

Sailing for Peace: The Anti-Nuclear Voyage of *Everyman III* into Soviet Territory, 1962

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Introduction

‘The men of *Everyman III* are ordinary people wishing to represent no one but themselves, un-affiliated with any government and speaking with no other authority than that of individual responsibility as human beings. Working in this way they speak personally to others, not to the blank walls of so-called authority, but to the man behind the uniform, the human being beneath the accumulated ashes of tradition. The voyage of *Everyman III* is a journey into the individual conscience of every Christian, Communist, Atheist or Agnostic. The voice of each member of the crew is a key to the door of communication between man and man’.¹

With these words, Max Maxwell, a British pacifist from the circles of the War Resisters’ International, ended an appeal for financial support of *Everyman III*’s sailing voyage to the Soviet Union. By then, *Everyman III* was already well underway but still very short on funds, its crew largely reliant on the hospitality of the local pacifists who came to wish them well in ports as they slowly made their way from London to Leningrad. Seen from this angle, the voyage of *Everyman III* appeared to be a marginal affair. A young and largely inexperienced crew of twelve, without pecunious sponsors or visas for their final destination, on their way in a ketch that was ill-equipped for braving the North and Baltic Seas in autumn.

Seen from another angle, however, the detailed accounts written up by the crew, the support they received from well-wishers along the way, and the work done by the London office of the War Resisters in order to publicize their efforts, tell a much larger story. They offer a treasure trove of insights into the international peace movement of the early Cold War, and into a specific mode of peace activism in this era: that of physically taxing, potentially dangerous, long-distance pilgrimages for peace.

The crew of *Everyman III* took inspiration from previous sailing voyages by pacifists hoping to enter nuclear testing zones in the Pacific. The boat’s name was not an accident: ‘Everyman’ referred to the eponymous Tudor-era morality play of a pilgrimage which concludes that in the end, when placed before God, all that man has is one’s own good deeds. Predecessors *Everyman I* and *Everyman II* had been aimed at disrupting US nuclear test sites, leading to the arrest of eleven sailors, five of whom were still in prison when *Everyman III* left London.² *Everyman III*, by contrast, aimed to sail not west but east, in order to draw the eyes of the world to the imminent resumption of Soviet nuclear tests on Novaya Zemlya.

¹ International Institute for Social History (IISH), Devi Prasad Papers, File 50. Max Maxwell, Appeal for Funds, War Resisters’ International (WRI), September 1962.

² IISH, Archief Nederlandse Vredes Actie (ANVA), *Everyman III* press release.

Despite their inexperience, the *Everyman III* crew were fortunately aware that reaching Novaya Zemlya in autumn was not realistic. Instead, they aimed for Leningrad with the intent to continue to Moscow by way of the Moscow canal, converting the Soviet people to the need for complete nuclear disarmament along the way.

Everyman III reached Soviet territory despite attempts to forestall their arrival. While they were moored in Stockholm, the harbour master kept receiving phone calls about an outbreak of plague aboard the vessel. The phone calls continued until an official inspection was undertaken. The crew worried that this episode would be used as a pretext for placing the ship in quarantine upon arrival in Leningrad, but instead they were simply not permitted to land. In response, the crew exercised the full range of civil disobedience techniques in order to achieve their goals, from jumping overboard to sabotaging *Everyman III* to avoid being towed out to international waters. While they did succeed in making local contact despite being arrested, they were unable to draw global attention to their plight in Leningrad harbour. Quite spectacularly, the Cuban missile crisis broke out on the very day that *Everyman III* was allowed to converse with representatives of the Soviet and Leningrad Peace Committees in port. This global crisis, however, eclipsed any hopes of the *Everyman III* story being picked up by the press, even if the crisis did bring home the urgency of nuclear disarmament.



Everyman III anchored in Kiel Harbour. Photo by Friedrich Magnussen (1914-87), Stadtarchiv Kiel.

The most detailed account of *Everyman III*'s voyage, and the one presented here, was written by Barnaby Martin, a young British pacifist. At just twenty-three years old, he already had the CV of a seasoned peace worker. As one of the last batches of national servicemen to be called up – military conscription was discontinued in 1960 – he became a conscientious objector and proceeded to take part in marches and sit-downs of the Committee of 100, a British anti-war group that used non-violent and civil obedience strategies for nuclear

disarmament. He was also no stranger to the activist genre of strenuous long-distance activism, having taken part in the San Francisco to Moscow March in its entirety.³ When the March was refused entry into France, he jumped overboard in defiance of the authorities not once, but three times.⁴ By his own admission, taking part in the final vigil in Moscow's Red Square had ignited a desire in him to start a movement for nuclear disarmament in the Soviet Union, and *Everyman III* offered an opportunity to do just that.

The following pages offer Barnaby Martin's account as it was written: in instalments that were copied and mailed from various ports along the way to the London headquarters of the War Resisters' International. Never intended to be a comprehensive account, the instalments became archived in a similarly scattered manner, and some survive only as extracts, later typed up for distribution among supporters. At present, the account can best be pieced together from the Devi Prasad Papers in the War Resisters' International archives, as Prasad was the organization's General Secretary at the time of the voyage. *Everyman III* carried an old and rather faulty typewriter on board – resulting errors or missing interpunction have been corrected below to facilitate reading. Extensive annotation is offered to contextualise the voyage, its crew, the geopolitical circumstances in which it took place, and the reception of the crew by local pacifists as well as members of the press along the way.

Report by Barnaby Martin of the Voyage of *Everyman III*

In Port – Ostend, 27-9-1962

Our departure from Gravesend was dead on 2 pm with a small group of supporters to represent the British peace movement. There was no difficulty with the customs – in fact there was no check at all on the boat or baggage.

Everyman III left with a turn around some of the boats in the estuary, taking us past our supporters who were waving vigorously. Then we set course for the open sea through the long estuary of the Thames. As the boat cleared the protection of the shores, the water became rougher and after a while some of the crew felt somewhat ill. The system of watches was set up – two groups of four working alternate shifts of four hours. The cooks, engineers take alternative shifts at their own particular jobs. Nobody got much sleep during the night and we arrived in Ostend before the expected time of 8 am. This we managed in spite of a delay when the engine was stopped for repairs, and in spite of slowing down the engine later to reduce speed. The sails were not used at all on this trip.

On arrival in Ostend (or Oostende) the boat was moored alongside some fishing boats and we had some conversation with some of the fishermen who seemed to speak all languages. Belgian TV came on board – that is the Flemish department – and arranged to interview Earle and others.⁵ Then customs came on board and asked us to remain on the boat until they checked us out at 9 am. So we had breakfast and later received the customs and other

³ On this march, see Bradford Lyttle, *You Come with Naked Hands: The Story of the San Francisco to Moscow Walk for Peace*, Raymond, N.H.: Greenleaf Books, 1966; Gunter Wernicke and Lawrence Wittner, 'Lifting the Iron Curtain: The Peace March to Moscow of 1960-1961', *International History Review*, 21:4, 1999, pp. 900–917.

⁴ IISH, Devi Prasad Papers 50. *Everyman III*, General Information for Speaking Tour.

⁵ Earle Reynolds was *Everyman III*'s skipper, but also the most established peace activist on the crew. A few years previously, he had sailed his own ship *Phoenix of Hiroshima* into US nuclear testing sites. Earle Reynolds, *The Forbidden Voyage of the Phoenix into the A.E.C. Prohibited Zone*, Philadelphia: David McKay, 1961.

pressmen. The son of our chief Belgian contact came to greet us – Paul Provo, son of Lea – and brought with him a few of the other Belgian peace workers.⁶ We then moved to a better mooring outside the town hall – I am now sitting on board about 200 yards from the main entrance – a very satisfactory position near to the streets and shops. To get here we had to come through two locks (plus swing bridge) and I photographed these.

On arrival at our favoured mooring, we departed almost immediately for the Town Hall, where we were greeted by the mayor. He said he was very pleased to welcome us to Ostend and it was particularly relevant that peace workers had come to this town that had been the victim of so much suffering in wars. He wished the crew good luck and good sailing and said “I hope a sense of reason and humanity will guide those who have the destiny of this much disturbed world in their hands.” Some very nice white wine was brought in and we drank to the good sailing of *Everyman III*. Then an official photograph was taken of the crew with the mayor. We returned to the boat and shortly left for lunch in a local restaurant provided by the Belgian supporters.

Returned to *Everyman III* and passed out some of the French-Flemish leaflets and prepared for the evening meeting in the town hall. This meeting would be addressed by Earle and others. At 5.30pm we shall leave the boat and march around town distributing leaflets.

Everyman III North Sea Canal, Holland, 5 pm, 29/9/1962

At 5.30 pm as arranged, we marched around the town passing out the French-Flemish leaflets. We stayed out for about one hour and got rid of about 2,000 leaflets. Paul Provo preceded us with his van with slogans painted on it (Paul Provo, son of Lea, has acted as shore contact for the Ostend and Belgium arrangements. He was the Belgian representative of the San Francisco Moscow March.⁷ He suggested as we left that he may be able to join the crew at a later stage).

At 8pm we started the meeting in the Town Hall. This had not had much publicity and we were lucky to have the 50 people who came. After opening the meeting, the chairman introduced Earle Reynolds who spoke for about 10 minutes (English only) with double translation into Flemish and French making a total talk plus translation of about 30 minutes. This was decidedly unsatisfactory since Earle was the only person who spoke from our point of view and other local speakers gave long talks on other matters relevant to peace and war. However, there were two other well-known speakers. Professor Flam, professor of Philosophy at the University of Brussels. He spoke about the history of mankind in relation to the practices of war and the increasing dangers of mass organised societies.⁸ Then Senator Glinne (representative of the Charleroi district and a socialist) spoke about the difficulties of achieving a satisfactory negotiated peace by normal political procedures.⁹ Then Abbé Carette spoke about the need for the expression of the individual conscience in the world of mass

⁶ Lea Provo (1921–97) was one of the pioneers of the Belgian peace movement. She was particularly interested in Gandhian non-violence, and moved to South India in the late 1960s. Paul Provo was her only son.

⁷ From Ostend to Leningrad, the network of friendships created by the San Francisco–Moscow March proved useful for *Everyman III*. Even in Leningrad, one of the first Soviet peace workers permitted to board the *Everyman III* had previously interpreted for the Moscow leg of the march.

⁸ Leopold Flam (1912–95), born to Jewish migrants from Russia, was one of Belgium’s most prominent philosophers of the 1960s.

⁹ Ernest Glinne (1931–2009) was a Wallonian socialist politician who by this time was known for his vocal support of Algerian decolonization.

destruction and mass society. I remembered Abbé Carette well from the Moscow March.¹⁰ He arranged many meals and sleeping places for us and is now a member of the Belgian Committee for Nonviolent Action. Many badges were sold at the meeting, some people giving 20 francs – 2/6d. Some of the audience came from the meeting to the boat, which, as I have said, was only 200 yards from the Town Hall. The meeting taught us how to prepare for future meetings so as to avoid a number of errors.

The following day – Friday – we did nothing very much in the morning but prepared to leave. Ray was still having some trouble with the engine and we were uncertain of leaving on time.¹¹ Finally we left at 4pm with a few of our Belgian supporters waving goodbye. Just before we left a reporter from Tass Agency came on board and talked with one or two people but did not accept Earle's offer of a voyage to Amsterdam with us so that he could write a good story. There had been gale warnings speaking of force 8 and 9, but Earle seemed to think conditions safe enough and the boat sturdy enough. In fact the voyage to IJmuiden was very calm and there was nothing more than a force 3 breeze. IJmuiden is pronounced "Aymouden" – as is obvious when you think about it???

