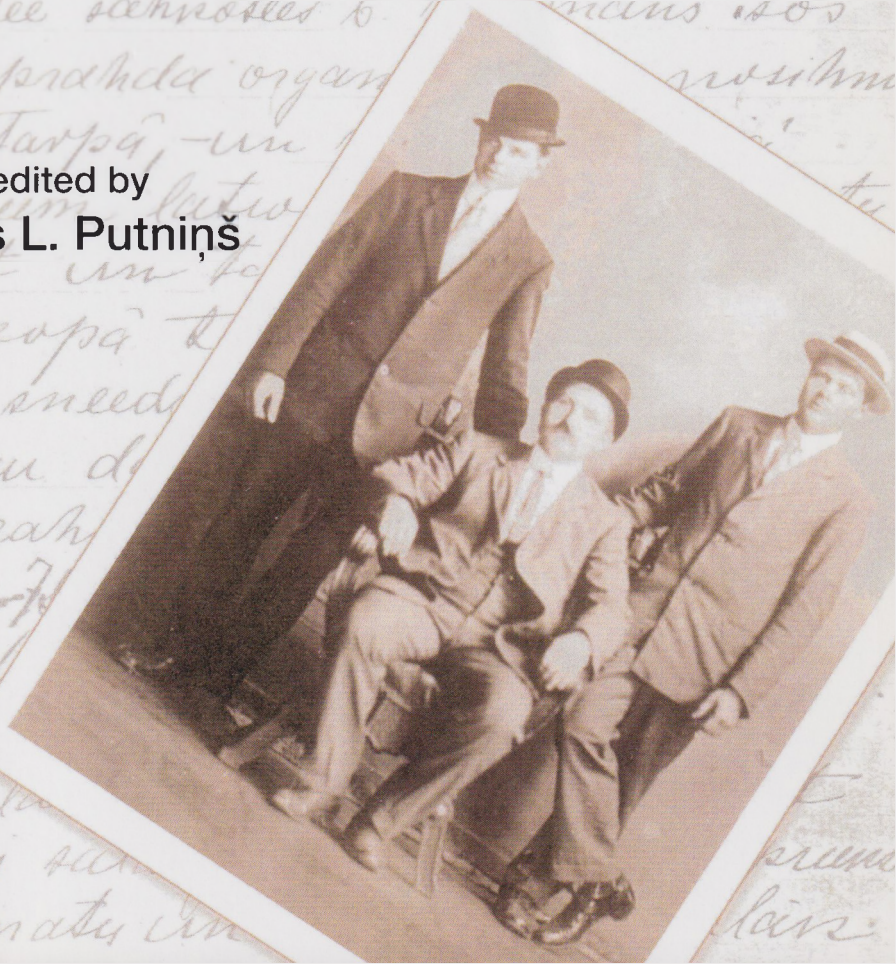


EARLY LATVIAN SETTLERS IN AUSTRALIA

edited by
Aldis L. Putniņš



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Front cover: minutes of the inaugural meeting of the Lettish Association of Sydney; Walter Zihrul (seated) — first chairman of the Lettish Association of Sydney — to the right is his brother.

Back cover: Captain Herman Thomson, a Latvian from Port Pirie.

Contents

Contributors	4
1 Early Latvian settlers in Australia — setting the scene <i>Aldis L. Putniņš</i>	7
2 Latvian Anzacs <i>Elena Govor</i>	16
3 Latvian Anzacs: from Abelscahn to Zeeman <i>Elena Govor & Aldis L. Putniņš</i>	53
4 Andrejs Voitkun (1885-1971) <i>Peter Dennis</i>	80
5 Jānis (John) Sarin-Anderson <i>Earl Ewers</i>	86
6 Travellers and settlers: five vignettes <i>Aldis L. Putniņš</i>	101
7 The real Bill Ellenby <i>Donald Langmead</i>	117
8 Australian-Latvian trade 1918-1940 <i>Viesturs Pauls Karnups</i>	137
9 Latvia's consuls in Australia before World War II <i>Ineta Didrihsone-Tomaševska</i>	147
10 In the shadow of Peter the Painter: Latvian anarchists in Australia <i>Frank G. Clarke</i>	165
11 The 1905 revolution and Latvian immigration to Australia <i>Līga Lapa</i>	190
12 Latvian radicals in Australia <i>Elena Govor</i>	199
13 Early Latvian settler organisations in Australia <i>Aldis L. Putniņš</i>	214
14 Recollections of Latvian life in Sydney <i>Kārlis Nicis</i>	228

