



LIBRARY LECTURE: Russian Anzacs

Presented by Dr Elena Govor, Parliament House, Canberra on 21 April 2021

I would like to acquaint you with a page of Australian history which is still little-known. Twenty years ago, through my historical research, I discovered that a thousand Russian Anzacs had served in the AIF during the First World War.

I thought it might be interesting to begin by telling you a little about my own path to this discovery as an immigrant woman, because as you know, the Anzac legend is currently undergoing a profound period of reassessment, due to emerging historical facts but also due to the rapidly changing ethnic composition of the Australian population. After the Great War, most Australian children could associate the notion of the Anzacs with a family member, or a neighbour, but now this intimate connection is dwindling, and the Anzacs are becoming strangers to ordinary Australians.

I was born and grew up in Minsk, in Belarus, where each fourth person perished during the Second World War. I was growing up in the Soviet time with military parades celebrating the might of the Soviet Union, with school excursions to military museums, with numerous books and movies glorifying the exploits of the Soviet people, with the cult of war heroes and the cold grandeur of the monuments in every city square, at the foot of which we joined the young pioneer league. The propaganda was so strong, cast so much in official words, that even as a child I understood that it was propaganda and instinctively backed away, ignoring the war altogether. I was never tempted to bring flowers to a Soviet military monument, but, I remember, that once on the outskirts of a village, where I spent summer holidays, I came across a mass grave, and at this moment I realised in full that the bygone war was part of our history, not just part of the official propaganda. It was to this grave that I brought my flowers.

And then, in 1990, on a sunny morning in Canberra, our third day here in Australia, my husband and I walked from our hostel along Limestone Avenue to the Australian War Memorial. I would not have done this of my own volition in any other country—aren't there more interesting places to see than military museums? But I had already heard so much about how devotedly Australians remember their fallen dead, and I wanted to understand why. What we saw touched us deeply. At first glance the exhibits seemed not to differ greatly from what I used to see on compulsory school excursions to Soviet military museums; nevertheless, it was all different. Here, it was all about people, ordinary Australian people, rather than the glorious military past of the country, its commanders and heroes. One of the strongest impressions was left by the gallery on the walls of which were the endless columns of names of all the fallen. Little did I know then how many names of people from the Russian Empire I would have found there if I had taken a closer look! And now I could say that my quest for these Russian Anzacs is, in a way, repentance for the brainwashed indifference of my youth.

When I started my research, 21 years ago, the Anzacs were seen as an iconic marker of Australian history, closely associated with its Anglo-Celtic heritage, with the heritage of the British Empire. Charles Bean, in the opening pages of his Official History of Australia in the War of 1914–1918, asserts of Australia in those years:

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The percentage of Australians who came of any other stock [that is, other than English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh] was negligible; the population of this vast unfilled land was as purely British as that of the two islands in the North Sea which had been the home of its fathers.

Unsurprising, then, that for generations it went without saying that the Anzac tradition was inseparably linked to the British stock of the Australian nation—something that prevented many émigré communities from fully engaging with the nation's Anzac past.

Still, this British image of Australia was given a particularly Australian inflection during the war—'the Anzac spirit'—which celebrates endurance, courage, ingenuity, good humour, larrikinism, egalitarianism and, encompassing all these qualities, mateship.

My research, aiming to break down the British stock assumption, took me further than pure statistics—I wanted to understand how the Anzac legend worked with the notion of 'the Other'—immigrants with poor English, who looked different, who had different habits. And I must say that I had somewhat of a personal agenda. My son Raphael was 8 at this time and I wanted him to be 'Australian', to find a way to take Australian history as his own. The result was a bit unexpected, but altogether this was an interesting journey.

First of all, some facts. Why were there Russian Anzacs and who were they? We know that Russia was often considered an enemy rather than a friend of Australia. During the Great War, however, Russia became an ally of the British Empire. At that time there were about five thousand Russian natives living in Australia. More than a thousand of them enlisted in the Army, of whom more than eight hundred served overseas. Of those who were on active service, one in five (or 167 men) died in battle or of other causes. Astonishingly, statistics show that Russian Anzacs constituted the largest national group of non-Anglo-Celtic origin in the AIF.