However, we had many troubles on this voyage. At 7 pm the clutch started burning up and part of the gear box seized up. So the engine was switched off and we put up three sails. Fortunately, it was still light. We used the sails all night while Ray and Joel worked on the engine.¹² Finally they went to their bunks for some sleep while the two watches continued working with sails only at a speed of about ¾ knots. The engine was restarted at about 12 noon but Ray felt uncertain about it behaving properly. However, it got us into IJmuiden at 2.15 pm. So we were seven hours late. Some of our supporters, including Cor Hoek, Wim Jong and Nick Bolte met us at the outer dock and we went through the locks and the North Sea canal immediately – which is where I am writing this.¹³ We have not had any customs, immigration, or health clearance and we really do not expect any will be required. Things are very lax here. During our passage through the locks one of the locks officers, who is a member of one of the peace groups came on board and guided us through. He wished us well and put one of our badges on his uniform. Going through the locks, the rudder stuck at one stage and we had a mild crash into the stone wall. This is one of the many things that must be seen to in Amsterdam.

One of the photos which you will be receiving soon is of Peter Archbold being interviewed by Belgian TV (Flemish), since he speaks the language.¹⁴ If this photo is any good, four copies should be sent to the papers which reported this week's fast and collection of signatures against the Soviet tests. These are: *St. Ives Times and Echo*, *The Cornishman*, *The West Briton*, and the *Western Morning News*.¹⁵ You have his St. Ives address and this should be given with a note of his fast to help them tie up the two incidents. You should work

¹⁰ Abbé Paul Carette was a Catholic clergyman and nonviolent activist, who had previously participated in the Francisco–Moscow March.

¹¹ Ray refers to Raymond Messenger, a member of the *Everyman III*'s crew.

¹² Joel refers to Joel Bøgh, likewise a member of the crew.

¹³ Dutch peace workers from the Algemene Nederlandse Vredesactie (Dutch General Peace Movement), an organization which functioned as the Dutch chapter of the War Resisters' International. At the time of the voyage, Wim Jong was a board member of the ANVA, and Cor Hoek was its president.

¹⁴ Peter Archbold, a pacifist from Cornwall known aboard as 'Archie', had been appointed the *Everyman III*'s cook.

¹⁵ All Cornwall newspapers.

in cooperation with his wife over this matter – and she wants a copy of the photo also (Helene Archbold).

I think it will be quite easy for me to send two copies of these reports – one of which should go to PN I suppose. Do keep in mind the value of local papers in this case for the item about Archy.

One volunteer who came in the other day, and wanted to join the crew sometime during the voyage should be written to sometime that this is not possible, unless we start losing crew members. His volunteer form is in that file.

In Port, Amsterdam, 12 noon, 30th September 1962

We arrived in Amsterdam 6 pm and were given a good mooring near the city centre. A number of young supporters welcomed us at the dock and bought our badges. Customs came on board and checked through the passports. They expressed some doubt over David Coverley since he does not have a passport but seaman's papers.¹⁶ After passing out some leaflets and welcoming our friends on board we had a quick meal and left for the meeting which had been arranged at short notice. This was in a plush hotel Krasnapolsky and there was literature and CND badges on sale. About 200 people attended, mostly from the peace movements which have their headquarters in Amsterdam. Although there was a fair proportion of young people, most were older. The first speaker was Prof. dr. J. de Graaf, who I believe is the chairman or president of the Dutch WRI.¹⁷ He was introduced by Wim Jong who was chairman of the meeting. Prof. de Graaf spoke about the need for individual responsibility in the present world situation. He brought in by way of explanation the action taken by Algiers citizens in sitting between the barricades in protest against the battles. Wim Jong ended off the first part of the meeting with a few announcements. (I left out the first speaker, Earle Reynolds, who emphasised the way in which politicians, churches, and other institutions had failed mankind in the face of the problems of war and the consequent responsibility for individuals to act for a solution themselves). During the coffee break, a chief inspector from the city police spoke to Barnaby Martin who was to speak later and to Wim Jong and Prof. dr Graaf, saying that the law of Holland was that foreigners were not allowed to talk about political matters in Holland and that crew members should confined themselves to ordinary factual statements about the boat and its route. (This was Hoofdinspecteur Johan H. van de Drift). He was told that his statement was understood.¹⁸ After the break, Peter Archbold spoke in Dutch about a question that many people ask him – what does your wife think about your coming on this voyage? He compared this question with another – what do the wives of Kennedy, Krushchev and Mr. Luns (Dutch Minister for Foreign Affairs) think about their husbands' preparations for war? He expressed the need for individuals to be at least as committed to peace work as our politicians were to war work. Then Wim Jong spoke about the challenge based on conscientious action that had been made to the Nazis during the war and his belief that conscientious action must take precedent over

¹⁶ David Coverley, along with Reynolds, was the only crewmen with sailing experience.

¹⁷ Johannes de Graaf (1911–91) was Professor of Theology at Utrecht University, who had written his PhD dissertation on Russian theology.

¹⁸ *Everyman III's* 'policy statement' declared that all crew members would employ an attitude towards officials of "sympathetic understanding of the burdens and responsibilities they carry" and that they would 'adhere as closely as we are able to the letter and spirit of truth in our spoken and written statements.' By indicating understanding, but not compliance, Barnaby Martin technically did both. IISH, Devi Prasad Papers 50, *Everyman III Policy Statement*, approved 15 August 1962.

legal action. (This was partially an introduction for Barnaby who had determined not to leave out what might be termed by the police as political talk). Then Barnaby spoke about the boat and the fact that it was purchased in Portmadoc, Wales, within sight of Bertrand Russell's house and was visited by him and his family.¹⁹ He explained that at the end of the route in Leningrad we hoped to be able to speak to the Soviet people and if we were not allowed in, we would persist in trying to enter until stopped. He then spoke about the law forbidding talk on political matters. He said that his concern was to speak about saving humanity and it was for others to decide whether this was illegal. Barnaby continued to give the basic policy of the voyage and asked those present to dedicate themselves to the support of the voyage by working in their own peace groups and taking part in all demonstrations, legal and illegal for unconditional disarmament. (During this time, the Chief Inspector was sitting at the back of the hall looking rather embarrassed. He left directly after the meeting). Finally, the public were invited by Wim Jong to visit the boat the following day, Sunday, in the afternoon. The collection at the meeting produced 10 pounds and many badges were sold.

We telephoned a message of welcome to Helen Allegranza via Ann Davidson and returned to the boat for much-needed sleep.

Now we are preparing the boat for the next section of the voyage and listening to the weather forecasts. These are talking of gales of force 8 and 9 which are too strong for us to deal with – at any rate for the time being. Earle says he would not go out in force 7.

During the morning a representative of the harbour master told us to remove the banners because the harbour master did not permit them. When we heard about this, we thought we should go and discuss this with the harbour master, but since the growing wind would prevent their being used anyway, there did not seem much point. We intend to see the harbour master if the wind calms down. Earle said last night, when considering the possibility that the boat would be ordered to leave when Barnaby broke the law as stated, that he could raise the international protest flag and then we must be permitted to remain in port, but confined to the boat except for essentials. We seem to be making quite a study of civil disobedience by boat. We can add to the sit-ins, sit-downs, walk-ins, kneel-ins, now sail-ins, and perhaps moor-ins.²⁰

Earle has just told us that the expected time of departure from the sailing point of view would be Monday noon. This should get us to Germany – entrance to the Elbe river at dawn on October 3rd. Allowing time for customs checks, we should not expect to be in Hamburg before Thursday 4th sometime.

As a repeat of the money request, I will give next time I phone, could you send 100 pounds for us to Hamburg, keep 100 in the office for printing, phone and other costs, and give the rest as part-repayment to Peace News? CNVA is very broke and cannot easily repay the loan. Please tell CNVA how much you have been able to pay off – telegram.

May I remind you to chase the visa forms – it is useful to have tried, even if they cannot be obtained. I will send a list of people in already visited countries to be kept informed. We are finding some valuable contacts. I heard from Elvira that you are keeping New York informed by express letter, this will help a great deal.

¹⁹ Barnaby Martin speaks of himself in the third person here, possibly to place some distance between the reader and the account of his speech and his position vis-à-vis the police inspector's instructions. It is quite striking as he also uses first-person voice in the same letter.

²⁰ Given Earle Reynolds' previous experience with the Phoenix of Hiroshima, he was especially aware of the possibilities and limitations of protest in this regard.

Everyman III At sea, IJsselmeer, 5.30 pm, 1st October 1962

We finally left Amsterdam at 1pm on Monday, October 3rd and made our way down the North Sea Canal again towards the IJsselmeer, formerly part of the Zuider Zee, after a quick send-off.²¹ We chose this route because it seems slightly quicker than going out into the North Sea from Amsterdam and it is calmer. You may have heard about the gales and flood damage around England – we wanted to avoid that. However, the IJsselmeer can be very rough in strong winds. Fortunately, that weather has largely calmed down and we are passing through very low waves using our engine mostly but having two sails up to steady the boat. The sun is shining and some are asleep on deck. Sounds like a luxury cruise, but this will not be so for long.

Our arrival in Hamburg remains uncertain but should be on Thursday sometime. I have not been able to contact Helga Tempel in Hamburg, nor Rolf Lange, because he has left for England.²² We did not get the leaflets nor crew lists before we left Amsterdam so we shall have to phone Wim Jong for them to be forwarded to Hamburg. I did not get time to phone London at 10 am as arranged, nor later before departure.

I shall ask in my next phone call for some addresses which we need. These are the firms representing Kelvin Bergius in our ports of call. Mr. Carr of Woolwich 1194 should be able to give them to you, especially if you mention it is for Everyman III.

We have heard that both Nick Mikami and an Indian volunteer may join us before the end of the voyage.²³ So we will tell Paul Provo that it would not be right to take him on to the crew.

Everyman III at sea, Elbe estuary, 4 pm, Wednesday October 3rd

In crossing the IJsselmeer, one of the injector springs broke and we continued to a safer spot for an hour when the engine was stopped for repairs. The breakage occurred when we were in a narrow channel between sand banks, but we were able to continue on three cylinders until out of that part. We then put up the sails and moved at about 1½ knots for some hours, even after the engine was repaired – we were in no hurry to get to the lock in the dyke until dawn. I should explain that the IJsselmeer and Waddenzee make up what used to be the Zuider Zee. However, the name Zuider Zee is still frequently used with reference to what is properly called the IJsselmeer. Dividing the IJsselmeer and the Waddenzee is a long dyke – marked on the map. This has a lock at each end. We went through the north-eastern lock, at about 7.30 am on Tuesday 2nd October. The Waddenzee is part of the North Sea but cut off and protected by the coast on the right and islands on the left.

In case I forget to ask in my next phone call, could you ask Nick Ardizone where is the Avometer?²⁴ Joel cannot find it and it would be useful.

By the time we get to Stockholm, it would be nice if you could have for us a few messages of support. Chris Farley was asking Russell for a special message we could take to the Soviet people and this should be through by then. The messages I ask for will be good for

²¹ The IJsselmeer was created when the Zuiderzee was partially closed off by the Afsluitdijk, a thirty-kilometres long water barrier, in 1932.

²² Like other *Everyman III* contacts along the way, Helga Tempel, a prominent German quaker, pacifist, and active member of the War Resisters' International, had previously been a coordinator for the San Francisco–Moscow March as well.

²³ Nick Mikami had previously been the first mate of the *Phoenix* and continued to take an interest in peace voyages.

²⁴ Electrical measuring instrument; the 'avo' stands for 'amps', 'volts', and 'ohms'.

publicity if there are any special names among them, and also good for the crew who will be having a hard time. However, this is not such an important item.