Latvian radicals in Australia

Elena Govor

'These caskets were made by Latvian prisoners in Siberia', says Margaret Mueller, opening the box full of family treasures which she inherited from her distant relative. 'It was a Russian lady-doctor who brought them to Australia'. Although the paint has partly peeled, it is still possible now, a century later, to distinguish the paintings on the lids of these two miniature wooden caskets. Sad peasant huts on the one and fortress towers on the other seem to tell about the aspirations of the artists, about their motherland with its rich history and suffering working masses. But the most remarkable was their subtle Latvian spirit, manifesting itself through muted colours, clear-cut lines and simple folk ornament around the sides of the caskets. While struggling for the happiness of mankind, these artist prisoners still remained Latvians...

Studying Latvian political radicals in Australia it is not always easy to discern their subtle Latvian spirit, as many of them used non-Latvian aliases, mingled with émigrés from all over the Russian Empire, and spoke Russian. This is not surprising as the political struggle in Latvia, which peaked at the time of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, combined a national struggle against the oppressions of both the Russian Empire and Baltic-German landowners with an internationally oriented agenda. This was the policy of the leading Latvian Social-Democratic Workers' Party (*Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā strādnieku partija*, further abbreviated as LSDSP), which was founded in 1904 and affiliated with the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party after the revolution. A characteristic of many of these people was some degree of Russianisation via edu-

cation (tsarist government policies allowed only Russian to be used in schools in Latvia), military service, political struggle, imprisonment and exile to Siberia, and emigration. Some, born in Latvia, were of non-Latvian ethnic origin. Not surprising, then, that a significant portion of the records about these people can be found in Russian rather than Latvian language sources.

While Soviet-era study of the Latvian revolutionary movement was promoted by the Soviet state, the approach was very selective, focusing mostly on the Bolshevik wing of the Latvian radicals. Latvian émigrés in Australia and other countries were a dubious field of study, especially as many of them perished in Stalin's Gulag when they returned to the Soviet Union after the revolution. Historians in independent Latvia were also not eager to study the radicals who directly or indirectly paved the road for the Russian October Revolution of 1917, Stalinism, loss of Latvian independence and the immeasurable sufferings of the Latvian people. In the West Latvian radicals provoke interest, but the studies are limited mainly to Western sources. Hopefully the time has come to start exploring this controversial facet of the Latvian-Australian-Russian connection and the diversity of its actors.

Speaking about émigrés from the Russian Empire, it should be mentioned that many "economic" immigrants had some degree of political dissatisfaction with their native country, be it the avoidance of the notoriously severe Russian military service, national and political oppression, or just a general aspiration for freedom. These attitudes can be spotted in the most numerous group of Latvian immigrants in Australia – seafarers who left home in their teens, which determined the pattern of their later life in Australia. They seldom turned to a sedentary and family life, but their assimilation was faster and easier in comparison, for instance, to that of ethnic Russian peasants. Although rather numerous in number, it was difficult for this group to support Latvian communal life and organisations. They did not have much in common with Russian communities in Australia and their need for contacts with countrymen was often satisfied by friendships between two or three men, usually with a common seafaring background, as the recollections of Edward Seltin demonstrate (see 'Latvian Anzacs' in this collection). An exception was the *Lettish Association of Sydney*, formed in 1913, which included a number of sea-

men, though its core membership was mainly settlers who had opted to remain on dry land. The rules of the Association had a clause about sticking to Latvian during its meetings. Seafarers often spent long periods without speaking Latvian, and even those who remained on land usually had only intermittent opportunities to use Latvian, which is why a rule to foster language maintenance was felt necessary – language being at the heart of Latvian culture.

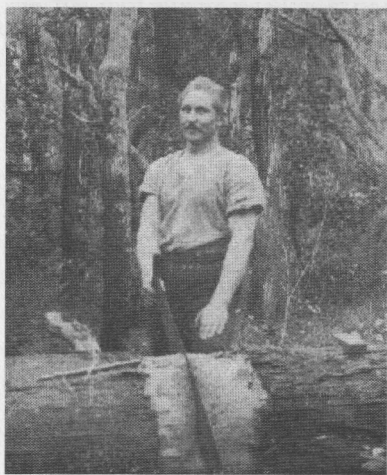
The more publicly active Latvian political émigrés had quite different characteristics, and the Russianisation mentioned above was an important factor. In Australia they, along with their Russian, Ukrainian or Jewish comrades, were at the cradle of Russian political organizations and publications. But along with this internationalist bent they did not forget their Latvian origins and cared to form a Latvian organization, albeit short-lived. Their Latvian correspondence, which has only partially survived in Australian national and family archives, once spanned the Australian continent. Here is the first attempt to sketch their stories using some Australian and Russian sources.

