law – a robot may not injure a human being or, through inaction, allow a human being to come to harm; Second Law – a robot must obey the orders given it by human beings except where such orders would conflict with the First Law; and Third Law – a robot must protect its own existence as long as such protection does not conflict with the First or Second Law. With these *Laws* in effect, a mechanical or biological robot could never cause or participate in the kind of con-

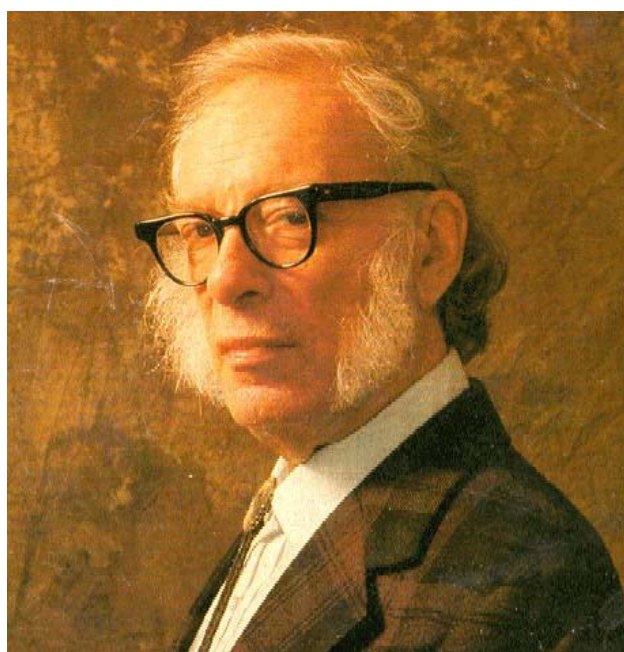
flicts that Karel Čapek envisaged and all the other authors and film directors used for dramatic effect in their stories and movies. Today these *Laws of Robotics* are profoundly influencing thought on the evolution of ethics in the field of artificial intelligence (AI).

Karel Čapek’s play *R.U.R.* is multifaceted, touching upon profound philosophical questions, the anxieties and fears caused by political movements in Europe following World War I, and the realization that socially and economically ordinary workers are neither robots nor superhuman. Workers and robots alike must not be exploited. As all of these stories demonstrate, exploitation never leads to anything good.

Wasył Sydorenko



Above: Isaac Asimov’s collection of short stories on robots and robotics, “*I, Robot*” (1950), which includes “*Runabout*” (1942) and the *Three Laws of Robotics*; above right: Isaac Asimov.



First and second editions of Karel Čapek’s play *R.U.R.* can be consulted at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. Subsequent editions, translations, and an audiobook, dating from the 1920s to the present, along with the works by Hoffmann, Shelley, Poe, Burroughs, Dick, and Asimov can be borrowed from the John P. Robarts Library. Similarly, the films *Metropolis*, *Blade Runner*, and *Star Wars: Attack of the Clones* are available as DVDs or via streaming at Media Commons. *Gibel’ sensatsii* can be viewed on YouTube.

WAR AND REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE • 1914-1923

The largesse of the John and Mary A. Yaremko Foundation Fund has borne fruit yet again in the form of an expanding online exhibition titled “War and Revolution in Ukraine – 1914-1923.” The Yaremko Fund, established in the Spring of 2008, has continuously supported the preservation of late 19th- and early 20th-century print material at the University of Toronto Libraries related to the study of Ukraine. The Fund was established to provide broad access to our special collections and to foster research on them through digitization. The current project digitized materials in the Andrii Zhuk Collection of Ukrainian Socialist and Revolutionary Pamphlets, and in the John Luczkiw Collection of Pre-1950 Canadiana. In cooperation with the John P. Robarts Research Library and Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, where materials from both collections are stored, the Petro Jacyk Central and East European Resource Centre coordinated the curation of material for this digital project. Commencing in 2020, the exhibition marks the centenary of this unsettled period in Ukrainian history following the Great War (World War I).

The breadth of the online collection allows for a variety of interpretations of the political intrigues faced by prominent Ukrainian historical figures. One such example is the gradual military alignment of Ukraine’s Chairman of the Directorate, Symon Petliura, with Poland’s Chief of State, Józef Piłsudski, in December 1919. Petliura, a divisive personage in history, appeared at a complex and fractious moment in time. Despite the peace envisioned by the Treaty of Versailles (1919), a series of armed national and economic conflicts ensued between competing ideologies. Like many political leaders in Eastern and Central Europe, Petliura had to fight for his political survival and credibility. The Zhuk and Luczkiw collections at the University of Toronto, now publicly accessible, offer unique

eyewitness accounts of events and commentaries on figures, by authors who chronicled this historical period.

It was a time when the Russian Empire disintegrated and Ukraine was seeking to establish its statehood. With political threats from the Reds, Whites, Monarchists, Anarchists, and other reactionary elements, Petliura found common cause with Piłsudski. Writing on behalf of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Independentists, Volodymyr Tymoshchuk published his *Istoriia ukrains’koi vlydy: 1917-1919* (*A History of Ukrainian Government: 1917-1919, 1920*). He noted that the 1919 alignment between the two leaders was disparaged even among Petliura’s former supporters in the parties of Ukrainian Social-Democrats and Ukrainian Social Revolution-



Symon Petliura, “Volia” (*Freedom*, 1919), №1, p. 5.

