

## **When HMS Trincomalee was “Foudroyant”: Youth training and the preservation of heritage aboard Hartlepool’s Historic Ship, c.1897-1990**

### **Abbreviations**

FT	Foudroyant Trust
GMM	Greenwich Maritime Museum
IC	Implacable Committee
SNR	Society for Nautical Research
TA	Trincomalee Archive
TT	<i>The Times</i>
TUL	Teesside University Library

## Introduction

Since 1987, the *HMS Trincomalee* has graced the quayside of Hartlepool, as an adopted testament to north-eastern England's maritime history. Following a ten-year restoration project, the 200-year-old *Trincomalee* is one of the region's leading heritage attractions, showcasing the ship as she was during her nineteenth-century naval service. Yet this is only one narrative of a varied career, including two distinct identities.

The history of the north east is strongly intertwined with the sea, in terms of exploration, coastal trade, shipbuilding and nautical training.<sup>1</sup> In the nineteenth century, it was training which first brought *Trincomalee* to the region.<sup>2</sup> After her launch in Bombay in 1817, she was initially placed in reserve by the Royal Navy, before finally seeing service in the Atlantic and Mediterranean between 1847 and 1850. The ship then joined the Pacific Squadron in 1852, before being derigged in 1857. From 1860, she was used as a Royal Navy training vessel, initially based in Sunderland, before relocating to Hartlepool in 1862, where she remained for 15 years.<sup>3</sup> It seems fitting that Hartlepool, her eventual home, was the location where the vessel commenced the task that has defined much of her 200 years – to introduce young people to a life at sea. Between 1902 and 1990, *Trincomalee* was known as the Training Ship (later Frigate) *Foudroyant*, firstly in Falmouth, before relocating to Portsmouth, as a 'holiday training ship' for young people aged seven and upwards. During these years, she carved out an excellent reputation for her training, in the unique setting of a 'wooden wall' – a vessel constructed of wood rather than iron – a rarity in the twentieth century.

This paper focuses on the *Foudroyant* years to highlight the challenges of providing a maritime training programme in a historic setting during century of irrevocable social, cultural and political change. The ship's (frequently incompatible) twin goals of training and preservation were the fundamental reasons for the vessel's survival. It was those responsible for the Implacable Committee, later renamed the Foudroyant Trust, who navigated the ship through war, continual financial difficulty, an ever-evolving educational programme and the ravages of time. By 1987, when a weather-beaten, dilapidated *Foudroyant* arrived in Hartlepool for restoration, an estimated 70,000 trainees had passed through the establishment, benefiting from one of the most innovative training programmes of its time. Yet much of this period has gone unrecorded. In the context of the ship's broader naval career, the *Foudroyant* years have received only marginal attention, as historians including Andrew Lambert, have focused on her years of active duty.<sup>4</sup> A helpful contribution was also made by David

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<sup>1</sup> Cornwall County Council, *England's Historic Seascapes: Scarborough to Hartlepool and Adjacent Marine Zone* (Truro, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Donald G. Bovill, 'The Education of Boys for the Mercantile Marine: A Study of Three Nautical Schools,' *Bulletin of the History of Education Society*, 47 (1991) pp. 11-22.

<sup>3</sup> Lambert, chs 3-5.

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Lambert, *Trincomalee: The Last of Nelson's Frigates* (London, 2002). Also see David Smith, 'HMS Trincomalee (1817): A Frigate Spanning Three Centuries also known as TS Foudroyant from 1902 to 1989 – The Society for Nautical Research Annual Lecture 2011,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 98:1 (2012) pp. 67-77.

Clover, a former *Foudroyant* officer, who documented his experiences on board.<sup>5</sup> Yet more general studies have overlooked the ship. A detailed discussion of training vessels by Harold Underhill, for example, made no mention of *Foudroyant*. However, Underhill's acknowledgment that such ships provided character training succinctly described the *Foudroyant* approach of promoting a sense of self-worth through character training, transcending the naval setting.<sup>6</sup> Given the ship's condition by the late 1980s, it is all too easy to interpret the *Foudroyant* period as one of decline. However, the narrative presented here includes efforts to preserve naval heritage, whilst exploring the training programme, which placed the vessel at the forefront of educational policy. As this paper will demonstrate, the ship not only kept pace with, but frequently pre-empted governmental educational standards - an area of the ship's legacy which has been underacknowledged.

*Foudroyant* offered innovative and revolutionary methods of dealing with the ever-changing youth of twentieth century Britain, never avoiding complex social and cultural issues. The intention of this paper is therefore to chart an underappreciated period of *Trincomalee's* history and to showcase the *Foudroyant* years as a platform through which a panorama of the most tumultuous century in British history can be considered. While the focus of this paper takes place outside north-eastern England, it must be remembered that so did the very period of the ship's history which is now celebrated on board *Trincomalee* – its seafaring years. The vessel's broader history has been 'adopted' by the north east as an important representation of its maritime heritage. Therefore, while the events described here took place in southern England, no understanding of *Trincomalee's* story is complete without this vital period. This paper firstly explores the events which led to the transition to *Foudroyant* and her stay in Falmouth. It then considers the interwar years, when a charitable organisation was established to guarantee the vessel's survival, followed by consideration of her active service during the Second World War. Post-war events are considered thematically, exploring operational and financial matters, the contents of the training programme and finally, an exploration of daily life on board *Foudroyant*. The paper finishes by exploring the events which led to the end of over 80 years of continual training.

### ***Trincomalee* reborn: George Wheatley Cobb and the 'new' *Foudroyant***

In 1877, *Trincomalee* departed Hartlepool for Southampton, where she commenced her final years as a Royal Navy drill ship, before moving to the broker's yard in 1897.<sup>7</sup> It was the destruction of an even older vessel, the *Foudroyant*, which ultimately saved *Trincomalee*. *Foudroyant* was built in 1789 in Plymouth and had a varied seafaring career including a brief but eventful period as Admiral Nelson's flagship, harbour service in Devonport and use as a drill ship, before eventually being sold to entrepreneur George Wheatley Cobb in 1891.<sup>8</sup> A £20,000 restoration programme saw the vessel transformed for use as a visitor attraction/training ship at various British

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<sup>5</sup> David Clover, 'Remembering Nelson: HMS Trincomalee – A life in ordinary', *The Trafalgar Chronicle: Yearbook of the 1805 Club*, 20, (2010) 242-258.