The chain of imprisonment → exile to Siberia → escape to Australia was quite common for Latvian political refugees. (In 1911-1914 Latvian Social-Democrats made up 4.6 % of all political exiles in Siberia.¹) I had a chilling experience finding in Margaret Mueller's archive two letters from the notorious Akatui gaol in Siberia, written by Andrei Berznek and K. Zingis. Zingis described how in October 1906 he was deported from Kuldīga to Jelgava for his trial, then sent to Smolensk and Shlisselburg gaols (the latter is the infamous political gaol near St Petersburg), Nerchinsk *katorga* (hard labour penal servitude in Siberia), and finally to Akatui gaol. Pending their journey into exile in the Siberian wastes they asked for financial help from their countryman and relative Jacob Silin. No doubt they needed money for an intended escape. Their fate remains unknown, but their addressee – Jacob Silin – became one of the earliest Latvian political refugees in Australia.

In Australia Jacob Martin Silin (*Silinš* in contemporary Latvian) used the spelling Cilin and used both given names, viz. Jacob and Martin, interchangeably. He was born near Ventspils, probably in Talsi, in 1885. Although Latvian and Russian records of his revolutionary activities are yet to be found, a remark in a letter from his comrade A. Zweiniek – 'You

remember when you were in prison, I visited your relatives' — says much. His Latvian comrade Charles Steinbloom wrote from New York, 'When I remember the moment we parted from each other, almost as if forever, I feel the cold go through my bones'. Steinbloom recounted how, after failing to board the ship on which Silin departed, he had fled for his life from the police and his own relatives, who 'viewed us as mischievous, that it was only our own fault, and that we ourselves wanted this'.²

Silin had managed to make his way to the Far East and finally reached Nagasaki in Japan, where an émigré community had formed after the Russo-Japanese war — they even produced a newspaper. The problem was that émigrés from Russia could not find any work in Nagasaki and many could hardly make ends meet. So in 1908 Silin left for Australia, which promised security and high wages. He travelled with another political radical, the Russian Alexander Petroff from St Petersburg. His comrade Rudolph Mahlit (whose revolutionary past in Latvia is documented in Līga Lapa's essay in this collection) was left behind in Nagasaki as they had clubbed all their resources to pay Silin's fares.



*Jacob Silin as a timber hewer in
Western Australia
(Courtesy of Margaret Mueller)*

Silin and Petroff came to Western Australia via Colombo, landing in Fremantle on 2 March 1909. Probably this destination was suggested to them by another Latvian political émigré, John Kurschinsky (born in Hasenpoth — now Aizpute — in Latvia in 1875), who took a similar route to Australia from Vladivostok, arriving at Fremantle in December 1908. They had no choice but to take hard physical work in goldmines, sawmills, and railway construction gangs. Places where letters to Silin were addressed in 1909-1913 include Bardoc and Boulder near Kalgoorlie and Collie and Karridale near Bunbury.

Among these letters are several from Mahlit, mostly in Latvian. He tells about the life of their small émigré community in Nagasaki, which included such famous *narodniks* as Byelorussian Dr Nikolai Sudzilovsky-Russel, Jew Boris Orzhikh, and Russian Pavel Klark. As his financial situation rapidly deteriorated Mahlit wrote to Silin in October 1909: 'I no longer have any way out. If I do not receive anything from you then I have to go and hang myself. There is nowhere to live and hold out. I no longer have any credit!... If you haven't sent it [money] – send it immediately, as much as you have'. Silin did send money to rescue his friend, but it was intercepted and appropriated by someone to whom Mahlit owed money. In November 1909 Mahlit, after a year and a half in Japan, reached Manilla in the Philippines, where he was stranded for more than two years, finally landing in Fremantle in May 1912 under the alias of Charles Girgens.³ He joined Silin in Karridale and later worked with Kurschinsky in Manjimup as a timber hewer. Their reunion did not last long as Silin married an English teacher, Margaret Hayes, and moved to Sydney in 1913.