aries. The latter declared Petliura and his “like-minded associates” who travelled to Warsaw as “politically dead” (*Istoriia ukrain-s’koi vlady*, p. 67). The Vienna-based Ukrainian Communist Party Abroad described Petliura as a “lackey of Western imperialists” and of pro-Western servants, like Piłsudski (*Revoliutsiia v nebezpetsi!*, *The Revolution in Danger*, 1920, p. 43). In his autobiography, playwright Myroslav Irchan invoked a passage from poet Roman Kupchynskyi’s *Na Sv. Andreia* (*On St. Andrew’s Day*) to show that Petliura seemed “Red” (Communist) to anyone who knew nothing of his union with Poland (*Tragediia Pershoho Travnia*, *The Tragedy of May the First*, 1923, p. 7). The editor of *Dziennik Kijowski* (*Kyiv Daily*), Edward Paszkowski, echoed Irchan’s convictions regarding Petliura’s political orientation. In his memoir *Zawierucha Ukrainśka* (*The Ukrainian Tempest*, 1919), Paszkowski wrote that Petliura was simply trying to prevent Russian Bolshevism from propagating in Ukraine. Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, followed by Petliura, were already “disseminating and establishing” a kind of “traditional Ukrainian Bolshevism.” These were dissimilar ideologies with different political and national agendas. Universal/international Sovietism was not compatible with the “Cossack” idea of local “Sich” administration (*Zawierucha Ukrainśka*, p. 57). This middle-of-the-road “Bolshevism” did not appeal to Ukrainian peasants and workers. Petliura’s inability to gain their sympathy is mentioned by Irchan—the word “Petliura” was not recognized as a surname, but rather as a word denoting an official rank or position (*Tragediia Pershoho Travnia*, p. 127).

Petliura’s ties with Warsaw pushed many Galicians in Western Ukraine to search for other political options in the East, according to General Iurii Tiutiunnyk of the Ukrainian People’s Republic Army. At this time, as Tiutiunnyk explained in his memoir *Zymovyi pokhid 1919-20* (*The Winter Campaign 1919-20*,



Ukrainian postage stamp (1918)
featuring Symon Petliura.

1923), White (Tsarist) Russians saw Petliura’s national liberation as a Western plot, but from a different perspective. Refusing to recognize the existence of a “Ukrainian nation” to the extent that they even removed the word “Ukraine” from their lexicon, White Russians also refused to accept Galicians as Ukrainians. According to their terminology, Galicians were Austrians who were “hired” by Petliura to serve his political agenda (*Zymovyi pokhid 1919-20*, p. 10). In spite of his pro-Western orientation, Petliura managed to attract Bolshevik support abroad, even while imprisoned in Bila Tserkva by the Hetmanate government of Pavlo Skoropadskyi. On the eve of his putsch against Skoropadskyi, Petliura was visited in prison by Moisei Rafes, a representative of the Ukrainian Jewish Labour Bund. He recorded that Petliura, like many Ukrainian nationalists, only spoke of the union of Ukrainian and Jewish social-democrats (*Dva goda revoliutsii na Ukraine: evoliutsiia i raskol “Bunda”*, *Two Years of Revolution in Ukraine: Evolution and Schism of the “Bund”*, 1920, p. 133).

Iulian Chaikivs'kyi in his work *Iak halychan vtiahnuly v kontrrevoliutsiiu* (How Galicians were Drawn into Counterrevolution, 1921) described how the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen from Galicia assembled south of Kyiv in Bila Tserkva in 1918, and were reorganized into a new battle group known simply as the Sich Riflemen. Despite trusting Petliura and the Directorate, the Riflemen refused to become “politically involved” (*Iak halychan vtiahnuly v kontrrevoliutsiiu*, p. 18). Later that year, following Petliura’s Universal (decree) ordering them to strike against the Hetmanate, the Riflemen did march on Kyiv, the capital of the Hetmanate and seat of Skoropadskyi. The German garrison there remained neutral, leaving Skoropadskyi isolated with only a team of Russian officers. An agreement between the German command and Petliura’s “insurgents” was reached on 12 December 1918, and the army of the Directorate entered Kyiv two days later.

The restoration of the Ukrainian People’s Republic would not have been possible without Vienna’s continued support of Petliura’s “revolution” and the surrendered weapons and munitions of the retreating German army (*Zawierucha Ukraińska*, p. 60). After establishing the Ukrainian People’s Republic, the Directorate announced their programme on 26 December 1918, selecting a “middle road” approach between democratic parliamentarianism and Sovietophilism. The adoption of a compromise agrarian act based on socialist principles early in 1919 engendered distrust amongst the peasant-soldiers and led to the dismantling of a 120,000-strong army. After repeated incursions by Soviet Russia into Ukrainian territory, the Directorate declared war on Moscow on 16 January 1919.

Since Ukraine (being part of the Russian Empire) was considered to be a member of the Entente, the French demanded the resignation of “radicals” in the government of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, namely

Vynnychenko and Petliura. The Treaty of Versailles did not bring anything good for Ukraine. In the eyes of French politician Gustave Hervé, Ukrainians had “stabbed the heroic Romanian army in the back” by signing the Treaty of Bucharest (1918). French journalist Jean Pélissier, one of the founders of the Office Central des Nationalités, responded to Hervé’s criticisms of Petliura in an open letter, *Ce qui s’est passé en Ukraine* (What happened in Ukraine, 1919) by referring to Petliura as a “Ukrainian Garibaldi,” a leader of “Jeune-Ukraine” (Young Ukraine), who displayed his friendship towards the Entente with his “fight against the Germans and the Bolsheviks” (*Ce qui s’est passé en Ukraine*, p. 5).