<sup>6</sup> Harold A. Underhill, *Sail Training and Cadet Ships* (Glasgow, 1973) p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> T.T. Birbeck, *The Foudroyant*, (Pontypool, 1966) pp. 53-107.

seaside resorts, until she was wrecked in a storm at Blackpool in 1897.<sup>9</sup> This led Cobb to search for a new vessel, learning of *Trincomalee* before the brokers' work had progressed far enough to cause permanent damage. Once his purchase was complete, in May 1898, the vessel entered Cowes Harbour to be refitted for her new life as a training vessel under Cobb's command.<sup>10</sup> Although there are few written records of the years in Cowes, it seems likely that local trainees were introduced to the core elements of the training programme for the next eighty years, including ropework, sailing, rowing and other aspects of seamanship.



Figure 1: A derigged Trincomalee in 1902. [Source: TA/TUL, 101:87]

Following a prolonged disagreement with the Cowes Harbour Committee regarding 'disruption' which it was felt youth training brought,<sup>11</sup> *Foudroyant* relocated to Milford Haven for a year. There, trainees took part in many local events including the Pembroke Dock Regatta and a nursing association fete, demonstrating Cobb's efforts to link his training programme to the locality.<sup>12</sup> The choice of Milford Haven as a temporary base was practical, as the ship also took possession of a number of the

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 107-114.

<sup>10</sup> *Portsmouth Times and Hampshire County Journal*, 28 May 1898.

<sup>11</sup> Carradice, p. 81.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

original *Foudroyant's* cannon.<sup>13</sup> Despite being essentially superfluous, their presence added to the maritime romanticism which was central to Cobb's perception of sea training. Much of his surviving correspondence and artwork (painting and sketching was a favourite pastime) suggests a somewhat whimsical attachment to life at sea, evoking a bygone age of British naval supremacy. This is not to suggest that Cobb's sea training was obsolete, but rather profoundly traditional. The cannon therefore represented the vessel's former glory of active service, whilst also reinforcing a change of identity which *Trincomalee* underwent whilst in Milford Haven.

It is uncertain exactly when Cobb changed the vessel's name, but she was berthed as *Foudroyant* on arrival in Falmouth in September 1905.<sup>14</sup> The change made commercial sense; Cobb's activities on board the former *Foudroyant* had proven extremely successful, with the renaming creating the illusion of a continuation with the lost, famous vessel. Yet, these early years of the "new" *Foudroyant* were not driven by a specific plan. While Cobb's former vessel had been utilised for naval training, this was short term, with the principal intention of generating profit. The itinerant nature of the new *Foudroyant's* early years, travelling from port to port, was similar in nature to her predecessor's visits to British seaside resorts. Yet, Cobb did not utilise the same commercial approach for his new command. It was only once the ship was settled in Falmouth that his intentions became clear and once again demonstrated his propensity for maritime nostalgia.

### ***Foudroyant's* sister ship: The arrival of *Implacable***

Within weeks of the ship's arrival, *Foudroyant* trainees participated in the 1906 Falmouth Sailing Club Regatta.<sup>15</sup> Involvement in other local activities soon followed, including additional regattas, charity football matches and celebrations to mark the centenary of the Battle of Trafalgar.<sup>16</sup> The training programme was therefore not only practical, but included sports and community engagement. Although there are few specific details of the training regime in these years, its success was demonstrated through expansion. To realise Cobb's full ambitions for his training programme, it became apparent that a second vessel was required. In 1911, at a Royal Academy banquet, marine artist W.L. Wyllie proposed to King George V that the *HMS Implacable* be passed to Cobb 'on indefinite loan,' which the Admiralty approved, following negotiations.<sup>17</sup> *Implacable*, formerly *Duguay-Trouin*, was a French vessel captured at Trafalgar, subsequently seeing Royal Navy service, before becoming a Plymouth-based training establishment from 1855.<sup>18</sup> The vessel therefore had a much longer training pedigree than the new *Foudroyant* and together, the ships presented an attractive base for youth naval training in Falmouth.

The evidence suggests that Cobb's aim of preparing young men for a life at sea proved both practical and worthwhile during the First World War, as he later stated that over

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<sup>13</sup> Society for Nautical Research (SNR), papers and correspondence 1928-29, Greenwich Maritime Museum (GMM), SNR/8/4.

<sup>14</sup> Lambert, p. 111.

<sup>15</sup> *Cornish Echo*, 31 August 1906.

<sup>16</sup> Lambert, 111; *Falmouth Packet*, 27 October 1905.

<sup>17</sup> Smith, 'HMS Trincomalee'.

<sup>18</sup> Alan McGowan, 'The First HMS Implacable,' *The Mariner's Mirror*, 91:2 (2005) pp. 294-308.

100 *Foudroyant* trainees saw wartime service in the Royal Navy.<sup>19</sup> At some point in the 1910s, the organisational structure of training also became long-term, with an apparent lack of concern for profit. This again reflected Cobb's romanticism regarding maritime life which, as he entered his twilight years, was more of a personal mission than a career. His desire to prepare young recruits for a life at sea saw him personally finance the entire operation, with no apparent source of generating income and no direct connection to either the Royal or Merchant Navies. Trainees were 'apprenticed' to Cobb until the age of 18, suggesting that *Foudroyant* and *Implacable* were, in many cases, permanent homes for youths with an aptitude and inclination for nautical training.<sup>20</sup> Young trainees were also supported financially; Ted Johns, who commenced training in 1917, later recalled that boys were 'trained principally, for the yacht service', received a uniform and were paid two shillings and sixpence each week.<sup>21</sup> Trainees were often as young as 12, with the only qualifications necessary being a 'good character', good health and 'poor circumstances', suggesting a munificent motivation on the part of Cobb, in order to improve the lives of less fortunate youths.<sup>22</sup> In addition to sea training, other aspects of educational development were encouraged, including dictation on topics such as maritime history, the vessel, the Falmouth area and the ongoing war. One essay, dictated in 1918, described contemporary naval warfare and included the hope for another 'Trafalgar'.<sup>23</sup> Mr Johns recalled an active life on board, including a football team which participated in a local league and a ship's band, which regularly performed at local events.<sup>24</sup>