In Sydney Silin/Cilin caught up with some of his Nagasaki friends, including comrade Innokentii, who came to Sydney in June 1909 and naturalised as William Innocent Angars. Maria Nikolaevna Angarskaia – probably his wife – was among Cilin's friends as well. Angarsky, a name derived from the Siberian river Angara, was probably a revolutionary alias. Although the story of the Angarskys still remains unexplored, there are grounds to believe that there was a Latvian connection, as some Russian records refer to the woman as Angarskaia-Upmal. If this guess is correct, Maria Angarskaia could be the mysterious lady-doctor who brought to Australia the samples of craft made by Latvian political prisoners, leaving them with Margaret Cilin when she returned to Russia after the February 1917 revolution.

Aliases were quite common among revolutionaries, as was the case with the revolutionary Viktor Kurnatovsky who came to Sydney in 1908 as Avdakov. He was born in Rīga in 1868 into the family of a military doctor and studied at the Alexandrovskaja *gimnazia* (high school) in Rīga. At 18 he went to St Petersburg and, while studying at university, became involved with the terrorist group *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will). Banned from St Petersburg and Moscow universities, he finally

graduated from the Zurich polytechnic institute as a chemical engineer. By that time he had become a committed Marxist and a close friend of Lenin and his circle. Returning to Russia he was imprisoned several more times.

Trotsky wrote about him:

Amnestied in the fall of 1905, he reached Chita, which was then deluged with combatants of the Russo-Japanese War. There he became chairman of the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Cossaks' Deputies – the head of the so-called "Chita Republic". At the beginning of 1906 Kurnatovsky was again arrested and sentenced to death. General Rennenkamt, the pacifier of Siberia, carried the condemned man in his train so that he might witness with his own eyes the executions of workers at every railway station. Because of the new liberal tendency in connection with elections to the First Duma [Russia's parliament], his death sentence was commuted to life-long banishment to Siberia. Kurnatovsky managed to escape from Nerchinsk to Japan. From there he went to Australia, where he was in great need, worked as a lumberjack and strained himself.⁴

Kurnatovsky had to work to survive – in Sydney as a factory worker and kitchen hand, feeding pigs on a farm, and blasting tunnels in the mountains. In 1910 he became ill while working as an axeman in a remote part of New South Wales. His comrades, with Lenin's help, sent him a ship ticket to Europe, but his friends in Australia did not even have the money for a cab to take him to the ship. M. Mikhailov 'had to carry him on his back to the ship, taking a rest from time to time near the street-lamps. At first V. K[urnatovskii] laughed, and then ... then he began to cry', his friend remembered.⁵ He died in Paris in 1912, aged just 44.

Latvians were often members and founders of organisations which united ethnic Russians and Latvians, Jews and Ukrainians – all those who fled their common enemy, Russian tsarism. However, laying the groundwork for this budding internationalism was at times difficult. A Russian comrade wrote to Silin that because the first 'Russian benevolent society' formed in Sydney in 1909 had no political directions and anyone speaking Russian could join it, it was flooded by anti-Semites, confronta-

tion with whom had nearly resulted in a fist-fight, but 'the good fellows' were finally purged from it.⁶ A similar but more politically oriented transformation took place in Brisbane. A Russian Society formed there in late 1910 by Lazar Kalinin was transformed a year later into the Union of Russian Emigrants, known also as the Russian Association, by charismatic Russian Bolshevik and Lenin's confidant Artem (Fedor Sergeev), who seized leadership of the organization, aiming to add to a proletarian political dimension to its cultural and educational work. In December 1915 the Union of Russian Emigrants adopted a new, more class-oriented name: the Union of Russian Workers. 'Russian' (*rossiiskii*) in the name of the society was used in the sense of 'originating from Russia', rather than ethnic Russian (*russkii*).



Ans Kalnin c.1917
(Courtesy of Ludmila
Shendrikova)

When in April 1913 the *Yawata Maru* brought a new load of Russian immigrants from the Far East, two Latvians in their midst – Ans Kalnin and Julius Johanson – immediately got involved in the activities of the Union of Russian Emigrants. Ans Ernstovich Kalnin (*Ans Ernsta dēls Kalniņš* in modern Latvian) was born in 1883 in Kandava civil parish, Talsi district. His elder brother, Peter, studied at the St Petersburg Mining Institute and published a Latvian revolutionary newspaper – *Darba Balss* (*Labour's Voice*) – which was illegally delivered to Latvia by their sister Margarita, while Ans conducted propaganda in Latvia. Ans had been a member of the LSDSP from 1904 and a member of its Central com-

mittee from 1908. He was arrested and imprisoned several times and finally, in 1911, exiled to Siberia from where he fled.⁷ Julius Veide-Johanson was born in 1888 in Graši civil parish, Livland province. He

joined the LSDSP in 1906 and became a member of the Rīga committee. Veide-Johanson was arrested in 1909, deported to Siberia and likewise fled from exile.⁸ He and Kalnin met on the way to Australia.