Could you see to it that we receive Peace News? We did not see the one that was printed on the day we left (officially published on Friday 28th). 12 copies would be nice but fewer would be sufficient.²⁵

I presume you will put our European contacts and friends on the list for project bulletin mailings. Bolte is Nick Bolte, by the way.

Not for publication – Lea Provo has not been able to meet us in Belgium because she is with her husband who has broken his spine. She keeps with him and is full of hope, but he is already paralysed from the waist down, and Abbé Carette thought that the damage might well be fatal.

Ha boctoke,²⁶
Barnaby.

Everyman III Elbe Estuary moving toward Hamburg. 9.30 am, 4th October 1962

So we went through the lock from the IJsselmeer to the Waddenzee at about 7 am and went straight to Harlingen. This is a Dutch port where we were told we should get final immigration and customs clearance. When we arrived, the customs came aboard and we managed to post some letters and make a phone-call to London. Then we left Harlingen after the shortest stop ever and voyaged to the Elbe. During the night, the weather was very calm and we used the engine with steadying sails. One of the expected light-ships shown on the chart did not seem visible, and Earle steered the boat over to the position he expected it in. In place of the light-ship P12, there was a small lighted buoy. In coming close to this to check its number we nearly crashed into another much bigger buoy not carrying any light. That might have been the end of the voyage of the Everyman III. We arrived at the mouth of the



Elbe at 6 am on 3rd October, with two hours voyage to Cuxhaven. However, since the tides were optimum for going up the Elbe we did not stop there for customs and contacting as expected, but went straight on upstream. We reached the pre-arranged yacht harbour at 5pm. During our voyage up the Elbe we were passed by two A-class submarines of the Royal Navy and the steam-ship Leningrad. We met coming in the other direction the light-ship P12. Presumably it had gone into Hamburg for refitting and was now going to replace that tiny

²⁵ *Peace News* was the main publication of the British peace movement, co-published by the War Resisters' International.

²⁶ Barnaby's typewriter did not enable him to type in Cyrillic script. He means to say 'Na Vostok' – to the East!

buoy. Earle felt happier having seen the ship because he is very meticulous about charting the position of the boat and had felt unhappy at not seeing this ship.

A customs boat came out and drew alongside. The officer came aboard and discussed the checking in of our boat. Apparently, it should have been done in Cuxhaven. Anyway he asked a few questions about cigarettes and tea and coffee and spirits and gave us a special clearance certificate and instructing us to show this paper to anyone from customs.

On arrival at our mooring 10 miles out of Hamburg, there were no friends there to greet us – as may be expected since we were ahead of schedule. The yacht harbour master was away in town and so we took up a convenient mooring near the entrance. I went to the local village with some friends who also had a boat in that harbour and tried to telephone to Helga Tempel. After telephoning some other numbers I discovered that she was on holiday. Since Rolf Lange had gone on holiday and told me that arrangements were now in the hands of Helga, I had nobody to contact. We had dinner on the boat and the crew felt entitled to some recreation and went to this local village for an evening of beer and talk. I went off by underground to Hamburg to the house of Rolf Lange. There Frau Lange (Erna Lange) greeted me and explained that some people from VK had telephoned earlier and given some details of arrangements. I telephoned everybody I could including London (Max) and Wim Jong. Most German peace workers seem to be on holiday this week. I discovered that no German leaflets had arrived in Holland, and Wim Jong presumed that they had been held up by customs. I advised him to throw away any he did receive because they seemed usefulness now. The crew lists had taken some time to come through customs, so Wim, wisely, sent 100 to Helga and 400 further to Hadbard in Copenhagen. The second 500 have been sent to Helga plus a letter for Jean Neveu.²⁷ These we may never see. With Erna Lange I arranged for baths, laundry, the evening meeting for Thursday and the bank for receiving our much-needed money. You will have seen by now that this typewriter is a load of junk and we expect to buy another somewhere. The operation is difficult and letters insist in placing themselves on top of one another when any sort of speed is attained. Some part broke off the other day and we have to reverse the ribbon by hand. However, we shall manage for now.

I left Erna and returned to the boat with a stop off at a new mooring place that had been given to us to check which bank there our money should be sent to. I arrived back on board at 2 am and slept. On waking the next morning, I discovered that 20 local supporters and organisers had been on board the time I was in Hamburg. They had told Earle about another mooring nearer town – they never mentioned it to London nor did we ever get any hint of who was organising things in Hamburg. Nor did they tell Erna Lange – our only contact – what arrangements they had for meeting us, etc. However, they also arranged for baths and laundry – we shall leave here with the cleanest bodies and clothes of any boat. They also told us of a meeting prepared in Kiel for 3 pm Friday. If this is correct, it is impossible to reach there in time unless we leave Hamburg during the night. We may have to send someone by train to Kiel to meet the boat later.

David Coverley is ill and should see a doctor. We suspect it is due to lack of proper sleep, but we must check.

After breakfast we had a group meeting and many problems were raised. This is the first such meeting and it seems that now the project will get new life on the basis of group decision and planning rather than the present system where Neil and I make most of the

²⁷ Jean Neveu was another crew member of the *Everyman III*.

arrangements and Earle deals with all boat matters.²⁸ However these meetings also mean that there will be ideas raised which will involve consultation with head office and maybe New York. We are beginning to discuss the question of bringing the boat back from Leningrad and also to try to define the relative importance of demonstrating during the voyage and risking arrest and getting the boat to Leningrad.

There had been some fog earlier but since this was lifting, we decided to move up to the new mooring. We left about 8 am and will arrive in Hamburg-Altona at 10 am to meet the press etc, and post this letter. We expect to leave Hamburg early Friday morning.

Everyman III Kiel Canal, 6.30 pm, 5/10/62 cont'd on 6/10/62 9 am

We arrived in Altona at 10am and moored in a very convenient spot on the inside of a quay parallel to the shore. We hoisted our banners – Everyman III and Keine Atomversuche im Osten oder im Westen.²⁹ We were immediately told that although the slogan was correct it was normal to reduce it to – KEIN TEST IN OST UND WEST. This is one of the Easter-March slogans.³⁰ However, the press started taking pictures and started talking with local supporters and selling badges and passing out the English leaflets. The accepted price for such badges here is one mark – 1/3d.

Various people went off into the town for particular purposes – I to telephone London – Archy to buy up most of the food in town. He did not return from the shopping expedition until 2.30pm so we were all starving.

In my telephone conversation I learned of the difficulty in making a transfer of money to us. It takes two full days – going from Barclays Bank in Euston to Barclays bank in Hamburg. We wondered if it would not be possible to cash an ordinary cheque here, asking for Barclays to telephone London to confirm that we have an account.

At 4 pm we were all taken for a much-needed bath at the central bath-house. Thence to a cafe where the meeting was also held. This was right in the centre of Hamburg. About 1,500 invitations had been sent out for this meeting the previous day. After a good meal we went up to the meeting hall to find at least 200 people present. We sold some badges for 1DM each (in the form of a donation of course) and passed out a few English leaflets. The meeting began with Herr Lübcke as Chairman introducing Earle Reynolds, who gave a short “why-I-am-here” speech. He explained the situation of man from an anthropological point of view warning of the danger of man becoming extinct. Then Neil Haworth spoke, introduced the crew and gave a small amount of information about each. This was generally agreed to be effective. Last Neil introduced Barnaby Martin who was to speak about the policy. Barnaby spoke mostly about the need for international unity and regarding Russians in the same way as nationals of adjacent countries. He went on to urge that only non-violence could bring about any degree of unity in mankind. The audience were mostly supporters and received the speeches with enthusiasm. There was some discussion afterwards with members of the

²⁸ Neil refers to Neil Haworth, the second American on board *Everyman III* next to Earle Reynolds, and author of another detailed account of *Everyman III*'s voyage, currently kept in the archives of the War Resisters International.

²⁹ As the next few pages also bear out, *Everyman III*'s constant emphasis that they were acting against nuclear testing on both sides of the Cold War, was justified, especially as they sailed into the Baltic Sea and on to Russia. It made the crew much less vulnerable to accusations of bias.

³⁰ Reuse of slogans was common in the movement so that banners and leaflets could be used multiple times. The banners which adorned *Everyman III* when it was in port were similarly recycled.

audience and some substantial donations were made (how substantial? One of 100DM, one of 50DM and others smaller.) Some returned to the boat, others walked around town.

We had not been able to pass out our leaflet in German because of the absence of Helga Tempel and the fact that the leaflets had all been sent to her address. This is of course a great regret to us all. The following morning we left at about 8.15 am with about 30 supporters watching. Shortly after we had started on the voyage down the Elbe estuary towards Cuxhaven, Ray reported that the fuel pump was not working properly. So we stopped in the yacht harbour where we had first moored when coming into Hamburg. After an hour we were off again down the Elbe estuary towards Cuxhaven, but turned off up the Kiel canal before reaching it. As we were preparing to enter the lock at the entrance to the canal, we had a close shave with a boat by the name Nedersachsen. This was not the same size of boat which our little ketch should quarrel with. It was aiming straight at us, but with some quick course changing, we put ourselves in a position where she passed astern.

So we came to the Kiel – also called the Nord-Ostsee – Canal. After moving slowly around the entrance way, we slid into the lock after other larger boats and the lock area was completely filled. The gates closed and we found ourselves tied alongside the largest boat in the lock, a Russian boat from Tallinn in Latvia. She was called the Kiela.

Alan had some discussion with the crew and some passengers who leaned over the side.³¹ We later threw up a roll of leaflets tied with string. Since we have not yet got any Russian leaflets we had to throw English ones. Some of them spoke English and we had quite some conversation. Recognising the flag on our masthead, one of the officers asked us why we did not protest against the American tests too. We told him about *Everyman I* and *II* and then Earle said that he had been into the test area near Bikini. This officer spoke English and seemed to accept that we had challenged the American tests too.

We threw some badges up and these were eagerly taken. Then the lock gates opened, they all wished us good luck and success and everyone waved as the Kiela moved ahead out of the lock. Neil and Joel (who speaks German) had gone off to get a pass for the canal and only just managed to get back aboard before it was our turn to move out of the lock area into the canal proper. The Kiel canal is very wide and we spent until 6.30 pm going up it at a good speed of about 7½ knots. At this time we had to stop. We had only discovered as we entered the canal that no movement is allowed between 7 pm and 6.30 am. This will make us late in Kiel where we expected to arrive at 10 am. After an hour's meeting to discuss the project and its operations, we had a night's sleep. This meeting helped to sort out some of the problems that have developed and we were able to make a start on discussion of the action near and in the USSR.

We arose at 6.30 am and got underway almost immediately. We are now cruising up the canal again at about 8 knots. We were told in Hamburg that a meeting with the mayor had been arranged in Kiel for us at 3 pm on Friday. We could not have reached it for that time without missing the meeting in Hamburg and it was not acceptable to send two crew members ahead by train. So our friends in Hamburg tried to make arrangements for us at 10am on Saturday – today – but now we shall not be there quite in time, because of the enforced nights' stop (however they did meet the mayor and MP – London).³²

³¹ Alan White, another crew member of *Everyman III* not previously mentioned in the account.

³² This addition to Barnaby's account by the London office shows the importance they attached to ensuring the voyage was noted by persons of significance and, ideally, legitimized through interactions with them.

If we can get away from Kiel after any meeting and telephone and postage arrangements have been completed before 2 pm, we shall leave immediately for Copenhagen. We should arrive in Copenhagen at 5 pm on Sunday if we leave at 2 pm from Kiel (they arrived Copenhagen 11.30 Monday – London).³³ This is obviously desirable since many people can greet us if we arrive on a Sunday. We shall probably spend two days in Copenhagen fixing all those things that should be fixed.