Clearly, Cobb's trainees were active in the local community, assisted by the long-termism of training. The inclusion of sports also demonstrated an understanding of developments in contemporary education. Public schools had increasingly ensured that their pupils devoted a considerable proportion of time to team sports, due to the benefits of such activities in terms of character development. However, participation in codified sports was also a means of instilling determination and fair play in future leaders of society.<sup>25</sup> These were also essential characteristics for naval officers, particularly in the fraught political climate of the early twentieth century. This approach continued into the 1920s; Mr R. Tyrrell, for example, joined *Foudroyant* in 1924, aged 13 and later recalled days spent cleaning the vessel, learning general seamanship and exercising. He spent a total of seven years on board, before joining a shipping company, demonstrating the longevity of the apprenticeship scheme.<sup>26</sup> A somewhat surprising shipboard activity was dancing, with Cobb noting in his diary in 1924 that such lessons had to be suspended, due to his increasing infirmity.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Implacable Committee (IC), correspondence (1927), Trincomalee Archive (TA), Teesside University Library (TUL), Box 64.

<sup>20</sup> SNR, papers and correspondence 1928-29, GMM, SNR/8/4.

<sup>21</sup> *Western Telegraph*, 29 July 1987.

<sup>22</sup> SNR, papers and correspondence 1928-29, GMM, SNR/8/4.

<sup>23</sup> Misc. records, (1917-18), TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Georgia Grilli, 'English Public Schools and the Moulding of the Englishman,' *History of Education and Children's Literature*, 10:1 (2015) pp. 643-667.

<sup>26</sup> Trincomalee Trust, correspondence, 12 August 1996, TA/TUL, 71.

<sup>27</sup> Diary of George Wheatley Cobb, 28 April 1924, TA/TUL, 65.

*Foudroyant/Implacable* provided a home, an income and a way of life for many young people, who took their place in a unique community in a naval setting.



Figure 2: The officers and crew of *Foudroyant* c.1930, courtesy of Bruce Longstaff



Figure 3: *Foudroyant* in Falmouth, c.1927, courtesy of Bruce Longstaff

Cobb was central to every aspect of this 'community'. Yet, his declining health, together with the financial cost of maintaining vessels of great age, paying wages and other general expenses proved too much to bear alone. Consequently, in the late 1920s, with the assistance of Admiral of the Fleet Earl Beatty and other acquaintances, the 'Implacable Committee' was established.<sup>28</sup> This move saw operations move from a private, unofficial standing to public charitable base. The intention was that the Committee would raise funds for essential repairs to *Implacable* (estimated to require

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<sup>28</sup> Lambert, p. 112.

£10,000), while Cobb focused on training.<sup>29</sup> Under the guidance of the Committee, operations were professionalised, with Committee Chairman Sir Owen Seaman (editor of *Punch* magazine), being instrumental in fundraising activities. The involvement of Sir James Caird (founder of the National Maritime Museum) and Sir Geoffrey Callender (Secretary of the Society for Nautical Research) also gave the vessels great prominence in nautical circles. However, this professionalism was at odds with Cobb's approach.

In a letter to *The Times* in 1929, Cobb explained that *Foudroyant* permanently housed a number of 'boys' undergoing training for a seafaring career. He stated that during the summer season, the trainees transferred to *Implacable*, to cater for visiting trainees.<sup>30</sup> Evidence seems to indicate that Cobb had previously piloted a short-stay training scheme aboard *Implacable*, though there are no records of how extensive this pilot was or how trainees were recruited. Regardless, the Society of Nautical Research's 1929 annual report described *Implacable* as a 'holiday ship' for parties from youth groups and schools.<sup>31</sup> The training programme was essentially a condensed form of that offered by Cobb, combining seafaring skills with naval history, sport and music.<sup>32</sup> Despite the commercial viability of the approach, the notion of 'holiday' training was only reluctantly accepted by Cobb, perhaps suggesting that he had not viewed his earlier efforts favourably or that he felt such a move would place his seemingly philanthropic efforts aboard *Foudroyant* in jeopardy. Numerous letters from committee members indicate problems in getting Cobb to cooperate, largely due to his dominant personality.<sup>33</sup> In 1927, he became involved in a protracted disagreement with Falmouth Harbour authorities, due to congestion caused by *Foudroyant's* position. The Committee urged Cobb to solve the issue, though instead, he opted to separate the two vessels. While *Implacable* remained the property of the Admiralty, operated by the SNR/Implacable Committee, *Foudroyant* belonged to Cobb. The former remained in Falmouth as a holiday vessel, while large crowds gathered in Falmouth Harbour to watch the latter's departure.<sup>34</sup>

*Foudroyant* and a crew of 30 trainees relocated to Pembrokeshire where the ship's band participated in several local charitable events, generating useful publicity.<sup>35</sup> Yet the separation of the two vessels considerably weakened *Implacable's* manpower, increasing operational costs. Efforts to generate income continued, with a banquet in October 1930 hosted by the Lord Mayor of London in aid of the Fund.<sup>36</sup> Six months later, the Duke of York attended a similar luncheon, where he publicly endorsed the *Foudroyant/Implacable's* efforts.<sup>37</sup> This demonstrated what could potentially be

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<sup>29</sup> IC, *A Trafalgar Ship for Boys: Appeal for the Implacable Fund* (1927), TA/TUL, 77.

<sup>30</sup> *The Times* (TT), 19 September 1929.

<sup>31</sup> SNR, papers and correspondence 1928-29, GMM, SNR/8/4.