In Australia Kalnin took the name Ivan Kuk and, joining the Union of Russian Emigrants, was elected both to its board (together with Artem, Petr Utkin and Boris Taranov) and library commission. He was also elected to the editorial board of the Russian newspaper published by the Union in Brisbane and prepared a significant proportion of its materials (the other editors were Iakov Grant, Artem and Utkin) as well as raising money for its publication. In 1916, while working as a cane cutter in Mossman, he was active in anti-conscription agitation and supported the cane-cutters' strike.⁹

Julius Johanson (he did not use his name Veide while in Australia) also took part in Russian political activities in Queensland. He wrote in his memoirs:

Russians were distinguished by their unity, they all joined organisations. There were two of these – the Union of Russian Workers and the Society of Relief to Political Prisoners in Russia whose headquarters were in Krakow. Once a fortnight each organisation had meetings, which meant that we had gatherings each Sunday. For Russians these meetings were a political academy. Leaders of different parties delivered speeches. The most active were Artem, Kuk-Kalnin, P. Utkin, Jordan, the Klark-Grey family, ... and many others. Sometimes people came to Australia hardly literate, but after visiting these meetings they not only learnt literacy but became leaders.¹⁰

Kalnin was elected treasurer of the Society of Relief to Political Prisoners in Russia and Johanson was a member of its internal auditing committee. Another organisation in which émigrés from Russia, including Latvians, were active was the Australian Socialist Party.

Latvian involvement in all these organisations was obviously significant. Among the members and supporters may be mentioned Adolph Bergmann (born in Rīga in 1882), who came to Brisbane via Vladivostok in 1910 and worked in the Ipswich workshops as a fitter, and Oscar Eglit (born in Rīga in 1892) and Jehkabs Kurzemneeks, who were both labourers from North Queensland. It is not surprising that in 1915 Julius Jo-

hanson used the pages of the Union of Russian Workers' newspaper in an attempt to unite his Latvian countrymen in a new political organisation. (See Aldis Putniņš 'Early Latvian settler organisations in Australia' in this collection).

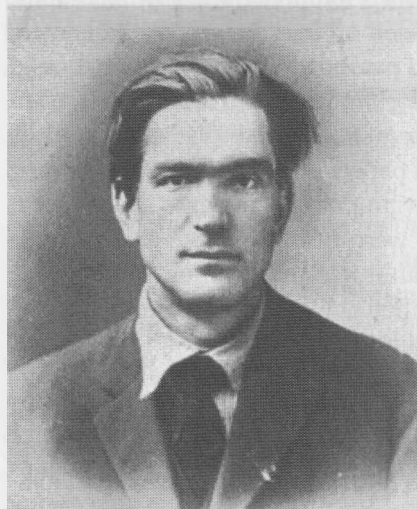
It may be added that another Russian political organisation – the Melbourne Section of Russian Socialists – was led during the mid-1910s by a Latvian, John Dravine (born in Liepāja in 1886). He came to Australia in 1911, visited Broken Hill and Port Pirie, and finally settled in Melbourne where he found employment as a blacksmith. Indirect evidence of his political activities in Russia is found in the following remark in a police report: 'he concealed himself on board a ship when leaving Russia and therefore did not obtain a passport'. In Russia, according to this report, he was employed as a clerk in naval offices.¹¹ The Latvian presence in the Russian workers group of Port Pirie is discussed by Aldis Putniņš in the previously mentioned paper.

During the First World War Latvian political émigrés in Australia, similar to their Russian comrades, were mostly on the side of anti-conscription movement. Rudolph Mahlit was an exception – he was one of the first to join the AIF and was killed at Gallipoli. Meantime, something new was on the horizon – revolution in Russia.