The team felt that we should be fully prepared for entry to the USSR by taking with us 100,000 Russian leaflets. They also hoped we would do everything possible to contact the Russian people even though we might be stopped out in the Gulf of Finland. This will be rather expensive, but seems reasonable, since we should not be able to receive any leaflets while in the USSR judging by the experience of the AEM.³⁴ I suppose these leaflets will cost about 200 pounds but it seems to me that some letters could be sent out asking for specific help to purchase these 100,000 leaflets to spread our message to the Soviet people.

We are intending to try to see the Soviet ambassadors in Copenhagen and Stockholm, asking for assistance in entering the USSR. I think it was recognised that the action in Leningrad would be largely a matter for the crew to decide even though the problem touches on policy questions.³⁵ Naturally if there is any sharp divergence from the general understanding about the action in Leningrad we would consult. Otherwise, I hope we can merely report from Stockholm how we expect to deal with the situation and that will be all.

You must prepare to send us some money in Stockholm. We shall probably phone from Copenhagen to ask for this. And it will have to be sent enough in advance for it to be available there when we arrive. I am talking about money for preparing the boat – I do not think that the cost of the leaflet will be that urgent, but would be paid in the following few weeks.

Well that seems to be all for now, I will write again from Copenhagen.

Everyman III Moored, Copenhagen, noon, 8th October 1962

We reached the end of the Kiel Canal at 11.30 am and phoned our friends in Hamburg to find out what arrangements had been made for us in Kiel, or if all the preparations had been spoiled by our late arrival. We discovered that things were still in order and that we should proceed immediately. Mr. Werner Titz, the Kiel organiser, greeted us at the end of the canal while we were passing through the locks. Mrs Titz came on board and guided us to the Olympia Harbour in Kiel, which is 4 miles down the coast from the end of the canal. We found the harbour – it was the main yacht harbour – and just as we were coming alongside the quay to moor, we were directed further down where a small battle ship was moored. The local paper wanted a photograph of our “peace ship” alongside this warship. We passed by as close as was sage and the man got his photograph. Then we took up a good mooring in the Olympia Harbour and cleaned up the boat for the visit of the Lord Mayor of Kiel (Stadtpräsident). But first the local representative in the national parliament arrived and said that he supported our voyage as he was a pacifist himself. The name of the man is Professor

³³ Another London office intervention.

³⁴ The United States Atomic Energy Commission, with which the crews of *Everyman I* and *II* had dealt.

³⁵ The situation in Leningrad as the crew expected it to unfold, touched on core issues of civil disobedience and nonviolent activism. *Everyman III*'s policy statement dealt in some detail with the question of how the crew should behave in the face of official resistance, and on which matters they should consult with the head office before taking actions.

Baade. Then the Lord Mayor arrived – quite informally – and came aboard and was welcomed down below. His name was Hermann Köster and he and Prof. Baade signed our visitors' book. They gave donations of 100DM and 50DM respectively.

Continued on 9th October, 9 am

We were all invited by Prof. Baade to have dinner at an international students' centre owned by AFSC and run by Mrs Baade. After baths there also we had a substantial meal and then walked around town for the evening. We were still very well aware that we did not have any leaflets which would have been our only means of contacting people.

Left Kiel at 9 am on the Sunday and moved carefully out of the harbour on our first voyage in the Baltic Sea. For the first 20 hours of this journey we were in thick fog. This meant that we had to travel mostly by the Nauto signals – sirens giving specific signals which are identified from a list of signals provided – and also by the few lights from lightships and houses that we came close enough to see. We had a man in the bow of the boat watching all the time and it was all a very cold proposition. At times there were many ships around us blowing their fog-horns and we replied with ours.

The following morning we arrived in Copenhagen – at 11.30 am and came into one of the main, big boat harbours. Sighting a German battleship (I did not know the type but it was quite small) we steered around so that we could moor just behind it. The position we took up, we discovered, was right by the place of the sit-down which took place after the WRI conference here in August. This was a protest against war represented by the German battleships then in dock.

Everyman III was boarded by customs and immigration (who asked us if they should stamp passports to give us a souvenir) and the harbour police, who informed us that this was not a good mooring and they would give us another mooring later. Supporters came on board and we sold badges and gave out the Danish leaflets that were provided.

Later we moved to a new mooring in a more central position and were given baths and food. The meal was provided by the Danish WRI in the Quaker centre. From there the crew went to the starting place of the march which had been arranged and we were joined by 250 supporters – mostly young and numerous banners.

(you will have realised by now that I have continued this report after the time on the heading – it is now 7 pm, 9th October).

The march went around town for 2 hours and gave out the 3000 leaflets which had been printed for us.

The 9th was spent doing numerous jobs in connection with getting the boat ready for sea and the crew ready for the cold wet weather ahead. It is a fact that the roughest voyage was from Gravesend to Ostend. The rest of the time the seas have been remarkably calm. But there will be some rough weather ahead.

We shall leave for Stockholm on 10th October at 8 am and arrive sometime on Saturday.

We expect to receive 200 pounds in Stockholm at the Skandinaviska Banken payable to me.

The special copy of the leaflet for offset printing should have gone to Stockholm by now. There are sure to be problems over these 100,000 leaflets in Russian but I hope that we shall not have to wait in Stockholm for them.

Everyman III at sea – Baltic Sea, 3 pm, 10th October 1962

We did indeed leave Copenhagen at 8 am this morning and it was very foggy then. The weather forecast said that the fog would clear up around 12, but after a period of clear visibility before 12 the fog thickened and is now become the worst that we have so far experienced. But that is not saying very much since we had had miraculously calm weather all the way.

About 20 supporters came down to the dock to watch our departure and they waved as we moved off into the fog. Hagbard Jonassen and Steffen Larson (of the Danish CND) were there to see us off too.³⁶ When we were a few hours out of Copenhagen the weather worsened and although the fog varied the seas became steadily heavier and will continue so. We aim to be in Stockholm by Saturday if at all possible.

There is some difficulty in Stockholm because of the relationship between the committee organising our arrival and Gerhard Daechsel. The trouble appears to centre around Gerard's rather obstinate personality, but of course we cannot guess the whole matter from a distance. As you know, Bertil Svanström of the Swedish CND is organising things and chairs the committee for supporting Everyman III.³⁷ He has written to say that they have a good committee consisting of important people from various sections of the peace movement and MPs etc. etc. My guess is that this rather establishment group has upset Gerard's radical temperament. We may well feel the same way when we are there, but the position remains that we must regard Bertil as our contact and hope to draw whatever advantage we can from what Gerard can organise as long as it fits in with the committee's plans. We shall have to have the boat hauled out of the water in Stockholm. There is a leak in the stern which creates the need to pump out the bilges every two hours. We have been doing this since Gravesend, but think that the matter should be fixed now. Since there are no tides to speak of in the Baltic, we shall have to arrange for the whole boat to be pulled out as it was in Milford Haven. This operation will take one day at least. We expect to see the Soviet Ambassador on the Monday if possible.

I forgot to report our visit to the Soviet Embassy in Copenhagen. Earle, Neil, Alan and myself went to see the Ambassador after Hagbard had tried through the conventional channels. We were finally seen by the Consular Official, who is not very senior perhaps, but it was something. We exchanged the usual patter about our policies. There was an unusual statement from him (sorry – I did not get his name) to the effect that the Soviet people understood our policy (not western policy but pacifist policy) and we were trying to puzzle out this lie for some time and still are mystified. He also was interesting in his demand that we should choose east or west and implied that the real error was to be in the middle, not supporting any government. He said that he would phone the Stockholm Soviet Embassy and ask them to receive us. We left after a short discussion, because we felt that any more would not help anything.

Well, since the last section of the report, the fog cleared. But the weather worsened to an extremely cold wind and rough sea. Most of those who become sea-sick must have become so then. Peter Archbold, Erwann Chataigne and Bryson Sneddon were ill and remained in their bunks.³⁸ This is worrying because the two cooks are among these three. We

³⁶ CNDs were local Campaigns for Nuclear Disarmament.

³⁷ Bertil Svahnström (1907–1971) was a Swedish journalist and pacifist who had co-founded the Swedish antinuclear movement in the late 1950s.

³⁸ Erwann Chataigne and Bryson Sneddon, two crew members not previously mentioned in the account.

shall have to make arrangements for someone to replace the cooks whenever the weather is bad. But since Earle says that the weather was not particularly bad for the Baltic and we must expect worse, the whole situation is serious and we shall talk round it in Stockholm. The heavy sea continued through the night and part of the following morning. The weather was still extremely cold, made worse by the wind. Many have started wearing the insulated underwear and discovering how very inconvenient it is - but it's warm.

A little before noon on the 12th, we found the entrance to the channel leading to Stockholm. As you can see from a good map, there is a fantastic archipelago around Sweden at this point and it takes some time to get anywhere through it. By 6 pm we reached the lock at Södertälje. After passing through, we moored on the inside for the night, had dinner, made out a list of jobs in Stockholm and slept. I found the local telephone and contacted Bertil Svahnström to inform him of our arrival. Now, the following morning, we have started on up the channels to Stockholm, having two bridges and a lock to negotiate before reaching Strandvägen, where we shall moor. We should arrive there about midday.

I have no idea why he should be but I am told that Nick Ardizzone is here. We plan to have a meal provided by the local committee at 2 pm and see round the town later. On Sunday at 4 pm there should be a march through the town and a public meeting at 4.30 pm. On Monday the boat will be hauled out of the water to find the cause of the leak in the stern – we have had to pump out the bilges every two hours up till now. We will not be receiving the leaflets until Tuesday afternoon, which is rather late but cannot be helped. So I suppose departure from Stockholm will be on Wednesday.

I will post this report as soon as we reach Stockholm, so apart from the arrival time written on the back there will not be any news of Stockholm until later.

Everyman III, Stockholm, 11 am, 15th October 1962

We arrived at Strandvagen at 11.30 am and were met there by Bertil Svahnström and Nick Ardizzone and Gerard Daechsel and other supporters. After about two hours for press interviews, photographs, meeting supporters, selling badges and passing out leaflets, we left the boat for lunch and were officially welcomed by Bertil on behalf of the *Kampanjen Mot Atomvapen*. He said that in the past, soldiers had been regarded as the heroes, now that circumstances have changed, it is the peace actionists who must be regarded as the heroes and he praised the crew for showing this quality of heroism in the face of danger. Earle thanked Bertil on behalf of the crew and praised the efficient organization of our reception in Stockholm. The crew then went to the office of Freden for coffee and later returned to the boat.³⁹ In the evening some crew members went to visit a Swedish family and others went to a meeting of young pacifists in a suburb of Stockholm. This was arranged by Gerard Daechsel at the home of Roland von Malmberg. There donations were made and badges sold.

I would like to add here that the badges have been a great success. And the more so because they have been sold. They would not have had half the attraction if they had been given away. And the prices recommended here are for about one krona – 1/5d. I have not kept very careful records of money received for badges but it runs into many pounds. We have about 1300 left for the USSR, which is not enough.

³⁹ *Freden* is Swedish for peace, and refers to the Stockholm office of the movement.

Continued at 2.30 pm 16th October

I have now received another 1,000 badges sent to Bertil and this puts us in a better position regarding the USSR. We shall be selling these if we get the chance, but we shall have no objection to giving them away. On the Sunday we were organized in a March through the town for about ½ hour with about 300 supporters – mostly young – with us. This ended with a meeting at which Bertil Svahnstrom, Mr. Jacobson (check spelling with your list of WRI contacts in Stockholm and Earle). Bertil repeated his statement that we were modern heroes. Jacobson gave a good pacifist message and asked people to refuse military service and oppose all armaments. Earle spoke about his work in Hiroshima and discussed man's anthropological position and the possibility that he like so many animals would fail to adapt to the changing circumstances and become extinct.⁴⁰

We then returned to the boat and continued our morning's discussion on requests and conditions for the USSR.