This gloss of a historical figure at a deciding moment in time at the end of World War I conveys but a fraction of the range of material that can be accessed through the exhibition, which includes over three hundred titles in different languages. The material offers insights into Ukrainian cultural, political, social, and national developments in the years from 1900 to 1924. Materials include pre-World War I publications of Ukrainian political parties active within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and of various émigré organizations, like the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, which represented Ukrainian interests in post-World War I conflicts. These documents and memoirs encompass a variety of ideological viewpoints on different geographical and political fronts. In addition, there are culturally significant works ranging from poetry and song to prose in Ukrainian about the war, the military, and social upheaval.

The exhibition and collection “War and Revolution in Ukraine, 1914-1923” is hosted online by the University of Toronto.

<https://exhibits.library.utoronto.ca/exhibits/show/war-and-revolution-in-ukraine>

Marcin Cieszkiewicz

CANADIAN-POLISH RELATIONS • SOLIDARITY/SOLIDARNOŚĆ

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library established the collection of uncensored publications relating to the Polish Solidarity/*Solidarność* movement in 1981. Since then, the library has developed this collection to include non-periodical publications, graphics, photographs, cassettes, medals, stamps, artifacts, posters, and other materials generated by *Solidarność* and related organizations in Poland and abroad. The collection is comprised of approximately 60 linear feet of material. Serials, books and pamphlets, which initially constituted the largest part of the collection, were catalogued separately in recent years. Now these publications are more discoverable and searchable to researchers. In the new online catalogue, using the advanced search screen, search for all call numbers containing the word “solid.”

Completed in 2020, the cataloguing process, necessitated the rewriting of the 1988 version of the finding aid for the remaining archival and ephemeral material. Also, the original file, which had been created with what is now legacy computer software, was no longer accessible and did not reflect the current arrangement of the non-catalogued collection. The Solidarity archival collection is presently organized according to medium of communication, date and place of origin, and language of communication. The archive is organized into four series: pre-Solidarity, legal Solidarity, martial law, and post-martial law periods. The fifth series contains microfilm and visual arts materials. The primary language of the collection is Polish.

One strength of the archive is the large number of materials documenting international reaction to the Solidarity movement. For example, some of the collection’s highlights include bulletins and documents issued by the Coordinating Office Abroad of *NSZZ Solidarność* and by international groups organized in support of *NSZZ “Solidarność.”* Canadian organizations and initiatives are extensively represented. Scholars investigating the Canadian connection to Solidarity should find this collection of documents of great interest.

Solidarity was a Polish trade union and social movement founded in 1980 and led by Lech Wałęsa. In 1981, its activities came to a halt with the introduction of martial law by



General Wojciech Jaruzelski, which resulted in a wave of arrests of Solidarity activists. One of the consequences of martial law was a huge wave of emigration known as the “Solidarity Wave.” Witnessing the early stages of this wave of émigrés flooding into Vienna, Canada’s *Globe and Mail* reporter Mark Lukasiewicz wrote, “It has become a daily ritual. Every morning, dozens of reporters and cameramen from around the world assemble on Platform One at Vienna Railway station, waiting to glean what information

COLLECTION • THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY

they can from passengers arriving aboard the Chopin Express from Poland. When martial law was imposed in Poland more than a week ago, the interviews conducted on Platform One became virtually the only direct account of events in Poland.” The reporter then describes a conversation with a young Pole, a bulldozer operator from Łódź and a Solidarity member, who made up his mind to return to Poland, despite the unfolding political calamity, “Look, there are 10 million of us (in Solidarity) and they (the Communist Party) have what... 2½? 2? 1½.’ He laughs. ‘All right, maybe 3 million.’”¹ For many the introduction of martial law made it necessary to leave the country as political refugees.

Lukasiewicz donated materials pertaining to his work in Poland to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library in April 2017. A *Globe and Mail* reporter from 1979 to 1983, he travelled to Poland and wrote a series of articles covering martial law and its aftereffects. His unique collection sheds light on the Canadian reception of Solidarity and provides a glimpse of events inside Poland for Canadian contemporaries. His donation, the most recent addition to the Solidarity collection, includes several scrapbooks/photo albums of events in Poland, various ephemera, as well as newspaper publications (catalogued separately). In addition to materials donated by Lukasiewicz, the Solidarity collection includes clippings from mainstream Canadian press (*Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*) and Polish-Canadian media (*Echo Tygodnia*, *Głos Polski*, *Związkowiec*, and others).

According to Statistics Canada, the number of immigrants from Poland to Canada in 1982 reached 8,291, falling to 5,106 in 1983, and remaining at approximately that level until numbers increased again in the late 1980s.² As Michal Mlynarz writes, “Along with this mass movement of people came a significant mobilization on the part of Polish-

Canadian organizations to assist the refugees and their land of origin in every way they could. This included such activities as the lobbying of the Canadian government to denounce and boycott the People’s Republic of Poland, the organization of food and medicine drives, the staging of massive protests, and the formation of programs designed to sponsor and to acclimatize new immigrants into Canadian life.”³

The series on the post-martial law period at the Fisher Library includes special publications of the Canadian Polish Congress in Toronto. Established in 1944, the Congress assisted Polish refugees through “a campaign collecting funds and appealing to Canadians to sponsor these refugees for their admission and settlement in Canada,” and through political advocacy of lobbying the Canadian government.⁴ After martial law was lifted, the Canadian Polish Congress continued to concern itself with Polish issues in Canada.