'I was in the outback in the township Wowan near Mount Morgan', Johanson wrote in his memoirs, 'when our newspaper published by comrade Kuk-Kalnin brought news of the February 1917 revolution. [...] From then on we lived with one dream – to return as soon as possible to Russia. Soon news of political amnesty came'.¹² Political émigrés, including a number of Latvians, were provided free passage to Russia by the Russian Provisional government. They left Australia in May 1917; Kalnin, Johanson, and the Angarskys were among them. Russian records also mention Jan Vitte – born in 1889 in Liepāja and a member of the LSDSP in 1904-1906 – transporting literature from abroad. Arrested in 1906, he managed to flee exile only in 1913, and via China and Japan reached Australia.¹³

Four Latvia-born radicals, missing the initial momentum, received free passage from the Australian government, but in more dramatic circumstances, being deported after the Red Flag Riots in March 1919 (the Red Flag Riots were a series of anti-socialist demonstrations in Queens-

land during 1918-1919 spearheaded by returned Australian servicemen). They were Alexander Zuzenko and Peter Kreslin from Brisbane, Peter Timms from Sydney and Peter Gailit from Port Pirie. Alexander Zuzenko has recently become a subject of research by Kevin Windle. Zuzenko was born in 1884 in Rīga and, besides his native Russian, mastered Latvian and German. In 1904 he joined the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, participating in its combat wing. He was arrested but managed to avoid deportation and by 1911 reached Australia as a seaman. He became prominent in the Russian community in Queensland in 1917 when the previous



*Alexander Zuzenko
(Courtesy of Ksenia Zuzenko)*

leaders returned to Russia. He published Russian radical newspapers and led Russians under the prohibited red flags on 23 March 1919 in Brisbane. Arrested, he was imprisoned in Darlinghurst prison in Sydney and then soon deported to Russia.¹⁴ Peter Kreslin, who was born in Rīga in 1891 and came to Brisbane from the Far East in 1913, was another participant in the demonstration and shared Zuzenko's fate.¹⁵

Peter Timms, a native of Rīga born in 1889, was arrested in 1905 'for making explosives' and LSDSP membership. After touring a number of prisons he was sent to Krasnoiarsk prison in Siberia from where he escaped in 1913. In a letter to a comrade he claimed that he delivered money for the revolutionary cause to Vladimir Lenin in 1914 at the Latvian Social Democracy conference (held in Brussels and attended by Lenin), and added that Jacob Peters¹⁶ 'whose name was mentioned in papers on several occasions as Trotsky's right-hand man, is my personal friend'. Australian authorities believed Timms to be a 'Bolshevik of the most extreme type' and demanded his immediate deportation.¹⁷

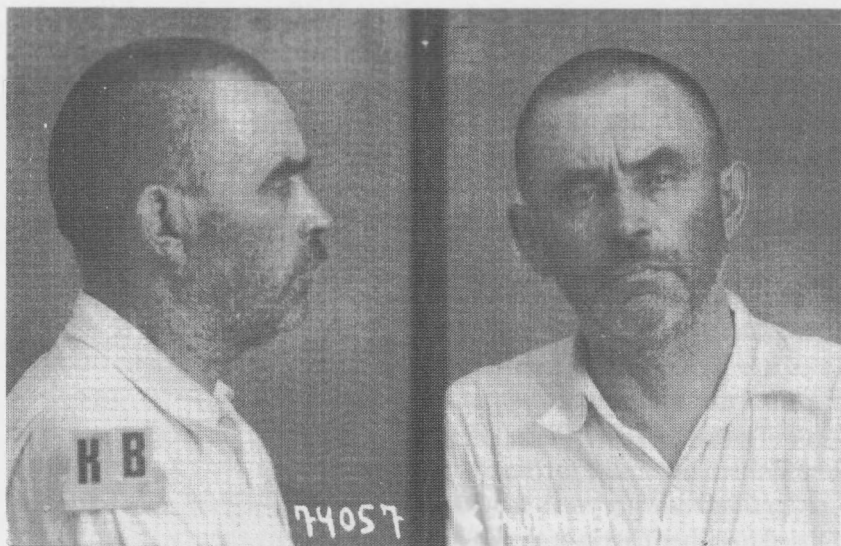
The fourth Latvian picked up for deportation was Peter Gailit, who was born in Lubāna civil parish, Livland province, in 1886. He became involved in revolutionary struggle in 1904, joined the LSDSP and organised peasant militia units during the 1905 revolution. Avoiding arrest, he fled to northern Russia under the name of Kalnin (which is why in Russian documents he is often recorded as Gailit-Kalnin). Arrested and imprisoned in 1907, he was finally exiled to Siberia from where he fled to Australia in 1912, landing at Port Pirie.¹⁸ His activities there are discussed in 'Early Latvian settler organisations in Australia' by Aldis Putniņš in this collection.