Monday morning we took the boat from its central mooring at Strandvägen to a shipyard where she was hauled out for a hull-check and general check of the openings (cooling system etc) and sealing the leak in the hull. These jobs were done, while Earle, Neil, Alan and myself went to the Soviet Embassy to present our visa applications. This matter was completed very quickly, the Consular official said he had no instructions from Moscow, but would ask for same.

Later in the day the plague story started.⁴¹ The Stockholm Sanitary Department telephoned Bertil Svahnström and said that they had had an anonymous phone call from someone who said that there was plague aboard *Everyman III*. Bertil said that this was nonsense and this seemed to satisfy the man. Bertil gave the story to the press. Later the Sanitary Dept. rang again to say that they had more phone calls and felt obliged to make a token check of the boat the following morning at 10 am. Later he phoned that he did not consider it necessary.

The following morning he phoned Bertil again saying that he was weighed down with more calls and would come and inspect, if only to be able to tell the callers that the story was untrue. He came and seemed quite happy – except he did not consider the sanitary conditions the best in the world. Earle asked that since he had decided to make the inspection, he should surely produce a certificate of good health for the boat. It is clear that one likely explanation of the calls is that some communist sympathisers are trying to give the Russians a chance to put us into a lengthy quarantine period when we arrive in Leningrad.⁴² Some of the papers printed the story, treating it in the way I have.

The boat was brought back to its original mooring later on Monday and Tuesday was used for preparing ourselves for departure.

⁴⁰ Earle Reynolds was an anthropologist by training, whose work on the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission (ABCC) in Japan in the 1950s had prompted him to publish works like 'Irradiation and Human Evolution', *Human Biology* 32:1 (1960), 89–108.

⁴¹ It is striking that Barnaby Martin already speaks of 'the plague story' as it unfolds. Given that the mysterious phone calls with the plague rumors required more intense communication with the London office as well as with local press, it appears to have turned into a 'story' very quickly.

⁴² As shown below, these fears were somewhat justified, although Soviet officials did not pursue this at length.

Everyman III Baltic Sea, midday, 17th October

I am sorry if my last report from Stockholm was not up to the usual low standard, but I was doing part of it while being filmed and the rest was being rushed through just before departure. Anyway I hope Nick will fill in the details – he was not at the departure, much to our annoyance, but should be able to tell you what happened before you receive this.

At five minutes past nine we cast off and retained contact with our supporters with streamers (ticker tape actually) which broke when the boat moved further out a little into the harbour. This is an old Japanese custom adapted from some Western custom. So this symbolised our departure from our last stopping place before the USSR. The event was attended by some 20 or so supporters including Bertil and leaders of the school campaign.

Just before departure I telephoned the Soviet Embassy Consular official and got no reply and then the Ambassador. I was told that the Ambassador was away, but I explained that we hoped to be given permission to enter the USSR when we arrived in Leningrad. The speaker said that visas normally took a week, and he had no knowledge of any reply to our request. He had heard about Everyman III through the newspapers and advised us to wait for visas. I explained our position, saying that we intended to leave at 9am for Leningrad and to receive visas in Leningrad. He said that it was not normal to issue visas in Leningrad, but he understood the situation, and he seemed very pleasant about the whole matter.

So we moved out of the harbour accompanied by the waves of our supporters. As we passed a harbour vessel (official) the crew men saluted and later passing a group of Swedish Navy vessels, the officers and crew waved very favourably – even before we had waved. Most people seem to have heard about us and what we are doing. It is curious that there was so little press at the departure – only the cameramen.

At 1.15 pm – a few minutes ago – a customs boat came alongside and asked us why we had not cleared with immigration and customs in Stockholm. Earle said that he had telephoned twice, once this morning, to both these departments and had been told that everything was in order for us to leave. The officers checked the passports and said that we should report at the last town on the fjord out of Sweden. This is a place called Sandhamn.⁴³ Meanwhile (2pm) we are sailing through the beautiful archipelago towards the border. The wind is picking up force now that we are coming into more exposed waters and spray is sprinkling the deck and even reaching the helmsman (me until two minutes ago). Now (4.30 pm) we have left most of the protection of the shore and are experiencing mounting seas and heavy rolling of the boat. Unsecured objects are falling all over the cabin. We have set two sails to help steady the boat, but it's still a terrible job trying to hit the right keys on this typewriter. We shall soon set our course for the night, during which we can expect the worst of the weather on this stretch of the voyage.

Cont'd 5 pm 18th October

At 3.30 pm we sighted land for the first time after leaving Sweden. It was a lighthouse on the coast of Estonia. We have seen a number of ships going by, including Gemma of Rostok (wherever that may be) which came within 30 yards with the crew waving vigorously. She carried no flag because of the bad weather, and for the same reason our ND flag was not flying, so maybe she did not know who we were and we could not tell her country of origin,

⁴³ Sandhamn is an island some fifty kilometers east of Stockholm.

but it was good to see another boat in this weather.⁴⁴ It is not particularly bad, just unpleasant, with rolling seas and driving rain. We took our new course with the aid of Gemma.

Earlier today we brought down the Swedish courtesy flags (a vessel always carries a courtesy flag when in the territorial waters of another country) and intended to put up a Finnish flag. We discovered, however, that this was the one flag that had been forgotten. Instead, we used the letter X in the international code of signals, which is quite similar to the Finnish flag. Apart from being used to form words, each of these flags has a special meaning for emergency use. We looked up the meaning of flag X and found it to be “STOP CARRYING OUT YOUR INTENTIONS AND AWAIT MY SIGNAL”. We thought this rather suitable to show to any passing Soviet ship.

Now, as you will see from the map, we are in a position where we are almost certain to be in either Finnish or Estonian waters. We are in fact passing through Estonian waters. So we could be stopped any time from now onwards if they feel inclined to stop us.

We are now expecting to reach our destination at the earlier limit of our arrival times, during the latter part of Friday 19th.

Cont'd 7 pm (Stockholm time) 19th October

Passed the Helsinki light at 7 pm on 18th, with Soviet territory out of visible range to the south. The following morning at 9.10 we were approached by a fast-moving light cruiser (or some such vessel) which was later joined by three others. These circled around, one of them coming in close, crew waving, lights flashing. Then they seemed to tire of this game and left, all but one, which lead us buoy to buoy towards Kronstadt (entrance town to Leningrad). Then she went ahead out of sight, to return later, coming in very close and turning abruptly, to send its wash violently against us. All healthy fun as far as we are concerned – we seem to have started our visit here by creating good relationships with some naval crewmembers.

In the early afternoon, we had our first sight of Soviet mainland. The awareness that we were within sight of our objective made little impression on us, but here it was, the goal of five months' thought and three weeks' actual voyage.

Gradually, as the afternoon drew on, the shore on both sides of us became clearly visible, as the Gulf of Finland narrowed. We moved into the Gulf of Leningrad and came near to Kronstadt, where we had to stop for instructions at a light vessel. Here was an important movement – either we would go to some mooring and our fate decided there, or we would not be allowed any further and have to make some challenge at sea, which would be more difficult. As we came alongside the light vessel we were hailed, and Alan White was asked to come up and interpret what was being said. Actually the hailer was speaking in English, telling us to wait a while. After 20 minutes a launch departed from the light vessel and came alongside. A man in uniform came aboard, shook hands with Earle when he asked to see the skipper, and went to the bridge to guide us into Leningrad. This happened at about 6 pm – at the early end of our range of arrival times. The pilot seemed to regard everything as normal and we took his directions as we moved slowly towards Leningrad past Kronstadt.

We were taken to a very quiet mooring near the town lights of Leningrad, and the name of our boat was announced to a nearby harbour control house. This seemed to indicate that the mooring is a normal one and not a place where we can be kept far from human contact. We have filled out crew lists in quadruplicate and other forms singly. At this time

⁴⁴ ND refers to nuclear disarmament.

(12.55 am Leningrad time, 10.55 pm Stockholm time) we are waiting for the dinghy which will take our pilot off. The concern is that this dinghy may bring the next problem – immigration officials.

1 pm 20th October

Yes, the immigration officials did come, but first the health officials. Three women and a man, including three doctors came aboard. They were concerned about the plague. Whoever made those anonymous phone calls to the health department in Stockholm was partially successful. They also seemed to think that we had been to the southern seas, Pacific, etc. These matters seemed to be straightened out quite quickly however, with the help of the certificate from the Stockholm Sanitary Department. It transpired that the basic problem was smallpox and they asked for certificates of vaccination. Those who had them produced them, the others were told they would be vaccinated the following day. All this was said as if it were the normal procedure. Two immigration and one customs officials came aboard. They wanted various forms filled in, including a statement of currency carried. This floored me since I carried large numbers of different nationality coins from the sale of badges. When asked, we said we had no visas, and they told us that we should have them. We explained that we had been in contact with the Soviet Peace Committee and they promised to speak to the committee. They promised to return the next day – as did the health officials. All these matters were finally finished at 3.20 am USSR time.

So we had a night's sleep in this quiet mooring. The following morning at 11 am the round of officials started again. However this time it was a most pleasant interview with three people from the Leningrad Peace Committee – accompanied by the doctor, who vaccinated those needing it. Apparently our friends from the Peace Committee had some trouble in gaining permission to come aboard, because of health restrictions. They explained that we had put them in a difficult position, because they would have wished to welcome us in the usual hospitable Russian way, but were unable to because we had no visas. The chairman of the committee, who is an international lawyer, explained the need for visas and his own experience regarding them. Having explained our experience with the Moscow March we suggested that it might be possible to arrange something special under these special circumstances. They seemed to appreciate the point that we were a special category of visitors and asked what they could do for us. It seemed that they had heard little about the project, probably due to lack of information from Moscow Peace Committee. The whole discussion was most friendly and in no way a period of negotiation. They were told more specifically what we hoped to do and for how long and they made no comment, but that they would phone Moscow. It seemed that someone would come from Moscow to Leningrad, because they spoke in terms of the time of this flight. My guess is that there will be another session where something in the way of negotiation will take place.

They emphasised again how keen they were to receive us properly, but since they did not have the authority to allow us in (the Peace Committee being only a social organisation), they were embarrassed and placed in an awkward position regarding our visas.⁴⁵ When we

⁴⁵ The Soviet peace committees were local branches of the World Peace Council, which functioned as an extension of Russian foreign policy. The early Cold War saw much contact between the Peace Council and western pacifist organization. In this sense, the committees certainly functioned as more than 'social' organizations. G. Wernicke, 'The Communist-Led World Peace Council and the Western Peace Movements: The

explained again that we had been explaining matters to the Moscow Peace Committee for some months, they seemed to appreciate the point. All in all, it was very pleasant to talk with these people who were very keen to help in any way they could. They took our letters for the post and promised to keep us informed.

(Chairman: Sergei Malinin; Executive Secretary: Anna Tsimberova and interpreter and Committee member: Elena Konstandinovekaya – chief of the language chair at the Conservatory).

So now we await the next series of discussions with hope.

Everyman III in port – Leningrad, 2 pm, 21st October 1962

About 4.30 pm on 20th friends from the Moscow Peace Committee came aboard. They were lead by Prof. Matovsky, who deputised for Mr. Kotov and Mr. Tikhonov who he said were very ill. He was accompanied by Mr. Oleg Byckov, whom I had met before in Moscow. The representatives of the Leningrad Peace Committee also came with them. They explained that they had come from Moscow and that there were others on their way who would like to meet us during the evening. They again made clear the difficult situation we had placed them in and said they had taken great trouble to persuade the immigration authorities to permit us to come ashore for this meeting. Because of this great request they had promised not to make any further requests on our behalf.