The expression 'Russian Anzacs', which I use as an umbrella term for all these men, needs some clarification. In the multinational state that was the Russian Empire at the start of the twentieth century, ethnic Russians comprised only half the population. The composition of the Russian enlistees reflected this diversity: many of them were not ethnically Russian; moreover, some of them had fled their native land owing to ethnic or religious persecution by the Russian state. Ironically, in the eyes of the Australian state and people, all these men were considered 'Russian'. The largest group among them, comprising over half, was of Baltic seafaring peoples — Finns, Latvians, Estonians, Baltic Germans, and Lithuanians; they often came off sailing ships. Ethnic Russians, Ukrainians, Belarussians and Poles, who were coming to Australia in increasing numbers as labourers, canecutters and, occasionally, as political refugees, accounted for roughly 30 per cent. The remainder consisted of Jews, fleeing pogroms and humiliations; Ossetians from the North Caucasus coming to work on smelters in Port-Pirie; and Russian-born Western Europeans.

Russian born émigrés had a range of reasons for enlisting in the AIF. Jewish and Russian youths who came to Australia as children, like their Australian peers, rushed to the front in search of adventure. The older immigrants went to fight for Australia, which had become their home. But the main factors of the mass enlistment were causes of an economic and political nature: unemployment; suspension of naturalization of Russian citizens by Australian authorities; and the pressure exerted by the Russian Consul-General Alexander Abaza, who informed the Australian authorities that all the natives of the Russian Empire of military age and even their adult children born in Australia were obligated to join the army or else be considered deserters.

In the early years of the war, Australia was looking at Russia as an important ally. The Australian poet Henry Lawson sang the praises of 'Russian Ivan' going into battle for Europe, 'for Russia and the Czar!', and wrote with sympathy about the 'Russian bear'. At the same time, Australia appeared in the Russian literary landscape due to the growing fame of the Anzacs. In March 1916 a delegation of Russian writers and journalists visited England and met with the Anzacs at a training camp near

London. A member of the delegation, Korney Chukovsky—a Russian writer and Anglophile—spent the whole day in the Australian camp and published a series of essays about them in Russian newspapers, which were immediately translated into English and reprinted by dozens of Australian newspapers. Chukovsky accurately noticed and described the characteristic features of the legendary Anzacs—singing praises of their courage, love of freedom, openness and dignity:

Setting out for their camp, I thought I should see a demoralized mob, with traces of catastrophe on their faces, but I saw careless, handsome fellows with the bodies of gladiators and the eyes of children. [...] A fantastic camp of fantastically free people, who have come from their legendary land voluntarily to die for a Europe which they had never seen.

Russians in the Australian army were so numerous that there were plans to establish a special Russian unit in the AIF. Although these plans did not eventuate, each battalion had between half a dozen and two dozen Russian-born servicemen. While in 1912 the Russians complained on the pages of the newspaper *Echo of Australia* that they lived next door to Australians without mixing with them, now, departing for the front as members of the AIF, they found themselves surrounded by Australians. But although they wore an Australian uniform, the Russians did not become Australians overnight. The process of adjustment was long and painful. One of the stumbling blocks here was the lack of English, which Russians often had to pick up once already in the trenches, from their new comrades, but finally some of them won the right to be named 'mate'.

The greatest force creating this newfound mateship were the dangers and joys of shared combat operations, and the first of these was the Gallipoli battle. About one hundred and sixty Russian Anzacs fought at Gallipoli and thirty-six of them took part in the landing on 25 April 1915. The iconic painting by Ellis Silas, 'Roll Call', captures a glimpse of an army unit after bloody fighting for Queen's Post on 9 May, soon after the landing. Name after name is called, the reply a deep silence. The prototype of the commander conducting this roll call was Silas' Gallipoli comrade Lazar Margolin—a Jew who grew up on Russian humanist literature studying in Belgorod high school in Central Russia, and never lost his thick Russian accent. While commanding the 16th Battalion in Gallipoli, Margolin fought tooth and nail for the lives of his 'boys', who lovingly dubbed him 'Old Margy'—a recognition probably no less important to him than the official one acknowledging his bravery with the Distinguished Service Order.