<sup>32</sup> IC, *A Trafalgar Ship for Boys*.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 1927-30, SNR/8/5.

<sup>34</sup> *Cornish Echo*, 12 September 1930.

<sup>35</sup> *Pembrokeshire Telegraph*, 18 September 1930; *Pembroke County and West Wales Guardian*, 31 October 1930.

<sup>36</sup> TT, 21 October 1930.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 May 1931.



achieved if business was conducted efficiently. However, the separation of the two vessels (and of Cobb and the Committee) remained absolute.

### **Foudroyant transformed: The Portsmouth years**

George Wheatley Cobb died in early 1931, prompting an emergency meeting of the Implacable Committee, to revise the agreement with the Admiralty regarding use of *Implacable* and to draw up an agreement with Cobb's widow, the legal owner of *Foudroyant*.<sup>38</sup> Alongside these legal wranglings, the latter of which took the better part of a decade, was a more profound debate regarding the purpose of the Committee and the future of both vessels. There was brief consideration of selling *Foudroyant* and locating all training on *Implacable*.<sup>39</sup> *Foudroyant* was synonymous with Cobb's long-duration training, while, in the eyes of committee members, her prestigious sister ship could better generate income to pay for maintenance.

As McGowan suggests, the *Foudroyant/Implacable* made no pretence to be 'cadet ships for professional training' but instead sought to 'offer seamanship' to the young.<sup>40</sup> Operations were revised, formally ending the long-duration training. Working as one single operation, the ships held true to the sentiment of Cobb's mission.<sup>41</sup> As Lambert recognises, the training objectives of the two vessels were overhauled to emphasise short instructional courses.<sup>42</sup> Commercial practicality was also required; to survive, the vessels had to remain financially lucrative through efficient management and an effective business model. Therefore, in June 1932, *Implacable* took up position in Portsmouth Harbour, where it was hoped she would reside 'for the next 100 years', joined almost two months later by *Foudroyant*.<sup>43</sup> Their reunion was soon justified – a 'small number of boys' were said to have trained in Falmouth in 1931, compared with 150 in 1932 and almost 900 in 1933.<sup>44</sup>

Operations were supervised by Lt. Col. Harold Wyllie, as Captain Superintendent. Under his direction, traditional nautical training was preserved, but with less emphasis on sport and general education. The ships also began to welcome parties from organisations and societies including the Boys Brigade, Navy League Sea Cadets and Boy Scouts, alongside individual applicants. Many such working relationships were maintained for decades, including the Southbourne Sea Scouts, who continued to return for a further 60 years.<sup>45</sup> The service offered by *Implacable/Foudroyant* correlated with the contemporary development of British youth organisations. In the 1930s, youth clubs began to make physical training and fitness one of their principle activities.<sup>46</sup> This included the 'summer camp', where boys (and later, girls) experienced

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<sup>38</sup> Implacable Committee (IC), correspondence, 14 April 1931, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>39</sup> SNR, papers and correspondence 1930-31, GMM, SNR/8/5.

<sup>40</sup> McGowan, 'HMS Implacable'.

<sup>41</sup> IC, *Management Committee Minutes*, 2 December 1936, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>42</sup> Lambert, 106.

<sup>43</sup> *TT*, 4 June & 27 July 1932.

<sup>44</sup> IC, correspondence, 20 October 1933, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>45</sup> Basil Asby, *Southbourne Sea Scouts: Sixty Years on HMTS Foudroyant-Implacable* (publication details unknown). Thanks to Sarah Richards for providing this information.

<sup>46</sup> Melanie Tebbutt, *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (Manchester, 2012) pp. 92-3.

a week of 'liberation from the restraints of school and family' and their usual physical surroundings.<sup>47</sup>

Essentially, *Foudroyant/Implacable* operated as a floating summer camp, affording the individual trainee many of the same benefits as the regimented nature of a naval schedule operated in a similar fashion to a youth camp.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, a report by *The Times* in 1938 relating to the national 'camp week' included mention of Sea Cadets heading to *Foudroyant*.<sup>49</sup> The nautical setting evoked an added sense of adventure, while representing the nation's seafaring heritage. This was recognised by the Society for Nautical Research's 1933 annual report, acknowledging that holiday training 'imparted health' and instilled into trainees the 'maritime spirit which has given England her prestige'.<sup>50</sup> The approach correlated with both the requirements of youth groups and governmental strategy.



Figure 4: *Foudroyant* (right) and *Implacable* (left) c.1935 [Source: TA/TUL, 101: 19]

The interwar period witnessed a number of national training initiatives designed to increase the employability of British youths and in the words of a Ministry of Labour

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<sup>47</sup> John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London, 1977) p. 98.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>49</sup> *TT*, 5 August 1938.

<sup>50</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1932*, TA/TUL, 233.

statement in 1934, 'give boys and girls a real interest in life, to keep their minds and fingers active and alert and their bodies fit to teach them something which may be of use to them whether at home or at work.'<sup>51</sup> The Implacable Committee also endeavoured to reach out to new audiences through the press, professional networking and innovative training techniques. In 1935, Wyllie reported that he was in correspondence with the manager of the Boys' Camps Organisation to try and encourage more visitors from secondary schools.<sup>52</sup> Fundraising efforts continued by drawing attention to the ongoing maintenance needed by the two ships and the good work being done on behalf of the youth of the nation, through the training programme. This was assisted considerably by Robert Baden-Powell, founder of the Scout Movement, who regularly endorsed the service being provided to young people.<sup>53</sup> Such statements were hugely influential in generating income, notably including a donation of £50:00 from King George V, which encouraged further contributions.<sup>54</sup>