This all put us in a very difficult situation. We could not refuse their arrangements, yet this implied that we accepted the absence of future requests to the immigration authorities. Personally I feel that this was a deliberate move on the part of the Soviet Peace Committee to rush us through a quick meeting and then say goodbye. This made me feel rather unhappy and regret that we were being placed under very pleasant but very powerful pressure. If I remember correctly, this was one of the reactions we thought we might come upon here. We then thought that our action might be to say that we would be happy to come to the meeting but insist on staying afterwards. We thought that the result would be that we would either be refused entry entirely or accepted with all conditions satisfied. The way this situation had been developed, if we said anything which made them cancel the meeting we would be very embarrassed. Leaders of the Soviet Peace Committee were already on the way from Moscow. I should say that it is only a personal view and possibly uncharitable, but I feel we were very carefully trapped. Nevertheless, we dealt with the situation in a straightforward manner. We thanked them for the arrangements but said that it would not change our wish for some weeks' discussion with the Soviet people. They again explained that the great difficulty they had in getting permission for the one meeting made it unfair to them to ask for more. We said that we would not expect the SPC to ask for more on our behalf if they did not wish to and we would be happy to speak directly with immigration.

Every now and again the discussion would centre on visas – or rather the lack of them. However the discussion on this point was moderately straightforward. We had applied, we did not have them, we did not feel them to be fundamentally important. They said we needed them, we should have waited for them in Stockholm, we had put them in a very difficult

‘Fetters of Bipolarity and Some Attempts to Break Them in the Fifties and Early Sixties’, *Peace & Change* 23:3 (1998), 265–311.

position by entering the USSR illegally without visas. Actually I am not at all sure we have entered illegally, but this was not much emphasised.

Anyway, they told us we could go to a new mooring in town and a pilot came aboard. We moved down to the port of Leningrad proper.

Everyman III in port – Leningrad, 10 am, 22nd October

On arrival at the Leningrad mooring (where we still are) we were asked to wait a while, then told that the boat moored just behind us, Maria Ulianova, would give us baths and a meal. Our passports were collected as we left the boat by the guard standing by and we walked down to this medium size passenger liner and went up the gangplank. We were asked how long we needed for a shower and meal and we said an hour would be sufficient. Unfortunately, there were not very many showers and these and the meal took more than the hour. However, although not of the size that I have had previously, the quality of the meal was very good.

We moved into the lounge to meet the representatives of the Soviet and Leningrad Peace Committees. The first woman I met was our old friend Alice Bobresheva, who knows A.J.⁴⁶ well and interpreted for the March in Moscow.⁴⁷ The crew were dispersed among the many Peace Committee's representatives (a total of about 40), and all were introduced to one another. Then it was announced that we would take the opportunity to exchange points of view and Earle was asked to present the point of view of the crew. He said that he only wanted to speak briefly and then one of the coordinators would give a full statement of the policy. He then made a plea for deep concern for the present situation and the dangers of it and asked that we should all seek a new way to approach our differences or else we would not have a world for much longer. He asked that all realise that since the Hiroshima incident, the world was in a new situation where previous attitudes were irrelevant.

Then I spoke for some time, to try to give the basic approach which I felt relevant. I did not go into the basic policy because we were with Peace Committee people who probably knew most of it already. So I asked for the leaflet to be passed out and presumed this to be adequate to remind them of our policy. I felt that this meeting, though important, was not the one we had come for, our wish being to speak to ordinary people. I explained the concern in peace workers for the danger of nuclear testing and how the voyages of Everyman I and Everyman II came about. I made clear that these were conducted by pacifists prepared to risk their lives in opposition to nuclear tests. I also explained that 5 of those who had organised and conducted these demonstrations were now in gaol for it. I pointed out that there had been and would be numerous follow up meetings when many American citizens would hear about our ideas. This way I asked that we should be allowed to speak to Soviet citizens. I also explained that our organisations in our own countries needed to show their opposition to Soviet tests and to be able to say that they had challenged the Soviet citizens on this question. I said that we had been preparing the project and informing the Soviet Peace Committee for some months – to try to show that all the talk over visas was rather irrelevant. We carry petitions for Mr. Khrushchev from Mothers Against War etc. At this dangerous period of

⁴⁶ A.J. is Abraham Johannes Muste (1885–1967), a Dutch-born American minister and pacifist, who was a key figure in the international peace movement. He spent his final years campaigning against the Vietnam war.

⁴⁷ Alice Bobresheva occupied a high position in the Soviet peace council's international activities on account of her perfect English. Aside from interpreting for the San Francisco–Moscow March locally, she was part of further international peace delegations later in the 1960s.

history, we must make a special effort to think within ourselves of the meaning of our lives. I want to talk about a very simple thing, about friendship, and tell you what I mean by true friendship. I mean that when I have met you here I cannot go back to England and continue to support military policies which involve any form of a threat to slaughter you. On this basis I asked for them also to reject their own government's military policies. I asked that we be allowed to speak to the Soviet people about this matter.

Many from the SPC, LPC and the crew spoke during the meeting. It followed lines similar to those of the Moscow March. At one time Earle made a strong plea for giving up the black and white attitude. It was time to give up the game of quarrelling over who was responsible or carried the most blame etc. We must turn our attention to solving our problem, not complaining about it.

The meeting started at about 8.30 pm and continued until nearly 4 am. Then a film of the defence and liberation of Leningrad during the last war was shown. This seemed in one way to be their method of proving that all our argument was useless since obviously this siege and battle was a glorious effort by the Leningrad and Soviet people and nobody should suggest disarmament or nonviolent resistance to them.

All this time we were plied with coffee and snacks (caviar, etc). We walked the hundred yards back to our boat and held a short meeting to decide our intentions with consideration for the experience of the meeting. All felt that our position remained unchanged.

So we slept until 9.30 am. At 1.15 pm, representatives of the Peace Committees returned. Alice Bobresheva, Bykov, Matkovsky, Malinin, Tsimperova. They asked Earle what he thought of the film about Leningrad. Maybe they were afraid that the long discussion of the previous night would go on another day because he gave quite a long reply. Then Mr. Malinin spoke and Neil and Anna Tsimberova. We said that we were very grateful for the meeting, but wished to speak to the Soviet people and pass out our leaflets. A little later they referred to Earle's statement that we would reconsider our position in the USSR and asked what the results were. Earle asked me to put the matter to them. (I had become a sort of spokesman for such matters). I said that on this most important problem facing the world we felt that in coming to the USSR we should make every effort to speak to the highest authority in the country. By this I meant as I said, the Soviet people. We said we had hoped to take our boat to Moscow, but had heard that the canals were already frozen, so we wished to spend the equivalent time in the USSR.

We thought this time would be about six weeks. During this time we would hope to visit Moscow because it would be very meaningful to visit both the old and the new capitals of the USSR. At all times we expected to facilitate, to pass out leaflets and speak informally and freely with people. They listened without comment or reaction. Prof. Matkovsky, who leads the delegation, said they thought they could get visas for us. There were not many remarks which would produce in us more amazement. Did this mean that if we had decided not to maintain a firm position, but asked in a less firm way, we would have been refused. This seemed to be the implication from the fact that he did not tell us that he thought he could get visas until after we had pressed again for further time here. Actually he seemed to be pleasant at this point that all our uncharitable thoughts that they had tried to manoeuvre us into leaving after one meeting were erroneous. I do not think they were but I still find it difficult to understand exactly what goes on. The situation reminds me of the time on the Moscow March when we told the Peace Committee that in spite of the severe shortage of time we were determined to walk every step of the way to Moscow. At first it was accepted

then quickly there developed a vigorous and determined attitude on their part to see that we could and did do it. On this occasion the attitude seemed to be that it would be very difficult to arrange anything after that one meeting – which was difficult enough itself – and then after our continued determination they seemed to show almost a sense of relief that we were so determined to stay and an expression of a wish to see that we could. Still I think there is little point in such speculations, and I will spend no more time at it.

On any future occasion, although we still regard visas as unimportant, we will be in a better position if we apply for visas well in advance.

During the evening meeting Olga Chechotkina, one of the secretaries of the SPC, suggested that to have a constructive result to our visit we ought to issue a joint statement and request to the United Nations.⁴⁸ I said I thought this was a good idea and suggested she draft such a request. The result of this has been that we are strongly encouraged to produce a statement of the points where we agree. It seems to me that this would not be very honest because it would reduce the very real differences between our viewpoints and it would obviously not include the matters we consider of greatest importance, because they are not agreed to by the SPC. I had said that we did not regard any such document as important, but would assist. We feel it best now to wait for some draft to be put forward.

Back to the visit of the reps. of SPC the following day – after saying they expected to get us visas, they left and promised to be back on Monday. Later in the day we were visited by a man we have come to know as Mr. Ten-per-cent. He comes to supply us with any food our stores we want, and he takes a percentage fee for this service. This may sound thoroughly capitalist, but it is most convenient to have someone arranging for the supply of bread and fuel and water. He comes here every now and again and talks like a budding American joker. Last night he opened the hatch and shouted HANDS UP! and seemed to think this a great joke. Anyway, he is great fun and we enjoy his visits.

Well, up to now we have had no news from the Peace Committees, although they talked as if we would be able to see around Leningrad today. Since it is now 12.30, there are only about three hours of daylight left. So although we will not see much of the city, I expect we will still have a period of negotiation with the PCs.

I should have mentioned earlier that at the end of our last meeting with the PC's reps, I said that if at any time they felt they could no longer negotiate on our behalf with the immigration authorities, we would not feel badly treated if they left us to deal with matters ourselves. They said we must stand together and seemed quite keen to continue working for our stay.

I have just been on deck intending to photograph the guard on the dockside and the other keeping an eye on activities on the other side of the boat and as I prepared my camera, the soldier on the dock said "No photographs." I am not sure whether he said it in Russian or English since the words are almost the same, but there it is. This seems to suggest that they regard us more seriously than we imagined.

⁴⁸ SPC refers to the Soviet Peace Council. Olga Chechotkina, in addition to her work on the SPC, was an internationally operating journalist for *Pravda*.

Statement of Everyman III, 22nd October 1962⁴⁹

After months of negotiation with Soviet authorities, we have come openly to Leningrad, intending to speak to the Soviet people about nuclear tests and the arms race.

We arrived in the port of Leningrad at 19:20 on October 20th, and were welcomed by the Soviet and Leningrad Peace Committees, with whom we had a meal and a friendly meeting lasting 8 hours. During this meeting we discussed our points of view thoroughly. The members of the Committees were sympathetic to our aims, but felt that their responsibility was limited to the arrangement of this meeting. We are grateful for their assistance, and our future activities are not the responsibility of these Committees.

On October 22nd at 14:30, we were informed by a representative of Inflat and two immigration officials that our entry into Leningrad had been refused.

We have openly declared for a period of over two months that we are determined to speak to the Soviet people about our concerns and ideas, and we have not changed our minds. This action is a continuation of the voyages of Everyman I and Everyman II, which sailed into the Pacific to protest nuclear tests by the United States.

We have distributed leaflets and spoken with thousands of citizens of England, Belgium, Holland, West Germany, Denmark and Sweden, during our voyage from London. Throughout our trip, we have pledged ourselves to take similar action in the Soviet Union.

Therefore, if the decision of the Immigration authorities is final, we wish to announce our plans, which are:

1. At noon on Tuesday, October 23rd, the crew of Everyman III carrying leaflets, will step onto the dockside and walk into the city of Leningrad, to distribute our leaflets and talk with the people.
2. At the same time, we will fly between the masts of our boat a banner, similar to that we have flown in other countries, saying "No Tests, East or West".
3. We will not cooperate with any attempt to stop our activities, or to remove the boat from the port, until our mission is accomplished
4. Our actions will throughout be conducted in a spirit of friendship and good will. At no time will we resort to violence in word or deed.