Zuzenko and Gailit, seen as the most dangerous radicals by the Australian authorities, were the first to be deported per *Bakkara* in April 1919. Timms and Kreslin, after several months of imprisonment, followed them per *Frankfurt* in September 1919.

In the following years a number of Latvian radicals voluntarily returned to either Latvia or the Soviet Union. Among them was John Korschinsky, Silin's friend. In 1924 he returned to Latvia with his family. Their file in the National Archives of Australia tells the tragic story of how his Australian wife Amy and daughter Janis tried to return to Australia in the 1940s, surviving Russian occupation and the Second World War.¹⁹

Ans Kalnin and several other Latvians chose to remain in revolutionary Russia/Soviet Union. Upon arrival at Vladivostok in May 1917 Kalnin joined the Bolsheviks and worked as a party leader at the Suchan mines. During the Russian civil war he fought the Whites in the Far East and later held party and administrative positions.²⁰ While working in the Profintern (Red International of Labour Unions) he published papers about the Australian workers' movement.²¹ Although notorious for his strict adherence to the party line,²² Kalnin was arrested in 1937 and accused of Trotskyist terrorist activities.²³ After 8 years in the Gulag he died in exile in the north in 1950. His granddaughter Oksana, living in Moscow, restored their surname Kalnyn' and named her son Ans in honour of her grandfather.

Information about others after their return is sketchy. Johanson fought in the civil war in Russia and mentioned in his memoirs that 'Many of those who returned fell in the fight with the Whites in the Far



*Ans Kalnin – Soviet prisoner (1937)
(Courtesy of Ludmila Shendrikova)*

East'.²⁴ Kreslin, according to Australian intelligence, worked as an interpreter at the American consulate at Vladivostok.²⁵ It can be assumed that many of those who survived the civil war were imprisoned and executed during the Great Terror. The fearless Zuzenko was among them. Deported from Australia in 1919, he returned to Australia to support the radical movement and was deported again in 1922, after which he served as captain of the Soviet ship *Smolny* until his arrest and execution in 1938. His wife Civa (Tsetsilia), who followed him to Russia after his first deportation, tells that by the time of his arrest his eyes had opened.²⁶ The names of many others are still waiting to be found as currently only 20 percent of those who were repressed have had their details published by the Russian 'Memorial' society.

Some Latvian radicals, including Eglit, Kurzemneeks and Dravine, remained in Australia. While preserving some of the radical ideals of their youth, they increasingly integrated into Australian life. For instance, I have learnt about the last years of Oscar Eglit from the family of his Russian friend Osip Rinkevich, a communist. They both became

poultry farmers at Coquette Point near Innisfail. 'Oscar and Osiph were very good drinking buddies, along with a Jew called Sam Lipich (the story goes, he was a poor house painter). These three men were very good friends, drinking from around the '30s and past the Second World War', tells Rinkevich's granddaughter.²⁷

We have to also say a few words about Jacob Silin/Cilin. He, with his adventurous nature, took a different way. In 1916 he left Australia for Harbin, leaving behind in Sydney his wife and young daughter Marjorie Olga. He engaged in all sorts of business travelling between China and Russia – first in gold mining companies, then, during the Civil war, in sales of cloth, boots and so on to the Russian military. In 1925 Australian authorities revoked his naturalisation, considering that he was a 'morphia and opium smuggler' engaged in 'dealings of shady nature'. The last letter in his archival folder was sent by him from Shanghai municipal gaol after the Japanese invasion. He pleaded with Australian authorities for his naturalisation certificate, but was refused.²⁸ After that he disappears

from documentary records. His daughter Olga, a fair-haired girl – a real Latvian – never learnt about the misfortunes of her father. To the end of her days she kept her father's Latvian archive and his letters to her from China – letters full of love and a promise to return one day. Discovering with Margaret Mueller (Olga's cousin) Cilin's archival file full of detrimental reports about him, we thought that it was for the better that Olga passed away without seeing it.