The eagerness of establishment figures to support the work of *Foudroyant/Implacable* represented wider political concerns regarding the preparedness of British youth for potential warfare. The methods employed by Hitler in Germany relating to youth movements were viewed with apprehension; yet the condition of Britain's youth was more of concern than ever.<sup>55</sup> Promotional activities never heavily focused on such onerous issues, instead adopting a positive perspective. A 1937 press release stated that *Implacable/Foudroyant* were not 'training ship[s] for young sailors but floating hostelr[ies] where the rising generation, who do not intend to follow a sea career, are inculcated with that sea sense which is our greatest heritage.'<sup>56</sup> This statement accompanied the most successful year of training to date. In addition to the many youth organisations, many students from technical colleges and grammar and preparatory schools participated, along with a group of female Sea Rangers.<sup>57</sup> In total, this first female visit comprised 270 girls from Britain and the wider Commonwealth, demonstrating the broad-based appeal of the training unit. Significantly, many were noted as being working class, dispelling any myths regarding such activities being the provision of specific social groups.<sup>58</sup>

The continued presence of female trainees in the nautical setting challenged many preconceptions and gender stereotypes. A report in *The Times* in 1939 regarding a group of female Sea Rangers and Girl Guiders who beat a group of their male counterparts in a 'rescue race' acknowledged the rapid growth of female participation in marine pursuits, whilst making a subtle yet significant point regarding gender equality.<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, this progressive attitude did not extend to the Implacable Committee. A suggestion that a woman should be added to the Committee 'was not

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<sup>51</sup> Michael Neary, *Youth, Training and the Training State* (Macmillan: Basingstoke, 1997) 55.

<sup>52</sup> IC, *Management Committee Minutes*, 13 November 1935, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>53</sup> For examples, see *TT* 19 and 20 October 1934.

<sup>54</sup> *TT*, 12 February 1935.

<sup>55</sup> Brad Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester, 2005) 163.

<sup>56</sup> IC, press release, 4 August 1937, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>57</sup> IC, Training report, (1937), TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>58</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1937*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>59</sup> *TT*, 24 June 1939.

welcome', with a separate 'ladies' sub-committee' considered as an alternative.<sup>60</sup> While gender barriers were being broken on board, more traditional – and increasingly unjustifiable – attitudes prevailed behind closed doors.

Following the death of Committee Chairman Owen Seaman in February 1936, the Society for Nautical Research and the Implacable Committee attempted to maintain the beneficial relationship which had been created between the two bodies.<sup>61</sup> This was particularly important due to the spiralling cost of maintaining both the training programme and the vessels. Once again, public appeals sought 'voluntary contributions', which were noted as becoming increasingly scarce.<sup>62</sup> As difficulties escalated, groups and associations who regularly visited became increasingly concerned. In August 1939, the Deputy Chief Scout of the Boy Scout's Association voiced his fears, comparing the vessels to 'ancient monuments' which routinely received funding to preserve them. He suggested that the ships trained 'thousands of young people in the traditions of [the British] race.'<sup>63</sup> This statement drew attention to an issue which was to haunt *Foudroyant* for many decades to come: was the ship a monument to be preserved, or an active centre of activity?

Answers to this question were, at this point, far in the future. The immediate concern was to generate as much money, in as short a span of time as possible. A fresh funding appeal was launched in 1939, drawing attention to the widespread appeal of the training programme.<sup>64</sup> The recurring theme of heritage was once again promoted – particularly concerning *Implacable*. The 1920s and 1930s consistently saw the older ship overshadowing *Foudroyant* in terms of prominence, to highlight *Implacable*'s connection to Nelson. While this did not always guarantee public donations, it encouraged more trainees to sign up. Estimates suggested that 1939 was to be a record year, with over 1,600 trainees completing training courses before the declaration of war in September 1939.<sup>65</sup> As had been the case during the First World War, the 1939 Implacable Fund annual report suggested that over 1000 officers serving in the Royal Navy had received initial training from the two ships, despite there being no official relationship between the two bodies.<sup>66</sup> The successful implementation of a programme geared towards governmental and youth organisation requirements had contributed to the defence of the nation. Yet, the future of *Foudroyant/Implacable* was far from certain.

### **Active service: Foudroyant at war and the 'Bounty Boys'**

In the early months of war, training primarily focused on local sea scouts, as other bookings declined. It was ambitiously estimated that the Committee had reserve funding to maintain operations for a further nine years.<sup>67</sup> The reality was that *Foudroyant/Implacable* required their crew to function and gradually, the majority

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<sup>60</sup> IC, *Management Committee Minutes*, 24 November 1937, TA/TUL, 59.

<sup>61</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1936*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>62</sup> TT, 17 June 1939.

<sup>63</sup> TT, 10 August 1939.

<sup>64</sup> SNR, papers and correspondence 1939, GMM, SNR/8/11; TT, 17 June 1939.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1937-39, GMM, SNR/8/10.

<sup>66</sup> Implacable Fund, *1939 Report and Balance Sheet*, TA/TUL, 1.

<sup>67</sup> IC, 'Gun Ship Implacable General Report', March 1940, TA/TUL, 58.

either joined the military or were conscripted. It was almost something of a relief when in March 1940, the Admiralty took possession of both vessels for the duration of the war.<sup>68</sup> Initially, both were used for storage, though Michael O'Loughlin (previously Chief Officer), still found time to train visiting sea scouts while serving as Deputy Superintendent.<sup>69</sup> Training was entirely suspended, though, once Portsmouth and the surrounding area became a regular *Luftwaffe* target.

*Foudroyant* received minor hull damage following an air raid in August 1940.<sup>70</sup> This was viewed as a mixed blessing, with Geoffrey Callender, Director of the National Maritime Museum, recognising that it could be stated that the ships 'fought against Hitler as they did against Napoleon.'<sup>71</sup> Similarly, the Society for Nautical Research's 1941 report noted, 'even in the days of the long lived "wooden walls", it was hardly expected that a ship-of-the-line and a frigate should do useful war-work a century and a half after their first commissioning'.<sup>72</sup> Both points attested to the durability of the vessels. This was a period of paralysis for the Implacable Committee, with monthly meetings becoming annual. Correspondence also reveals how ill-informed members were, leading to frequent infighting and the question of whether the Committee still had a purpose.