A fuller statement of our policies is contained in the attached leaflet. We are available at any time for further discussion.

Signed: Peter Archbold, Lawrence Beck, Joel Bogh, Erwann Chataigne, David Coverley, Neil Haworth, Barnaby Martin, Raymond Messenger, Jean Neveu, Earle Reynolds, Alan White, Bryson Sneddon.

⁴⁹ This collective statement from the *Everyman III* crew is not an official part of Barnaby's account of the voyage. However, the London office included this statement with all circulars of Barnaby's missives.

Everyman III in port – Leningrad, 9 pm, 22nd October

At 2.23 pm today, two officials from the immigration office and a representative from Inflat (port of Leningrad authority) who spoke English.⁵⁰ The Inflat man gave his name, the others did not see any reason to do so, when asked. They informed us that we would not be permitted to go ashore. This did not surprise us since we already knew it, until we realised that what he was really saying was that our visas were refused. We checked on this and this is what he meant. However there was some confusion. He had not received our visa applications nor any word from Stockholm. But it seemed that someone in his office had, though he was not certain. We asked if we could make a proper application again. He said that the refusal was definite and final. We asked that since we had made a written application, we should be given a written refusal rather than just his verbal report. Earle asked if he could telephone and telegram. They said we may not telephone but they would take telegrams for us. They asked what we would do. We said we would discuss the matter and inform them of our decision through their man on the dockside. They left, and said they would contact the PCs for us.⁵¹

We discussed the matter and drew up a document expressing our situation and intentions.⁵² Then we prepared copies and also drew up telegrams for Reuters and AP in Moscow and London office. The representatives of the Peace Committees arrived – Prof. Matkovsky, Mr. Malinin, Mr. Bykov, Alice and Anna Tsimberova. – at 5.20 pm Earle explained what had happened and gave them a copy of the statement, which Alice translated to them. A copy was given to both Peace Committees. Prof. Matkovsky spoke about the relationship between the PCs and the project and what they had done for us.⁵³ He and others emphasised the history and traditions of the USSR and pleaded that our way of action in the west was not suited to their country and we should reconsider our action. The other reps. spoke about the general situation and said especially that this intended action would alienate us from the Soviet people. Matkovsky spoke as if the USSR was a perfect democracy and said that the Soviet people had enacted their laws and we would be opposing the people by breaking them.⁵⁴ We wondered if the people had ever had any part of making the visa laws or if they would know that we had broken them or what would happen to us. However this was followed by the most amazing implications we had heard in our whole voyage – this is at least my own opinion.

Statements were made to the effect that they were not trying to persuade us but only to describe the situation as they saw it. Another said that he understood what we were doing and why, and realised its relevance for the western peace movements. It was not until later that we picked up the implications. Earle replied and made some comments about governments and peoples. I also suggested that it was at least the machinery of government and not the people that were stopping us. Ray talked about his work as a rocket development research worker.

⁵⁰ INFLOT was the state-owned Soviet port agency, established in 1934. It still exists as INFLOT Worldwide, having passed into private hands in 1991.

⁵¹ PC stands for Peace Council, referring to the local branch of the World Peace Council.

⁵² This refers to the crew statement, included above.

⁵³ Nikolai Matkovsky, a prominent member of the World Peace Council and previously a member of the Communist Party's International Department.

⁵⁴ This conversation encapsulates the main reasons why the Soviet peace councils and pacifist movements based on civil disobedience ultimately did not succeed in bridging their differences, despite attempts to the contrary.

Everyman III held at sea, probably near Kronstadt, 1 pm, 26th October

This report is taken from notes made during the action of deportation extended from 23rd October until now.

Early on the 23rd we asked to see the immigration authorities since they had asked us to communicate when we had made a decision. The officer who came to the dockside said he would contact the immigration authority at 9 am when the office opened. At 9 am the INFLOT representative who had come the night before returned with his two officers of immigration. His name was G. Kharin. We explained our position and handed him our statement prepared the previous day. He said that he had come to see what stores etc. we wanted before our departure at 10 am. He took the statement and said he would return at 10am to see about our departure. He made it plain that we would be towed out to sea. We said we would leave the boat.

During the remaining time we agreed to adopt a policy that we had signed off the boat and did not consider ourselves crew any more. We packed our bags and took them on deck. A few soldiers were standing on the dock-side and others were forming up behind some packing cases 100 yards away. The Inflat and immigration officials returned at 10 am and came on board. Earle showed them the log book where we had all signed to say we were no longer crew. The officials argued that this was rather childish and asked us to go below where we would talk out the whole matter. This was especially the request of the chief immigration official who many times said in answer to questions that he would not talk on deck but only below. The Inflat man even suggested that we were being inhospitable in not inviting them below. We asked a few times if they would promise not to move the boat if we went below for negotiations.

The chief immigration officer said he would not discuss that matter on deck. It was not said outright but nevertheless clear that this was all a trick for getting us below while they took us out to sea. So we did not cooperate and stayed on deck. A tug was brought up to the side away from the dock and seamen started to release our lines. We agreed that this was the time to go ashore, which we attempted to do. Earle went first as agreed and was mildly pushed. Archy was pushed back a number of times as were others. None of this was rough.⁵⁵ Finally, there was a line of soldiers along the dockside, on the very spot we would step on. There were soldiers blocking our movement to either end of the boat too. So without pushing the soldiers aside we could not step ashore.

The lines were released and we were slowly pulled away from the dockside. It had been more or less agreed that we would sabotage the boat if we were taken out against our wishes, so Dave went down to the middle cabin and undid a temporary pipe joint we had made before.⁵⁶ Ray went to the engine room and opened to sea-cocks allowing water to flow loudly into the engine room. Meanwhile Alan had taken off outer garments and jumped into the water. The soldiers on board made little more than a token effort to stop him. Barnaby removed out clothes without any opposition and took a flying dive over the side. Lawrence followed.⁵⁷ Alan was quickly picked up, but nobody saw this, Barnaby was also picked up in a launch called SPUTNIK and Lawrence reached the shore and was taken onboard another

⁵⁵ This part of the account is carefully formulated so that it is clear that even if the activists were pushed by officials, they did not push back themselves – in keeping with civil disobedience strategies.

⁵⁶ Dave is the previously mentioned David Coverley. As an experienced sailor, he had been tasked with the many emergency repairs that were necessary on the voyage, but also knew how to undo them.

⁵⁷ Lawrence Beck, the last crew member of *Everyman III* to be mentioned in the account.

launch. All three were returned to the boat. Meantime when everyone on board had heard that the boat was sinking the officers left the boat and climbed onto the tug. In fact the lowering of Everyman III into the water was a very slow process and we went down only a matter of inches in half an hour. The seamen on board quickly plugged the engine room leaks with wooden plugs, but did not find the middle cabin leak until later. The three swimmers were able to change out of their wet clothes and despite their feeling quite well, Earle thought it best to send for a doctor. All three agreed that the water was extremely cold and more than a few minutes in it would have caused fainting. My own feeling is that this is not a reasonable thing to do. If we had fainted and drowned, we would have put an undeserved amount of blame and condemnation through world press onto authorities who were not acting unreasonably.

Now the seamen aboard had realised there was another leak bringing water into the main cabin while the middle cabin was flooded. Everyman III was held steady alongside the tug while much talk and pumping out took place. The three swimmers went to see the doctor on the tug and he seemed rather annoyed because there was nothing wrong with any of them. At this stage the chief immigration officer told us that we would behave ourselves or he would tie us up.

Alan continued his discussion with the secretary of the Leningrad Komsomol (young Communists League) who was on the launch which picked him up. The man seemed quite sympathetic to our approach to the international question, and said so.

(During the confrontation at the dockside I took a photograph of the scene and continued to do so after indications that it was against regulations, or the wishes of those present. The camera was taken from me. Later the camera was returned – without the film I thought – but when I opened it to put in a new film, the old one was still there. I wonder what condition the shot is in now.)

The chief immigration officers said he would tie our hands if we would not go below. We did not feel inclined to go below as we wished to leave the boat – and said so. Then – it was an amazing sight – some of the seamen solemnly tied our hands behind our backs and passed us down to others below who sat us down on the benches in the main cabin. It still seems an amazing sight that these immigration officers and soldiers should tie us up like one sees in cowboy films. But it happened.

We sat down there with two or three seamen and an army officer and Alan's friend from the Komosol. We talked about our points of view and achieved some understanding. The pilot who had been on our boat during towing had been quite sympathetic to our feelings and we had some reasonable discussion with the crew of the tug. Many rumours would be around Leningrad that night, especially as – I forgot to mention – Alan had stood on the fuel drum on the deck and spoke to the whole port through the loud-hailer, without being stopped, stating what was happening. During the following hours we were moving and stationary for varying times. We had been tied up at about 12.15 pm and were not untied (officially – some had already released themselves) until 8.37 pm. This was in order to have a meal. At first we were told that only Alan would be untied and he would feed us all like babies. Then they said we could eat two at a time – they took a great deal of trouble to create the illusion that we were dangerous criminals – we refused both these approaches. After promising not to conduct any more sabotage, we were all untied and allowed to eat our own food available in the main cabin. After the meal we were retied. At a number of times they asked if we had a transmitter aboard and we said we had not. They had found and mended the leak in the middle cabin and

pumped it dry – but in doing so had put the cabin in a turmoil. They were also looking there for the charts of Leningrad and finally found them, but gave up whatever they wanted them for.

Then we prepared for the night. Nine bunks were free and we fitted into these as best we could. Archy was having some pain in his arm (smallpox vaccination spot) and we asked for a doctor, preferably the one who had put in the vaccine. During the night this doctor came and declared Archy OK after a very minor survey. She seemed annoyed at being brought out and we guessed that she had been primed not to give us any reason for extending the stay in the USSR. We had been handed over to the naval section of immigration and we had the job of trying to re-establish friendship with the new group, who had probably been told all sorts of things about us. But we were happy to hear from Earle the next morning that two of the guards sitting next to him – supposing him to be asleep – read the leaflet which we hoped to communicate to the Soviet people. In fact, there were reports of others slipping copies of this subversive propaganda into their pockets. We set up a system of going to the toilet one by one, sometimes just with the head door open, sometimes with a guard standing inside the very small head, sometimes with no guard at all.

One waking we found that only Neil was still tied. Others had either untied themselves or been untied. It seemed then that all games of tying up were finished – without any promises.⁵⁸ So we had breakfast – porridge, at 11 am. The day was Wednesday 24th October. I note the day because in the following days we became uncertain of the day and date.

At 12 noon after our breakfast-lunch the officer in charge came and said we would be tied again. And he said we should not untie ourselves. We asked to see the commander to find out what our legal position was. We asked many times over how long Soviet law permitted us to be tied and imprisoned like this. He refused to answer this question, but said things would soon be sorted out. We asked for an English-speaking lawyer who could assist us in finding out our legal position. He, the commander, said he would pass on our request. When asked if we would be tied, we said we did not consider this suitable until we were told our legal position or we had a promise of a lawyer. He said he would pass on our request so would we be tied up. We said we would discuss the matter and he said he would return in five minutes. (It is interesting that he spent so much time as if asking for permission from us to tie us.)

We talked mostly about calling consuls and agreed that since this was a British ship, we would ask for the British consul, so that we would have some form of contact before we were sent to sea in what Earle considered an unseaworthy vessel. We also hoped that the consul would be able to discover our legal position. On the return of the commander we put this request and he said he would pass it on – now would be tied up. We said that such an act was obviously punishment since we had promised that sabotage was at an end and that we considered that it was wrong for him to do it, but we could not prevent it.