The emergence of Solidarity, as an independent trade union, in Poland in 1980 provoked a range of reactions internationally—from support and endorsement by other trade unions and activist organizations in Western Europe to skeptical distrust from some governments. These reactions were shaped by a variety of ideologies and national political circumstances. For many Western trade unions, Solidarity presented the opportunity to reposition themselves and reflect upon their own struggles in the conditions of de-unionization in the 1980s.⁵

Following the imposition of martial law in December 1981 and the subsequent suppression of Solidarity, a number of Western organizations sympathetic to Solidarity formed a transnational network of support. One such political organization in exile was the Coordinating Office Abroad of NSZZ *Solidarność*. Established in 1982, in Brussels, it provided centralized lobbying and financial aid

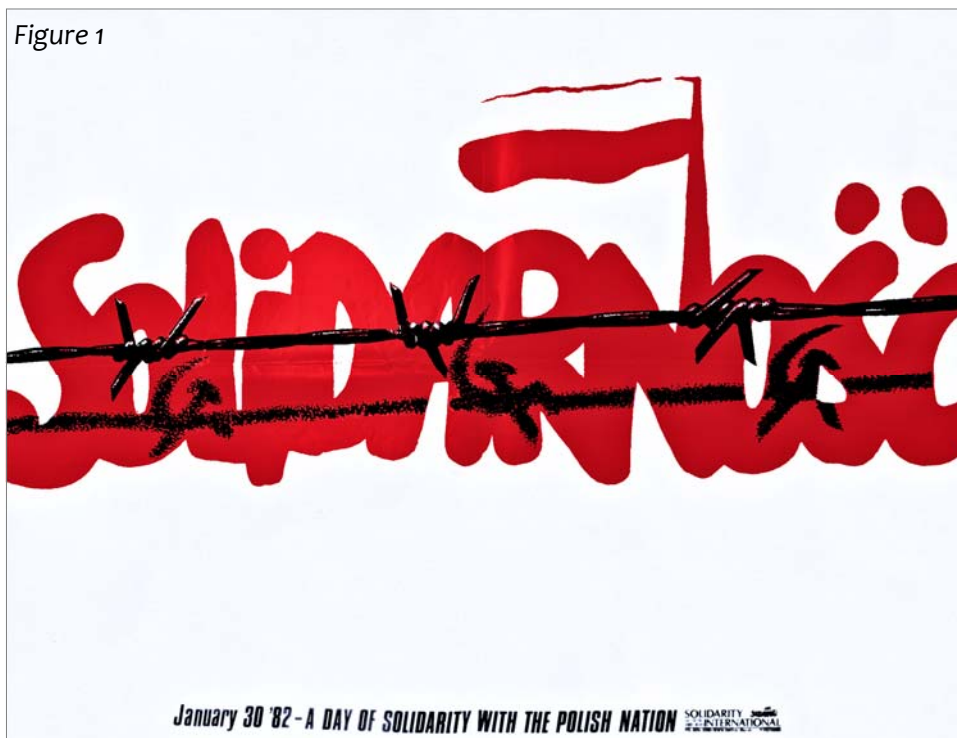
to Solidarity in Poland and functioned “as a bridge with Western trade unions and other sympathizers.”⁶

The martial law period series includes materials issued by the Coordinating Office Abroad of *NSZZ Solidarność* and by supporting groups in Austria, France, the United Kingdom, the United States, as well as in Canada. Canadian materials make up an important part of this archive and highlight

a variety of organizations and initiatives supporting the Solidarity movement at all levels in Canada: internationally, federally, and locally. There are letters, petitions, articles, bulletins, as well as other information documents produced by the Canadian government, social and labour movements, and activist organizations—both international and Canadian. The collection includes materials from Amnesty International, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Polish Refugee Committee, the Polish Workers Solidarity Committee, the Solidarity Information Office in Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC), and others.

Of particular interest are the letters, statements, and press releases by the Toronto office of the Canadian Labour Congress. These provide details of how information about the emergent Solidarity movement was communicated to the leaders of the CLC and what type of assistance was being provided by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the CLC, which gave money “for the purchase of printing and other technical equipment.” A letter to members of the CLC Executive

Figure 1



Council on 22 December 1980 designated the CLC as coordinator of assistance to Solidarity. This came about as a result of correspondence between Lech Wałęsa and the ICFTU in which the leader of Solidarity suggested Western unions could provide assistance to Polish counterparts. There is also a critique by the CLC President Dennis McDermott of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau’s position on political developments in Poland.

One poster (Figure 1) calls for the designation of 30 January 1982 as “Solidarity Day.” The CLC press release of 25 January 1982 states, “The CLC has called on its two million members, as well as on ‘all other concerned citizens’ across the country, to observe the day by holding demonstrations, organizing prayer vigils, petitions and other actions.” Another notable item is the English translation of Solidarity’s programme published in the New Democratic Party’s *Forward*. The programme had originally appeared in *Tygodnik Solidarność* in April 1981.

Also, there are documents that refer to organized activities in Toronto. For example, a statement by the Polish Workers Solidarity