Ukrainian Cezar Wolkowsky arrived in Australia on the eve of the war, soon joined the Australian army, and set off with the troops to Gallipoli. His grandson Peter Tilleard says that at that time Cezar did not know English at all, and the soldiers gave him the nickname "Rush" (an abbreviation of "Russian"). Once, having taught him English swear words, they sent him to tell them to their officer, which got Cezar into big trouble! But such pranks, which seemed to be built on ethnic antagonism, did not embitter Cezar; on the contrary, he proudly bore the nickname "Rush" all his life, because it held the memory of his baptism in the legendary Australian mateship, whose antics were often far removed from political correctness. A few weeks later, it was these very larrikins who pulled Rush out of the fire, risking their lives when he was wounded on Gallipoli.

But the story of the Russian Anzacs involved not only those who fit well into the legendary fighting brotherhood of Australian Anzacs. My focus was not only on the heroes, but also those whose service went badly or even tragically—those who refused to fight, were expelled from the army, convicted by court-martial, came under suspicion 'on account of Russian nationality', became insane or committed suicide—and they were many. Among them, for example, is the story of Alfred Markowicz. He was Polish, a worldly, well-educated man. In the chaos during the first days after landing his knowledge of languages, his courage and initiative helped him to prevent the loss of many lives and saved many from capture by the advancing Turks. But, instead of being awarded, he was detained and deported in Australia; interrogation by Intelligence officers there did not reveal anything, nevertheless he was discharged for 'Disciplinary reasons'—words which, in his personal service-record file, are followed

by a pencilled annotation 'No Crime. Doubtful name'. This ungrounded suspicion ruined his life, and he committed suicide in 1935 in Sydney.

After the withdrawal from Gallipoli, Russian Anzacs continued to serve in the AIF in Egypt, Palestine and on the Western Front. 48 of them were awarded special medals for military valour; 167 fell in battle. New trials came when Russia withdrew from the war after the 1917 Bolsheviks' coup. Favst Leoshkevitch, a seaman who learnt English in the trenches from his Australian mates, would tell his son 'what wonderful people our army people were, just soldiers, general soldiers. When the revolution erupted in Russia nobody spoke to [me] about it and [I] thought that was wonderful'. Not to reproach a mate with the actions of the far-away politicians of 'his' country—an attitude still cherished by the Leoshkevitch family.

But the trials of history were not always so easily overcome. After the October Revolution and the withdrawal of Russia from the war, some Russian Anzacs were expelled from the army 'on account of Russian nationality', while others came under suspicion as 'spies', radicals or people with German roots. Peter Chirvin from Sakhalin fought at Gallipoli and on the Western Front for four years, being wounded twice. Risking his life, he carried the wounded from the battlefield, for which he was awarded the Military Medal. Returning to Australia aboard the troopship *Anchises* in 1919, soon after the so-called Red Flag riots in Brisbane, he killed himself, driven to death by his fellow soldiers, who believed him to be a dreaded 'Bolshie'.

The lives of the Russian Anzacs often did not go easily after the war either. Some of them returned to their homeland, which had now become the Soviet Union, and ended up in the Gulag. Others, like Gregory Matrenin, could not be reunited with their families because of bureaucratic obstacles. Matrenin, wounded by shrapnel during the battle of Bullecourt, became blind and was placed in the St Dunstan Hostel for blind soldiers in London. He tried to get a permit for his starving wife Maria and his children, stranded in a village near the Volga River, to accompany him to Australia, but the Australian authorities did not consider it advantageous for her to be brought to a country 'in which she would have no friends, and the language of which is unknown to her', limiting themselves to paying her a pension. Others, trying to settle down in Australia, could not find their place in a peaceful life for many years.

The first to reach out a helping hand to the Anzacs in the post-war years were the British, Australian, Russian and Jewish women who married the Russian Anzacs and with them built a new life in a new country. They healed not only their physical wounds, but also their emotional scars, helped them to learn English and to integrate with the Australian community. Their children grew up as Australians and many fought valiantly for Australia during the Second World War.