*Jacob Silin in Harbin (China) in
1919
(Courtesy of Margaret
Mueller)*

Notes

- 1 Khaziakhmetov, E.Sh. (1978). *Sibirskaiia politicheskaiia ssylka. 1905-1917*. [Siberian political exile. 1905-1917], Tomsk, p. 21.
- 2 Letters to Jacob Silin from A. Berznek 1.10.[1909], K. Zingis 2.10.1909, A. Zweiniek 26.08.1909, and Charles Steinbloom 12.05.1910 – all in Margaret Mueller's archives, Melbourne.
- 3 Letters to Jacob Silin from Charles Girgens (Rudolph Mahlit) 18.12.1908, 26.01.1909, 4.06.1909, 4.10.1909, 28.11.1909, 26.12.1909, undated [1910] - all in Margaret Mueller's archives.
- 4 Trotsky, L. (1941). *Stalin – an appraisal of the man and his influence*, Ch.2. Quoted from:
www.marxists.org/archive/trotsky/1940/xx/stalin/cho2.htm
- 5 Mikhailov, M. 'V. K. Kurnatovskii (v period 1907–1912 gg.)' [V. K. Kurnatovskii (during the period 1907–1919)], in *Saryi bol'shevik*, sbornik no. 1, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, pp. 168–171.
- 6 Unsigned to J. Silin, 22.11.1909, Margaret Mueller's archives
- 7 Summary of archival records about Ans Kalnin, 7.10.1959 – Central State Historical Archives, Moscow (in possession of Ludmila Shendrikova, granddaughter of Ans's sister Margarita). E-mail from L. Shendrikova 25.10.2009.
- 8 Veide-Ioganson, Iu. I. – In: *Politicheskaiia katorga i ssylka. Biograficheskii spravochik chlenov o-va politkatorzhan i ssylnoposelentsev* [Political penal servitude and exile. Biographic dictionary of the members of the Society of political prisoners and exiles]. Moscow, 1934, pp. 104-105.
- 9 Information from the Russian newspapers *Bulletin of the Union of Russian Workers* (1913–1916) and *Workers' Life* (1916-1917), published in Brisbane.
- 10 Iogansen. 'Russkie politicheskii emigranty v Avstralii v 1913-1917 gg.' [Russian political émigré in Australia in 1913-1917 – In: *Na voliu!* [Toward freedom], Leningrad, 1927, pp. 119-121.
- 11 NAA: A1, 1914/15209. John Dravine – Naturalisation
- 12 Iogansen, op. cit., p. 121.
- 13 Vitte Ia. M. – In: *Politicheskaiia katorga i ssylka*, p. 778.
- 14 Lovell, D. & Windle, K. (2008). *Our unswerving loyalty: A documentary survey of relations between the Communist Party of Australia and Moscow, 1920-1940*, Canberra: ANU E Press, http://epress.anu.edu.au/oul_citation.html, p. 159. Kevin Windle's book about Zuzenko, provisionally titled *Red flag flying: Captain Zuzenko and the workers of Australia and the world*, is still unpublished.

- 15 NAA: A6122, 111, Summary of Communism (Summary 21).
- 16 Jacob Peters was involved in Leesma's activities in London in 1909 (see Frank G. Clarke, 'In the shadow of Peter the Painter: Latvian anarchists in Australia', in this collection).
- 17 NAA: MP 367/1, Box 54 A13, 479/25/190.
- 18 Gailit-Kalinin, P.I. — In: *Politicheskaja katorga i ssylka*, 1934, p. 131.
- 19 NAA: A446, 1959/23584. Kurschinsky, Amy Joyce; Janis
- 20 Petrov, V. 'V vikhre sobytii' [In the whirl of events]. — *Krasnyi suchanets*, 29.07.1969, p. 3. I am grateful to Andrei Antonov for information from Far Eastern newspapers.
- 21 Kalnin, A. (1923). 'Rabochee dvizhenie v Avstralii' [The workers' movement in Australia]. — *Krasnyi internatsional profsoiuzov*, no. 3, pp. 462-467.
- 22 Kushnikova, M. & Togulev, V. 'Ans Kalnin — dushitel avtonomii' [Ans Kalnin — strangler of autonomy]. — http://kuzbasshistory.narod.ru/Ist_Pub/Text/20_30/kalnin.html
- 23 I am grateful to Oksana Kalnyn' and Ludmila Shendrikova for information about his trial. Ans's brother Peter Kalnin, a geologist, was arrested in 1928.
- 24 Iogansen, op. cit., p. 121.
- 25 NAA: A6122, 111, Summary of Communism (Summary 23).
- 26 Govor, E. (2008). 'Iz Avstralii v GULAG' [From Australia to the GULAG], — *Avstraliiskaia mozaika*, Sydney, no. 13, pp. 8-15. Zuzenko found his final resting place in the infamous mass grave of Kom-munarka near Moscow, sharing it, probably, with my grandfather Ar-tem Vesely, a Russian writer.
- 27 E-mail from Maree Rinkevich 23.03.2010.
- 28 NAA: A659, 1943/1/1748. Cilin, J.M. — Naturalisation.