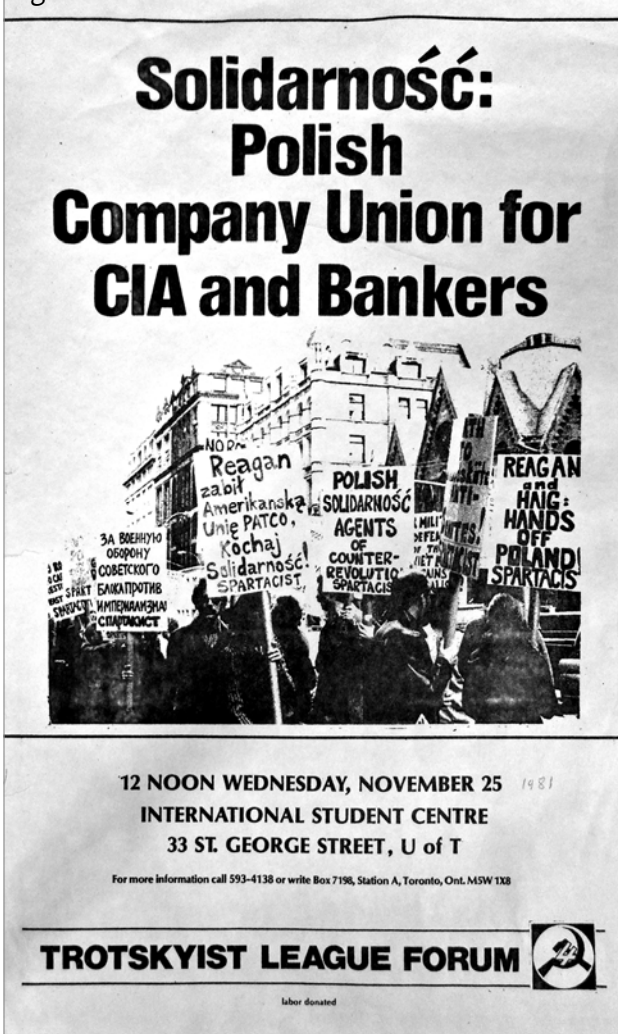
Committee from 5 April 1982 calls for support from Canadian artists and writers, and invites them to an “Evening for Solidarity” at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. The event featured several prominent authors, actors, and activists. Anti-Solidarity sentiments are also represented with leaflets such as the one by the Trotskyist League (Figure 2) promoting a forum at the University of Toronto’s International Student Centre on Solidarity’s alleged CIA connections.

Materials in the collection provide a rich historical resource for charting the political relationships between Poland and Canada in the 1980s. These multifaceted documents weave a complex narrative involving special committees, political organizations, and ex-

tensive media coverage. According to political historian Idesbald Goddeeris, who studied Solidarity’s transnational dimensions and international impact, scholarship in this field, even ten years ago, was restricted by a lack of accessible archival material in Poland and North America, including those of the Coordinating Office Abroad of *NSZZ Solidarność*.⁷ Now that the Solidarity collection at the University of Toronto Library has been catalogued and organized, it is possible to proceed with more in-depth studies of the transnational reaction to Solidarity. This would allow scholars to formulate a more nuanced interpretation of the history of Canadian-Polish relations.

Natallia Barykina

Figure 2



1. Mark Lukasiewicz, “Polish Worker Stands by Decision to Return Home,” *Globe and Mail*, Dec. 22 (1981): 12.
2. “Immigrants to Canada, by Country of Last Permanent Residence (archived)” Table 17-10-0010-01, Statistics Canada, accessed January 27, 2021, <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl/en/tv.action?pid=1710001001>
3. Michał Młynarz, “‘It’s Our Patriotic Duty to Help Them’: The Socio-Cultural and Economic Impact of the ‘Solidarity Wave’ on Canadian and Polish-Canadian Society in the Early 1980s,” *Past Imperfect* 13 (2007): 58-59.
4. Jan Kaszuba, “Opening Remarks,” Report for the XXVII Convention of Canadian Polish Congress, Winnipeg, November 12-14 (1982): 2.
5. Stefan Berger, “Solidarność, Western Solidarity and Détente: A Transnational Approach,” *European Review* 16, no. 1 (2008): 78.
6. Idesbald Goddeeris, “Lobbying Allies?: The NSZZ Solidarność Coordinating Office Abroad, 1982-1989,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 13, no. 3 (2011): 125.
7. *Ibid.*, 86.

Photo of Mark Lukasiewicz used with permission of Hofstra University, NY.

OUT OF THE ORDINARY: NOTABLE PROVENANCE OF SELECT

The University of Toronto Libraries (UTL) hold volumes associated with imperial Russian families and institutions. Beginning in the 1920s, Soviet authorities confiscated books from imperial, grand ducal, and other illustrious libraries. They dispersed many collections to Soviet state-controlled institutions. A significant number of volumes classified as duplicates (regardless of provenance, i.e. record of previous ownership) were sold by Soviet state export firms to antiquarian dealers abroad for much needed hard currency as part of the First Five-Year-Plan (1928-1932). Other 'unneeded' volumes were exchanged for essential foreign literature. Most of the duplicate items sold through auction or private sales were purchased by and ended up in the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and the libraries of Harvard University, Stanford University, Yale University, and the University of Illinois. A dozen or so imperial-association volumes found their way to Toronto. Each of these

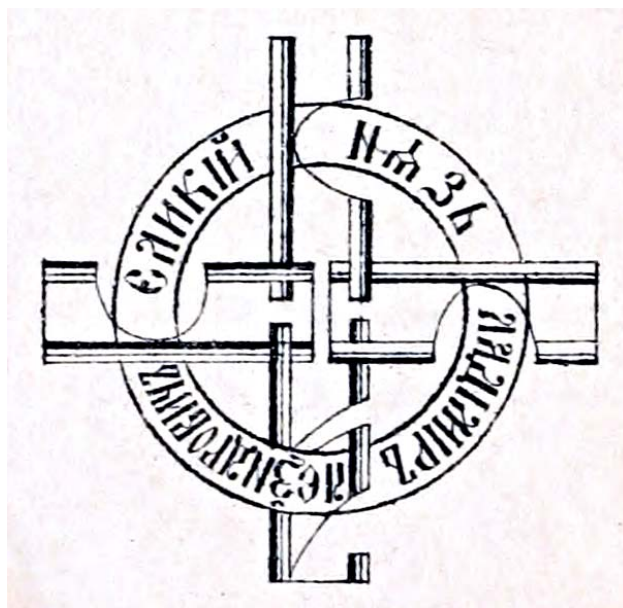
books reveal some, but not all, the details of their journey from Russia, across Europe and the Atlantic, to Canada. Below, I trace the partial provenance of several such volumes.

Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich

One book at UTL is associated with Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich of Russia (1847-1909), son of Emperor Alexander II, brother to Emperor Alexander III, and senior Grand Duke of the House of Romanov during the reign of his nephew, Emperor Nicholas II. The item is the second volume of *Sieverno-russkiiia narodopravstva* (Democracy in Northern Russia) by Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885), published in Saint Petersburg in 1863. Pasted inside the front cover is the distinctive Ex Libris of Vladimir Alexandrovich, which from the viewpoint of design, makes wonderful use of the initial capitals of the words Grand Duke (Velikii Kniaz') and name and patronymic (Vladimir Alexandrovich). Before the UTL acquired the book, the mark of an ink stamp on the title page tells us it passed through the hands of Msgr. Dr. Joseph B. Koncius (1891-1975), a writer and historian from Lithuania, who chaired the Lithuanian Catholic Priests' Committee and the

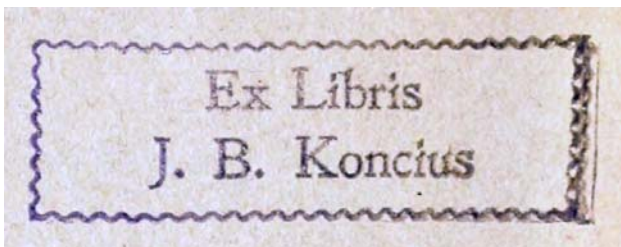


Grand Duke Vladimir Alexandrovich



The Duke's Ex Libris

BOOKS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARIES



United Lithuanian Relief Fund in the United States.

Koncius was ordained to the priesthood 16 January 1917, just before the outbreak of revolution in Russia. In emigration, he earned a Ph.D. from the German University of Breslau in 1919 (since 1945 known as the University of Wrocław). While undertaking his doctoral studies, Koncius also served as chaplain for military captives in Germany and oversaw repatriation of more than thirty thousand Lithuanian military captives. He then spent six months in 1921 as Extraordinary Diplomatic Representative in Moscow and Leningrad (today St. Petersburg) for the

Lithuanian government overseeing the repatriation of the civil population from Soviet Russia. Koncius immigrated to the United States in 1926, and served parishes and religious communities in Mt. Carmel, PA, and in the New York City area. Msgr. Dr. Koncius presumably acquired the Kostomarov book soon after the Grand Duke's private library was nationalized by the Soviet government in 1918. Items from the collection were put up for sale abroad in the late 1920s to early 1930s by New York dealers such as Israel Perlstein, the principal American dealer who bought books from a Soviet government desperate for cash. Later, the Kostomarov book reentered the antiquarian market and was acquired by the UTL on 12 June 1963 (accession no. 845773).

The Imperial Alexandrovsky Lyceum

On 10 February 1969, the UTL acquired the second volume of a modern edition of



The Imperial Alexandrovsky Lyceum



Above: location book plate of the Lyceum;
below: stamp of the Kirov Institute.



Stefanit i Ichnilat (St. Petersburg, 1878), a collection of ancient animal fables translated from Sanskrit into Arabic and Greek, which then were translated in the eleventh century into Slavonic. This book of fables, one of the most popular books ever written, takes its

title from the two jackals that figure in the first fable and narrate the following fables in the form of an emperor's conversation with a philosopher. Our volume formerly belonged to the Imperial Alexandrovsky Lyceum, a privileged educational institution for children of noblemen. Established in 1811 as the Imperial Tsarskoe Selo Lyceum, it was transferred to St. Petersburg and renamed in honour of Emperor Alexander I in 1843. The Lyceum's library collection numbered tens of thousands of volumes, many of them gifts of graduates, influential persons, and students' parents.

UTL's copy of the fables belonged to one of the best educational-institution libraries in St. Petersburg. This copy includes markings indicating the name of the book collection, room designation, cabinet number, shelf and inventory, where it was shelved at the Alexandrovsky Lyceum. Our copy was accession number 5558, and kept in Room C, Cabinet 33, Shelf 9. After the Russian Revolution, the Lyceum library was evacuated to Yekaterinburg. There our book found its way into the S. M. Kirov Ural Industrial Institute, where by the 1930s it was part of the Institute's Fundamental Library. Here were kept twenty thousand books from the former library of the Alexandrovsky (Tsarskoe Selo) Lyceum. The UTL copy was inventoried as being part of this collection in 1938 and 1940, after which wartime circumstances brought it westwards.

Sergiev Posad Gymnasium Library

UTL also holds a volume from the Sergiev Posad Gymnasium Library. The second volume of Dostoyevsky's experimental essays and stories, *A Writer's Diary*, covering the year 1877 (St. Petersburg, 1878), was owned by the institution considered the spiritual centre of the Russian Orthodox Church. The town of Sergiev Posad is located about seventy kilometres to the northeast of Moscow, and is the site of a monastery-church complex dating back to the fourteenth century.

In 1869, in addition to educating seminarians, the monastery began to admit gymnasium students. By 1919, however, the monastery was shut down by Soviet authorities who were opposed to all religious organizations and sites. The monastery's coffers were ransacked, its books removed, and the church bells melted down for scrap metal. From then on, the Dostoyevsky book was kept in the V.I. Lenin State Library (today the "Leninka," or, more formally, the Russian State Library) in Moscow. In 1921, this library became a state book depository. The library took part in the implementation of the 1918 CEC Resolution "On the Protection of Libraries and Book Deposits," including abandoned, ownerless, and nationalized book collections. The Dostoyevsky volume was included in the Leninka's inventory in 1944 and 1950, after which the volume was probably deaccessioned as a duplicate. UTL purchased it with funds from the Kathleen Madill Bequest on 2 March 1970.