Storage-facility usage also inflicted heavy damage on both vessels. In late 1942, it was also revealed that *Foudroyant* was infested with rats, largely due to neglect.<sup>73</sup> However, a decision to use both ships for naval training gave *Foudroyant* something of a reprieve; the naming of an aircraft carrier *Implacable* required that both vessels operate under the name *Foudroyant*.<sup>74</sup> Wyllie returned from active service in order to assume duties as Director of Training, with responsibility for the 'Bounty Boys', an organisation which originated from an agreement by the Navy League Sea Cadet Corps to provide the Royal Navy with an annual quota of 400 partly-trained signalmen/telegraphists.<sup>75</sup> The intention was that initial training would prevent a manpower shortage. In continuity with the pre-war programme, recruits came from various backgrounds, including Barnardo's Homes.<sup>76</sup> The training agenda was also similar, attesting to the calibre of the peacetime version. As well as general on-board duties and training, a principal responsibility lay in fire-watching on deck during air raids, which considerably tested the character of the young recruits.<sup>77</sup>

### **Post-war recovery and loss**

This period of active military service was costly to both vessels. In correspondence with Committee secretary Raymond Clement Brown in 1944, Wyllie described the 'shocking state' of *Foudroyant* and need for extensive repairs.<sup>78</sup> After the war, the

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<sup>68</sup> IC, correspondence, 31 January 1940, TA/TUL, 58.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 19 April 1942.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 14 August 1940.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 9 January 1941.

<sup>72</sup> SNR, Annual Report 1941, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>73</sup> IC, General Report December 1942, TA/TUL, 58.

<sup>74</sup> SNR, Annual Report 1944-45, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>75</sup> Trincomalee Trust, correspondence, 15 November 1992, TA/TUL, 58.

<sup>76</sup> Harold Cox, *Foudroyant and the Bounty Boys*, p. 6, 633.82, GMM.

<sup>77</sup> Trincomalee Trust, correspondence, March 1995, TA/TUL, 58.

<sup>78</sup> IC, correspondence, 7 August 1944, TA/TUL, 58.

Committee's paralysis continued, as members anxiously waited for the Admiralty to determine when the ships would be discharged from service, the extent of damage and whether the state would pay for repairs.<sup>79</sup> Finally, in April 1947, it was concluded that *Foudroyant* could be discharged, with subsequent negotiations regarding compensation for damage. However, with an estimated £15,000 needed to repair *Implacable*, the Committee was reminded that the vessel was still the legal property of the Admiralty.<sup>80</sup> An impartial assessment from the Manager of Portsmouth Dockyard confirmed that the structure had deteriorated to such an extent that she was no longer capable of supporting trainees.<sup>81</sup>

The Committee was forced to accept the loss of *Implacable* and focus on *Foudroyant* – despite suggestions that she should be scrapped in favour of a modern training vessel.<sup>82</sup> Members were also divided whether the training offered was still relevant when the Sea Cadet Corps was in operation.<sup>83</sup> The Committee was experiencing an identity crisis which had been building since the late 1920s. Without Cobb's long-duration training, its original purpose had effectively ended. Additionally, with the inevitable loss of the more historically-noteworthy *Implacable*, the heritage of the war-damaged *Foudroyant* was less attractive. While the pre-war success of holiday training was unquestionable, it was speculative whether the smaller vessel would be adequate in isolation. The issue remained whether sea training in a 'wooden wall' was wanted or appropriate in an age of increasing nautical sophistication. Finally, at a heated Committee meeting in April 1948, it was decided to conduct repairs to *Foudroyant* and relaunch a training programme, under the auspices of the renamed Foudroyant (late Implacable) Committee.<sup>84</sup>

Sir Percy Noble, the committee Chairman, informed reporters that training would resume to 'imbib[e] the art... of seamanship and [to implant] in [young people] that love of the sea which is our national heritage.'<sup>85</sup> Clearly, it was hoped that the romanticism of naval heritage would appeal to British youth. Yet, guidebooks produced on behalf of the Committee placed preparation for a life at sea secondary to 'character training' through 'the best holiday' that trainees could know.<sup>86</sup> This set the tone for the ship's agenda for the next thirty years. The pre-war reliance on youth groups was more problematic in the post-war setting. As Brad Beaven has recognised, governmental and youth-association efforts to encourage youth training were viewed with great suspicion.<sup>87</sup> Additionally, youth group leaders were increasingly 'out of touch' with their charges. British adolescent organisations in the mid-twentieth century were largely governed by 'middle-class, middle-aged adults' whose perceptions of masculinity were formed through private education.<sup>88</sup> These factors made it uncertain whether the

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<sup>79</sup> IC, correspondence (1946-7), TA/TUL, 57.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 10 April 1947.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 9 June 1947.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 30 June 1947.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., 19 September 1947.

<sup>84</sup> IC, Management Committee minutes, 7 April 1948, TA/TUL, 57; SNR, *Annual Report 1947*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>85</sup> TT, 26 February 1948.

<sup>86</sup> *Implacable*, (December 1949), 468A/6/11, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>87</sup> Beaven, p. 165.

<sup>88</sup> Tebbutt, p. 95.

training programme would rekindle its former success. The reduced capacity was also a concern. In September 1948, Wyllie admitted that the loss of *Implacable* would cause difficulties which would be difficult to overcome.<sup>89</sup>

Options for *Implacable*'s future varied, including relocation to Greenwich for possible restoration, repatriation to France or even offering her for private sale. Ultimately, the decision was taken that she was beyond repair and should be scuttled. On 1<sup>st</sup> December 1949, *Implacable* was towed out of Portsmouth Harbour, as *Foudroyant* 'dipped the Red Ensign and the Tricolor' to acknowledge both her companion vessel's connection to the Royal Navy and the French fleet.<sup>90</sup> The sinking took almost three hours, as the charges that had been placed on her hull merely fragmented the 150-year old hulk, seen by many as symbolic of the vessel's steadfastness.<sup>91</sup> It is also tempting to see this as something of a reminder to *Foudroyant* that while 'wooden walls' might become damaged, they could still possess strength.