But this assimilation had a downside—silence. Fathers did not tell their children of the horrors they experienced in war, nor about their past in Russia; they did not teach the children their mother tongues and their grandchildren were often unaware that their 'Russian' grandfather was an Ossetian or Ukrainian. They did not preserve their ethnic culture in the modern sense of the word, did not build Russian churches, and did not create a 'Russian Australia', as did the subsequent waves of emigrants. But they have not vanished without a trace among the Australian people. Theirs was another mission—to build a temple in the hearts of the people surrounding them, and this was no less important a duty. Australians learnt from them that people could be Anzacs but speak English with an accent; that people could be Russian, but not Bolsheviks. This virtual battalion of the thousand Russian Anzacs became the foundation stone upon which the modern Australian culture of multiculturalism, inclusivity, and openness was erected.

As for their lost language and culture—they are not lost. Now their children and grandchildren aim to learn about their origins, to reunite with their not-quite-forgotten heritage, to discover the land of their ancestors.

When I started my project 21 years ago, the proper military historical establishment had little sympathy towards research of this kind, nonetheless I felt that I needed to do it. As a result of this work, I had a number of publications and my son, who grew up with a strong anti-military stance, helped me to build an innovative website where each Russian Anzac has a page with biographical and service data and a link to digitised archival records, publications, newspaper articles. It also has an interactive map which allows us to see the Russian Anzacs' presence all over Australia. I guess this model might serve as an engaging tool for different ethnic and local communities who might explore Australian diversity with an interactive, hands on approach to their history. Moreover, recently similar studies of other ethnic groups—Aboriginal, Chinese, and German Anzacs—have been published and the Australian War Memorial has even built a special educational section on 'Anzac diversity'.

But I believe that these stories of Anzac diversity are important to all of us, Australians, not just to different ethnic communities. This research is not about proving that Anzacs with diverse ethnocultural backgrounds were equal to those of British stock—that they also fought, performed exploits, and contributed to the national victory. Their most important contribution to the Anzac story is that they allow us, Australians, to look at this whole story from a fresh perspective. As our young nation grows, each new generation of Australians invests in the Anzac legend its own understanding of the past, reinvigorating the spirit of the legend with new facts uncovered by history.

I want to finish my presentation by returning to Chirvin's story. About 7 years ago a group of historians from the Monash University started a project called 'World War One, A History in 100 Stories'. Among these stories was the story of Chirvin. When he hung himself, the Australian military authorities sent his Military Medal to his peasant mother in Sakhalin. It was stolen in transit, and when she asked for some token to remember her son, they ordered a replica of the medal and withdrew 2 shillings 10 pence from the small gratuity which was due to her. The letter of the law was duly observed, and the story of the Monash historians was about these two shillings. It seems to me symbolic that the grandchildren of the Australian generation who heckled Chirvin to death and then charged these 2 shillings from his peasant mother, have the courage to remember and repent for the wrongs of the past. This is the Anzac story that appeals to all present-day Australians, irrespective of their ethnic background and political sympathies.

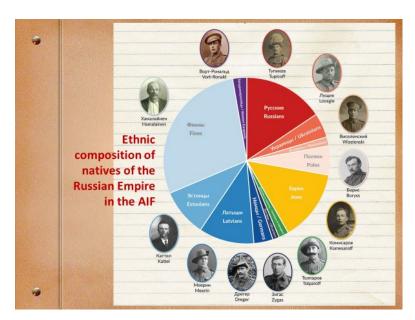
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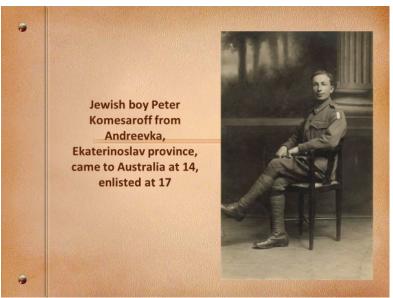
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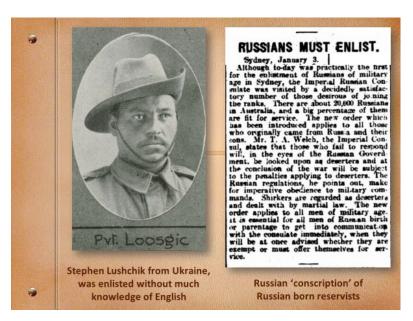
Attachment—Slides presented at *Russian Anzacs* Parliamentary Library lecture.