So we were tied up again. I wondered what was going on in the mind of the young seaman doing the job. He could not think of us as dangerous criminals needing to be prevented from violence in the process of escaping. Anyway we were permitted to have our hands tied in front rather than behind our backs. Earlier I had started writing out some notes and had been told to stop. This prohibition was informally dropped some time ago however.

⁵⁸ Given the outline of events above, it appears likely that the tying up of *Everyman III*'s crew was partly to prevent further acts of sabotage, and partly symbolic.

At 6 pm the commander told us that our request to see the British was refused (sorry, insert “Consul”). As agreed, various crew members of the five nationalities asked individually for their consuls. The commander said he would deal with our request. We added that we wished to send cables to our families and to the owner of the boat if we were taken out to sea. He said he understood. We drafted the cables and went to sleep. We had been untied for the meal and the ropes forgotten.

(I should have mentioned that when we were retied after breakfast-lunch, there did not seem to be enough rope to go round and they asked us to provide our own ropes. This seemed a little unfair).

The following morning, 25th October, we felt we had had a good night’s rest. Nothing much happened that day except that we had a few requests for information and assistance with the engine. These were not responded to. They have got the engine operating for a few short periods but have not yet run it for long enough to satisfy our ex-engineer.

Later in the day some of the crew (ex-crew) were singing songs from some song-book and came across the Volga Boatmen and had the guards joining in too. One way and another we are making great contact with our guards. I call them guards because there is no other word, but they are just ordinary seamen wearing rough uniforms and looking very young who take shifts in sitting near the hatch. They are shy in some way and hardly the sort that one would feel afraid of. They seem far more at home in making friendly contact than in trying to be officious and hard.

So the day dragged on into evening and we went to bed early. The following morning 26th, we had breakfast and heard one of Earle’s lectures on Hiroshima. It is now nearly 11pm and most are in bed. Nothing significant has happened today. We have had a long discussion about our strategy and a short discussion just now about having a fast and silence tomorrow. This may be a very good idea, because we may be in need of a reminder that we are on a very serious project rather than thinking of our immediate position where we are just stuck here eating all we want and doing nothing.

So, let us see what tomorrow brings.

Everyman III in port – Gulf of Finland, 5 pm, 28th October

Tomorrow brought nothing. We fasted and remained moderately silent for the day allowing ourselves a small meal in the evening. The guards seemed mildly interested in our not eating and we explained that we wanted to remind ourselves of the seriousness of our situation. They asked a few questions about our supplies of food, but we explained that these were quite sufficient.

During that day, 27th, the wind and waves increased and we were moved to the other side of Kronstadt where there was some protection from the weather. Later the wind shifted and we had to be moved again. The guards seem strongly inclined to sit below rather than stand on deck. Five of them are down here and only one goes up when we want the head or to wash. They also keep quiet as we do. I do not suppose they have any special respect for the silence we keep but they never seem to have felt themselves in a position of superiority to us. They do sometimes direct us not to do certain things, but in general they seem almost shy, even ashamed of their position.

We realised yesterday that we had been held aboard Everyman III for one week – since we arrived in Leningrad. We had also been on the voyage for one month – leaving the Thames on 26th September. Our primary occupation is reading – although the light is bad,

some daylight near the skylight and near the cold hatchway, or insufficient light from the low power bulb led to our cabin from the immigration boat. It is very much like prison conditions and our habits are becoming somewhat prison-like, such as extending the daily habits such as shaving out to fill the copious time. We all spend far too much time in bed. So the 27th dragged on into the night.

At 5am on 28th we were moved and remained moving at a good speed for five hours. Much of the time we were towed at more than the normal of safe speed for a boat of this shape. After the move and while we were trying to dry out the results of our deck being awash with the ventilator open, the commander came to us. He asked if we were still willing to stick by our gentleman's agreement. We said we would, although privately we felt there did not seem to be much of the gentleman in the way we were being treated. One at a time on deck and no freedom to roam around the boat speaks of mistrust in the commander. Well, the day has dragged through to five in the afternoon. The commander said that we would be moved when the weather became more favourable. We must be about 40 miles from Kronstadt and we will be moved into international waters at the next hop. Earle thinks this will be during the night to leave us adrift during the daylight and morning.

We do not know our present position, but we are probably on the north shore of the Gulf of Finland, perhaps only by an island rather than the mainland, but there is an island visible nearby. As you can see from the map there is a tremendous archipelago on this shore and identifying a position would be very difficult. It may be that we have been moved here so as to avoid being spotted by enquiring eyes on ships coming into Kronstadt.

A day or so ago we found Voice of America on our donated radio set and actually heard some news. We have not been able to get it since but enjoy quite a variety of programmes. And what is more, our guards quite enjoy hearing radio Moscow and radio Leningrad, although they do not show it much. They incline slightly forward when there is something of interest on. One of the few pleasures we can have is making some small contact with them through our radio. It is quite surprising how well we are getting on. Very few bitter words are spoken although most of us lapse on occasions. There is nothing more to report for now.

Everyman III near Gogland, 5 pm, 30th October

Yesterday, 29th October, nothing much happened. We had some discussion about our level of cooperation with our captors. The conclusion was that we maintain a position that we are still resisting deportation, but will try to avoid anything that amounts to rudeness. In the evening, the commander came to us with a telegram from the World Peace Brigade.⁵⁹ The message seemed unusual for those I know in the office but the general conclusion was that this was an emergency method of contacting us under pressure of the long period of silence. It was not until later that we heard on the news what Krushchev had done to deserve the praise of the Brigade.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The World Peace Brigade was a short-lived organization that was created by pacifists from the War Resisters' International. It was modeled on the Gandhian concept of a *shanti sena* (peace army) and intended to take an active role in decolonization efforts. See Lydia Walker, *States-in-Waiting: a Counternarrative of Global Decolonization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024). Using the WRI offices in London, the Brigade was the main point of contact for *Everyman III*.

⁶⁰ As noted above, the Cuban missile crisis had broken out during the days in which the *Everyman III* crew were detained on their own ship, and largely unaware of the acute nuclear threat that had emerged. The 'praise'

Nothing particular happened today either until 4.30 pm when our engine was started and the towing recommenced. We are now moving through roughish seas on the end of a towline. A hint was dropped earlier that we would be released at midnight. This will be OK from a navigational point of view because the lights of buoys and lighthouses are better visible then, but it is not so good for photography. We have not been permitted to use cameras since our imprisonment.

We note that one week ago today we left, imprisoned, from Leningrad. If things go as expected, we should be in Stockholm on Thursday. We will telephone Bertil from Sandhamn and ask him to fix a press conference for us. This is assuming that we can make Stockholm, it may be necessary to go quickly in for shelter to Helsinki.

Everyman III harbour at north end Gogland, 11 pm, 30th October

We arrived at this mooring at about 8.30 pm. We had expected to go straight out to sea and start our journey to Stockholm, but we were brought into this harbour to await better weather. This harbour is not marked on the chart, but is at the north end of Gogland behind the lighthouse. During dinner at 9, the commander came down and asked about our broken bob-stay and the refuelling process. We discussed these matters with him and agreed to mend the bob-stay and supervise refuelling. This was to be done at 7 am because departure would be at about 8 am. So we shall get sleep now ready for a final departure from the USSR early tomorrow. We will only have to be taken 12 miles from here to be in international waters (USSR law) so we shall be freed at about 10 am photographs and all.

Everyman III Baltic Sea, 4 pm, 1st November

The departure was delayed somewhat. The commander came to see us in the morning and showed us again the release position. He explained that changing ships in heavy seas was a difficult matter and asked if we would take control of our boat before we left the sheltered waters of Gogland. We explained that we regarded it his job to take us into international waters. Earle had advised us that it was not unreasonably dangerous to change ships. The commander seemed rather disappointed at our reply and left. The next watch of guards which came down wore life-jackets, so we assumed we would soon be mobile again. After lunch we were off. During the short voyage, the second officer came down. He is usually very pleasant, but on this occasion he was rather bitter. The problem was the statement he wanted us to sign acknowledging our taking over the vessel in seaworthy condition. In previous discussions with our friends on this matter we had made it clear that we would not sign anything regarding the seaworthiness of the vessel. We were not going to put ourselves in a position of being responsible for the safety of the boat when we had been unwillingly put to sea in this boat – and after much damage had been done to the boat. We had said we would sign any document he wished in Stockholm, but we would only sign to say that we had taken over the boat at this stage. He argued the point and repeated his position. We held firm.

At 3.35 pm the engine had stopped and the officer came below to announce that we were in international waters. The statement that we were released in the boat was completed with time date and position. He did not take it. Earle and he had some discussion about the Soviet courtesy flag which he had taken down, but we were still not allowed on deck. After some time there was only the one officer down in the cabin with us and then he started to go

referred to hear is likely Krushchev's statement on 28 October that the Soviet missiles on Cuba would be dismantled.

up the steps. We suddenly realised they were leaving the boat, and probably hoping we would not come on deck until they were away. We quickly followed him up in time to see him get down into a long-boat manned by about 12 seamen. This had come alongside without making any noise and without bumping our boat. It had been carefully held away to avoid bumping and so not let us know they were leaving. We were up in time to take plenty of photographs of their departure and of the two escort vessels 975 and 971. We watched until they had safely boarded 975 then set about checking and starting our boat again. At about 3.40 pm we started off in the direction of Stockholm. The two vessels continued to escort us. The weather was calm and has remained so up till now. During the night a new escort vessel came close alongside and shined its searchlight on us to be sure it had got the right one and is still with us now. At 3.30 am this morning, we were close to the Helsinki lighthouse. Earle said that from the point of view of the weather it was alright to carry on. He asked the group for their decision feeling that he could not force anyone to continue if he was sick and wanted to stop. Nobody wanted to stop, although Bryson, Archy and Erwann as usual were not very conscious. It is surprising that these three, who usually remain unconscious for most sea stretches, all made great efforts to do their part on this trip. We are all sorry for those who suffer most from sea-sickness.

We have reset our watches for Stockholm time where we expect to be during the morning tomorrow.

Everyman III fjords – Sweden, 10 am, 2nd November

During the night our Soviet escort left us. The weather remained miraculously calm and we hardly felt any motion all the way into Sandhamn. At about 8am this morning we sighted the Swedish coast and were at once aware that we were close to the end of this part of the project. Perhaps now we all feel rather fond of this boat that has born us through so many events – now that we shall soon be leaving her, we are particularly aware of our feelings for Everyman III.

So we followed the course of lights into Sandhamn – the same course we had followed out a long 16 days ago. On arrival at the customs point we were waved on to Stockholm. This spoiled our intention to phone Bertil to set up a press conference on our arrival. However, although they were not prepared to check us in the immigration people promised to phone Bertil for us. So we are now on the 5 hour voyage to Stockholm intending to dock at Strandvagen as before. Some of the crew are clearing up the cabin, others packing, others writing letters and others having a much-needed shave. We face the next few hours with mixed feelings. We do not know what has been going on in the west, especially the press, while we have been in the east. We do not know how London and New York will feel about our action. We do not know what sort of decisions we will make about our future activities. But we do know that in 24 hours our minds are likely to be homeward bound.⁶¹

⁶¹ In a final statement, the *Everyman III* crew decided to speak of the journey as a ‘successful failure’. They had not made it to Moscow, nor had they passed the 50,000 Russian leaflets they carried into the hands of the Russian people. However, the fact that they had been expelled demonstrated, to them, that their ideas were powerful and that the Soviets would risk the ire of western peace movements rather than let them spread. IISH, Devi Prasad Papers 50, ‘Everyman: A Successful Failure’.

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