### **Operational matters: The Foudroyant Trust, 1950-1980**

The loss of *Implacable* called for greater appreciation of *Foudroyant*'s past and reconsideration of her future. No longer marginalised by the grandiose legacy of her companion vessel, representation of maritime history now rested with *Foudroyant*. This was assisted by national and international reactions to *Implacable*'s demise, prompting increased efforts to prevent historic vessels being destroyed.<sup>92</sup> The Committee's exertions were therefore no longer merely to offer sea training, but to preserve history.

Initially, recovery was slow; the ship's total capacity for 1950 was estimated to be only one-fifth full.<sup>93</sup> A timely visit by Princess Margaret to inspect female Sea Rangers saw some over-enthusiastic reporters to state that trainee applications ship exceeded available space – a fact the Committee was quick to correct, to secure every booking possible.<sup>94</sup> The financial situation was also assisted by a donation of £5,000 from The Pilgrim Trust, amidst great publicity.<sup>95</sup> However, any opportunity to promote the services of *Foudroyant* in the early 1950s was seized. When, in July 1953, the Chairman of the Outward Bound Trust argued that adventure holidays were good preparation for national service, newly-appointed Chairman Sir Clement Moody was quick to link *Foudroyant* to the statement.<sup>96</sup> Other fundraising activities, such as summer and Christmas fairs were held between the 1950s and 1970s, assisting with running costs.<sup>97</sup> The downside of the summer fair was shipboard disruption and loss of training income for the week.<sup>98</sup> However, on balance, the benefits outweighed any negatives, particularly if a 'celebrity' guest was in attendance. In 1951, broadcaster

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<sup>89</sup> *Evening News (EN)*, 9 September 1948.

<sup>90</sup> *TT*, 2 December 1949.

<sup>91</sup> *TT*, 3 December 1949.

<sup>92</sup> Lambert, p. 118.

<sup>93</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1950*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>94</sup> *TT*, 20 & 25 May 1950.

<sup>95</sup> *TT*, 3 August 1950.

<sup>96</sup> *TT*, 24 July 1953.

<sup>97</sup> Foudroyant Fair Flyers 1950-1979, LP 359.3, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>98</sup> Clover, 'Remembering Nelson'.

Richard Dimpleby agreed to open the fair, resulting in a long-lasting relationship between the respected journalist and *Foudroyant*.<sup>99</sup>

Dimpleby proved an effective, yet controversial spokesman for the vessel. Returning to open the 1954 summer fair, he stated that the training offered was 'one of the best possible antidotes to the Teddy Boy menace.'<sup>100</sup> Two years later, he suggested that if 'rock n roll was wanted by the youth of the country... *Foudroyant* could provide it far better than the dance halls and cinemas.'<sup>101</sup> Dimpleby's close relationship with the Committee suggest that these were shared sentiments. The repositioning of the ship's appeal in this manner was a brave move. The successes of the 1930s relied not only on understanding educational developments, but also what appealed to young people. The positioning of the training programme as a 'remedy' to contemporary youth culture was clearly directed at parents, implying that it was a form of discipline.

This must be contextualised in the 'moral panic' of the time, regarding the rapidly-changing cultural influences of 1950s Britain. Fears concerning the negative effects of social mobility and cultural expression were exacerbated by the media, creating a climate where statements from 'establishment' figures like Dimpleby had a receptive audience.<sup>102</sup> The cultural influences of Americanisation and the popularity of rock 'n' roll added to Middle-England's fears for its children. The summer of 1956 in particular was fraught, witnessing several juvenile disturbances associated with screenings of *Rock Around the Clock*.<sup>103</sup> Dimpleby's words, then, were both timely and reactionary. He offered a more tempered view in 1957, while narrating a *Foudroyant* BBC radio appeal.<sup>104</sup> After romanticising her active service, Dimpleby assured listeners that the ship was not a 'museum', but was 'in constant and active use'. Specifically, he explained that all trainees 'live[d] together as one crew... find[ing] out for themselves what good comradeship really is across all barriers of creed or class'. This was linked to concerns of the day, as young people, he suggested, did 'not always have such healthy outlets for their energies'.<sup>105</sup> *Foudroyant* was therefore positioned as a moral, healthy alternative to modern life, almost representing a different time, making its heritage ever-more significant.

The late 1950s brought further change. The death of Michael O'Loughlin in 1957 was mourned by all associated with the ship. Joining her as a boy in the early years of Cobb's ownership, he had spent most of his adult life on board.<sup>106</sup> This was followed, in 1959, by the re-designation of the Committee as the 'Foudroyant Trust', with a set of clear aims: to conduct 'education and training in seamanship', to own, repair and maintain the ship and to provide facilities for the training.<sup>107</sup> This third aim essentially

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<sup>99</sup> Foudroyant Trust (FT), Correspondence, 20 October 1951, TA/TUL, 27.

<sup>100</sup> *Evening News*, 3 June 1954.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 21 September 1956.

<sup>102</sup> Jon Garland, et al., 'Youth Culture, Popular Music and the end of "Consensus" in Post-War Britain,' *Contemporary British History*, 26:3, (2012), pp. 265-271.

<sup>103</sup> Gillian A.M. Mitchell, 'Reassessing "the Generation gap": Bill Haley's 1957 Tour of Britain, Inter-Generational Relations and Attitudes to Rock 'n' Roll in the late 1950s,' *Twentieth Century British History*, 24:4, (2013), pp. 573-605.

<sup>104</sup> FT, Correspondence, TA/TUL, 27.

<sup>105</sup> FT, Foudroyant appeal records (1957), TA/TUL, 26.

<sup>106</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1957*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>107</sup> FT, Memorandum and Articles of Association, 13 May 1959, TA/TUL, 38.



linked together the primary aims of preservation and training. Twenty years after the 'crisis of identity' had surfaced, *Foudroyant's* twin-mission appeared clear. The ship's heritage was no longer merely promotional, but rather integral to her existence. The training programme, while vital, essentially made *Foudroyant's* preservation financially viable.