Prince Sergei Vladimirovich Kudashev and Baron Eugène de Savitsch

A copy of the first edition of the complete works of the Russian writer, journalist, and literary critic Boleslav Michailovich Markevich (1822-1884) bears evidence of interesting and notable provenance. The entire eleven-volume set first belonged to Prince Sergei Vladimirovich Kudashev (1863-1933), as evidenced by his ink stamp on several of the flyleaves and other pages, the Ex Libris with the owner's name spelled out in French, "Ex Libris du Prince S.V. Koudacheff," under his armorial, pasted in volumes 7-8 (bound together), as well as his signature on the inside covers of two other volumes. Born in Kyiv, Kudashev served as a chamberlain and state councillor, attached to the Main Directorate of Appanages of the Ministry of the Imperial Court. He was a member of the boards of the Podolsk Railway, the Russian Commercial and Industrial Bank, and the Salamandra Insurance Company. After the Revolution, Kudashev lived in exile in France and Italy, and died in Florence in 1933.

The complete set of Markevich works passed from Kudashev's col-



lection to that of Eugène Constantine de Savitsch (1903-1959). The date of the purchase is unknown, but occurred probably in the 1940s, when Savitsch's symbolist-styled Ex Libris, designed by Mstislav Dobuzhinsky (1875-1957) in 1948, was pasted in. Savitsch, born in Tsarskoe Selo (now the town of Pushkin) to a prominent judge, fled to Japan with the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in 1917. There, he served as a White Russian officer with the Siberian army. Later, he lived in the United States (first among fellow White Russian émigrés in San Francisco), Austria, France, and Belgium, all places where he undertook medical studies and completed his clinical practice. Upon completion of his medical degree, and field work in West Africa, Savitsch returned to the United States, where he lived and worked as a physician in Washington, D.C.

UTL has in its collections, aside from Markevich's works, three other volumes that belonged to Eugène de Savitsch. Housed at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, they include Anatole de Démidoff's *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie exécuté en 1837* (Paris, 1840); Jacques Lacombe's *Histoire des révolutions de l'empire de Russie* (Paris, 1760); and Jean Rousset de Missy's Mem-

oires du regne de Pierre le Grand, empereur de Russie, père de la patrie (Amsterdam, 1729). The path all these volumes made from Savitsch to UTL remains obscure. Markevich's works were acquired by UTL on 10 April 1962 (accession nos. 790586-790590). The other titles were purchased with funds from the Kathleen Madill bequest and were accessioned separately (respective accession nos. 3884767, 3848062, 3849328).

Of the three titles at the Fisher Library, the one by Rousset de Missy on Peter the Great suggests an interesting history before it reached our shelves. The few details derived from the four volumes offer the following possible succession of owners. The first volume has the ownership inscription Varré dated 1813. A bit of research on the surname Varré and the date leads me to conclude that our copy was associated with Jean-Baptiste Varré (1736-1813), a Benedictine monk and lecturer associated with abbeys at Saint-Médard Soissons, Saint-Lucien de Beauvais,



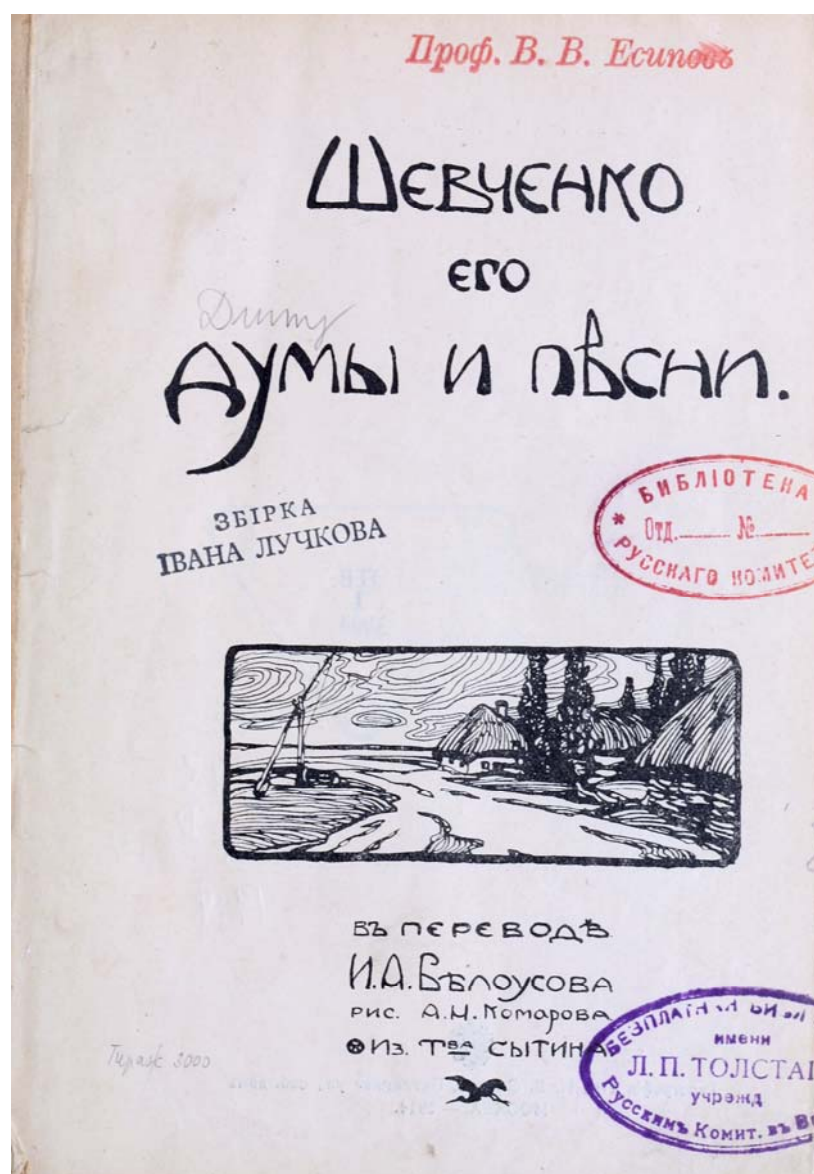
Saint-Germain-des-Près, Saint-Nicolas-aux-Bois, Saint-Michel du Tréport, and Saint-Remi de Reims, at the latter of which he served as claustral sub-prior before the French Revolution. Varré remained at Reims until his death. The book in his possession may have come from the abbey's library once the Assembly abolished monastic vows and dissolved religious orders in 1789-1790.