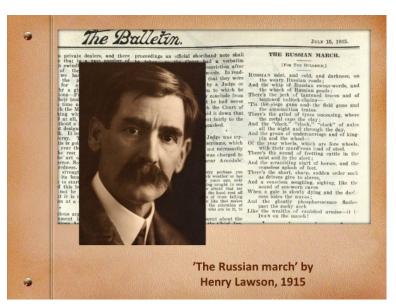


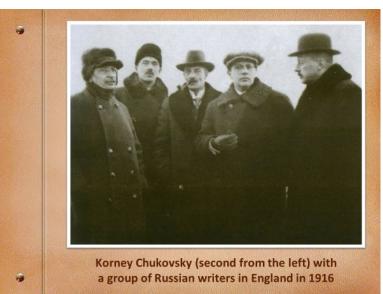
			Servicemen as
Country of origin	Number of servicemen	Number of residents in Australia (1911)	proportion of residents (%)
New Zealand	4237	32,130	13.19%
Russian Empire	966	4,507	21.45%
Canada	723	3,101	23.32%
South Africa	628	3,919	16.02%
India	620	6,700	9.25%
USA	599	6,703	8,94%
Denmark	459	5,729	8.01%
Sweden	387	5,628	6.88%
Norway	284	3,479	8.16%
France	169	2,902	5.82%
Italy	151	6,773	2.23%
The Netherlands	103	751	13.72%
Malta	93	251	37.05%

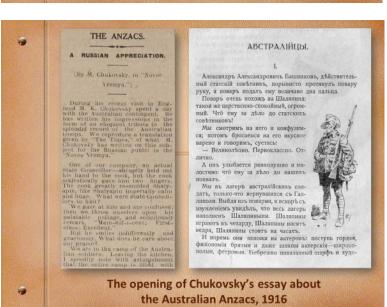


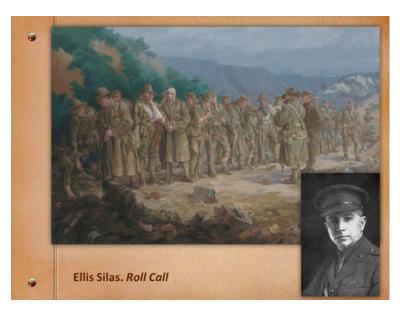




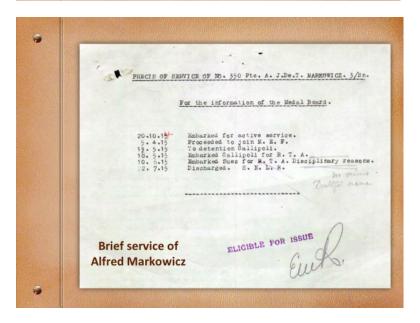


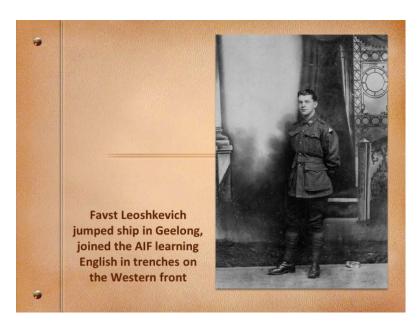


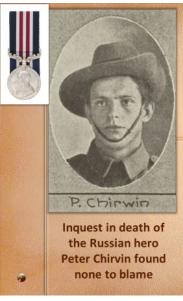












"TRUE TO AUSTRALIA."

SYDNEY, Tuesday.—At the inquest on the body of Pte. Peter Chervin, of the A.F., 26, a netive of Russia, who banged himself on board the troughtip Anchiese last week, evidence was given that deceased became obsessed with the idea that the Beishevik movement was strong in Queensland, and seemed to be afraid of landing. He thought he would be looked upon as a German spy, and told a companion he intended to commit suicide. Lieut, Bond said deceased told witness that he was fed up with his life owing to the ragging he was getting, but witness did not take him seriously. "From what I can gather," added witness, "Chervin only got the usual teasing that most foreigners get, but nothing more than that." Deceased left two letters in which he said he had been a soldier, and true to Australia, but was a coward to himself. A verdict of suicide was recorded.