From Varré's hands the book passed on to one Dr. Maldan. This is most likely Pierre Joseph Camille Dubourg-Maldan (1807-1881), a municipal councillor and doctor, who for nearly twenty years directed the School of Medicine and Pharmacy in Reims. When he died in 1881, he was remembered as a learned bibliophile, who "knew books well and loved them with a passion."

From Reims, the Rousset de Missy volumes transferred to the library of the Catholic school of Sainte-Croix in Neuilly-sur-Seine (Paris). When the title reached Savitsch is unclear. It is possible that when the French government of the Third Republic decreed against teaching congregations in 1904, that the library was dismantled and parts of it travelled with the exiled Fathers of Notre-Dame de Sainte-Croix to Canada and the United States. Savitsch may have purchased the set from a second-hand dealer or at auction sometime in the 1920s or 1930s.

Vladimir Vladimirovich Esipov

The final volume whose provenance I will describe here is UTL's copy of *Ego dumy i piesni* (Moscow, 1914), by the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), bound together with the second volume of his *Kobzar* (St. Petersburg, 1911), both books published in Russian translation. According to various ink stamps, the first work was owned by Vladimir Vladimirovich Esipov (1868-1912). Born in Tver province, northwest of Moscow, Esipov studied in St. Petersburg and graduated from its Imperial School of Jurisprudence in 1888, passed his exams at the Pavlovsk Military School in 1889, and received a Master's degree in law from the University there in 1892. Soon after, he was appointed professor of criminal law and procedure at the University of Warsaw. Esipov also served, from 1905, as editor-in-chief of the Warsaw Statistical Committee of 10



Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, and, from 1908 as editor of *Varshavskii dnevnik* (The Warsaw Diary), the official newspaper of tsarist authorities in Poland. He published prolifically on legal, economic, historical, and political issues.

A decade or so after Esipov's death in 1912, the Shevchenko collection of poetry entered the holdings of the Russian Committee's L.P. Tolstoy Free Library in Warsaw. The Russian Committee was formed in 1918 to provide legal and material assistance to Russian citizens living in Poland. Its library subscribed to serials from Paris and Berlin, and to magazines and newspapers in Russian and Polish, which allowed Russian emigrants to follow the news not only of Poland, but also of the Polish and Russian diasporas. The library located at 5 Zygmuntowska Street in the Praga district, housed five thousand books of fiction and scientific content, including children's literature. The Esipov book may have been bound with the Russian-language edition of Shevchenko's *Kobzar* while in possession of the Tolstoy Library. When the Russian Committee's work ceased in 1939, the library collection must have been dispersed.

The Shevchenko volume's next owner was John Luczkiw (1923-1974), a University of Toronto alumnus and former refugee of the Second World War. Born near Sambir in present-day Ukraine, Luczkiw fled to Germany with the advance of the Soviet Army into western Ukrainian territories in 1944. He completed studies there and then immigrated to Canada in 1950, where he completed his B.A. and M.Sc. degrees at the University of Toronto in mechanical engineering and applied science, and went on to work at Viceroy Manufacturing Company. Apart from his scientific and business interests, Luczkiw was an avid bibliophile and bibliographer. His keen interest in books developed while living in Germany where he observed the prodigious literary and publishing activity of fel-

low displaced persons. This experience inspired him to collect all the materials he could find in order to preserve a cultural record of their activities. When he came to Canada as an immigrant, the only possessions he brought with him were crates full of these DP publications. In Canada, Luczkiw augmented his collection with books, periodicals, pamphlets, and brochures that related to the period of the DP camps and immigration. He acquired publications through book dealers and private individuals. At some point, whether in Germany, Canada, or elsewhere, he picked up the Shevchenko volume, which was subsequently donated to the UTL in 1982 by his family.

* * *

The above descriptions leave many unanswered questions about the exchange, sale, and resale of the books before they entered UTL's collection. The few clues—Ex Libris, ink ownership stamps, accession markings, dedications, etc.—help solve parts of the mystery, but also remind us that many books hold secrets to the private and social lives of each of their owners and/or their institutional curricular purposes. Books are not interchangeable copies nor inanimate objects, but, as historian Kathy Peiss writes in her *Information Hunters* (Oxford UP, 2020), “books are highly mobile, taking up residence in our homes and memories.”

Ksenya Kiebusinski

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