This was assisted by significant developments in the heritage industry, where, as Gavin Stamp has recognised, the 'wheel of fashion' had turned, making the 'interval between creation and revival' decades, rather than centuries.<sup>108</sup> Therefore, it was not only *Trincomalee's* naval career that was prized, but also *Foudroyant's* fifty-year training history. A desire to 'preserve' the past is, in no small part, defined by a sense of nostalgia.<sup>109</sup> The vessel encapsulated a lost age of British naval supremacy and was also custodian of *Implacable's* legacy. The future, however, was far from certain; a hull leak in December 1959, was potentially catastrophic for both *Foudroyant* and her reputation, if the public thought the vessel unsafe.<sup>110</sup>



Figure 5: *Foudroyant* in the late 1950s, courtesy of John Peachey

Fortunately, the leak was repairable, but set the tone for the 1960s, as the ship required constant maintenance. Mike King, a trainee in 1960, remembers obvious signs of the ship's age with instructors explaining that the hold was taking around two feet of water a day and damage limitation through excessive coats of paint and.<sup>111</sup> As he recalls, there was 'an air of – perhaps – sadness when they [the crew] spoke of her, almost as if they realised she was reaching her wants'.<sup>112</sup> Others, including Richard Galbraith who visited in the early 1960s, did not notice any obvious disrepair,

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<sup>108</sup> Gavin Stamp, 'The art of keeping one jump ahead: conservation societies in the twentieth century' in Michael Hunter (Ed.) *Preserving the Past: The Rise of Heritage in Modern Britain* (Stroud, 1996) pp. 77-98.

<sup>109</sup> Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London, 1987) p. 31.

<sup>110</sup> FT, Correspondence, 23 December 1959, TA/TUL, 38.

<sup>111</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

rather feeling that 'it was exciting and magical stepping onto an old ship, like starting an adventure'.<sup>113</sup> For Stephen Cohen, in 1973, any dilapidation added to the atmosphere which *Foudroyant* exuded. He recalls a ship of 'character and age' which reminded him of 'something from the old pirate movies.'<sup>114</sup> The Trust relied on such perceptions, to increase trainee numbers; though this came at a price.

The training programme inflicted considerable strain on the ageing structure. The difficulty of juggling the roles of historic vessel and active training centre was made clear in 1963, when a governmental report regarding funding support stated that *Foudroyant* could not be classed as a national monument, highlighting the need to distinguish which between preservation and repairs.<sup>115</sup> This was a frequent problem, with the ship not meeting the parameters of many funding bodies. It was a historical ship, yet not a heritage site; a place of education, but not a school or college; a charitable institution, yet commercial. This dichotomy had first arisen in 1949, when a Ministry of Education funding report stated that while 'the type of work done on *Foudroyant* was of a nature that ought to be strongly encouraged', the 'holiday ship' definition was a hindrance to financial support.<sup>116</sup> The 1966 renaming of the ship from *TS* (Training Ship) to *Frigate Foudroyant* possibly attempted to create a more ambiguous position in which support grant applications might be successful.<sup>117</sup>

The ship was featured as the 'week's good cause' on BBC Radio Four in October 1968, with an appeal to parents to send their children for sea training, as Britons were 'an island race' in the tradition of Drake, Chichester and Alex Rose.<sup>118</sup> An accompanying advertising leaflet exclaimed, 'DON'T LET HER SINK NOW!' in attempt to create a sense of profound urgency - not far from the truth.<sup>119</sup> Aside from charitable donations, more practical steps were taken to generate income. In 1972, Portsmouth Council approved the purchase of 26 *Foudroyant* cannon, to replace those destroyed by wartime bombing.<sup>120</sup> Previously, all surviving cannon from *Trincomalee's* naval career and those taken on board from the original *Foudroyant* (apart from nine which had been sold) had been used for ballast.<sup>121</sup> This provided both financial revenue and positive publicity. Occasionally, the ship was opened to the public to generate interest and attract donations. However, her dilapidated state and ongoing use as a training centre made her far from suitable as a tourist attraction.<sup>122</sup> Increasing the cost of the training programme was often the only viable option.

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<sup>113</sup> Richard Galbraith, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 21 January 2017.

<sup>114</sup> Stephen Cohen, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016

<sup>115</sup> Ministry of Education, support grant records (1963), The National Archives (TNA), ED 124/184.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, Report on *TS Foudroyant*, 6 December 1949, TNA, ED 124/184; correspondence, Sep-Oct 1950, TNA, ED 124/184.

<sup>117</sup> FT, *Finances and General Purposes Committee Minutes*, 17 March 1966, TA/TUL, 20.

<sup>118</sup> FT, 'Appeal for the *Frigate Foudroyant*' leaflet, TA/TUL, 21.

<sup>119</sup> FT, Promotional material, TA/TUL, 21

<sup>120</sup> *Minutes of Portsmouth City Council*, 10 October 1972, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>121</sup> FT, Correspondence and documentation – cannon disposal, TA/TUL, 81.

<sup>122</sup> *The News*, 9 April & 22 August 1975.

Year	Training fee per week
1962	£7:00
1963	£8:00
1965	£10:00
c.1970	£15:00
1974	£20:00
c.1975	£30:00
1977	£39:00
1979	£46:00
1981	£75:00
1982	£80:00
1986	£105:00
1987 (proposed charge)	£150:00

Figure 6: Average fee per training week (juvenile courses) 1962-1987

While the gradual rise in the cost of the training programme was essential, there was a serious risk of reducing applications. The training programme occasionally operated at a loss, as the maintenance bill escalated. The commercial market for ‘adventure holidays’ had become crowded and *Foudroyant* had to keep pace with competitors. Yet, similar enterprises did not face the realities of operating in a 160-year-old vessel. In 1975, a local newspaper reported that the ship was literally ‘falling to pieces’.<sup>123</sup> The intention was to appeal for support, but such publicity had the potential to be catastrophic. The battle to keep *Foudroyant* afloat – financially and literally – had been consistently waged since the 1920s. By the late 1970s, it increasingly seemed to be a battle which would eventually be lost.

### The training programme and educational policy

Throughout these tumultuous years, the training programme flourished, through embracement of progressive and radical educational policies. Revised governmental attitudes to physical education presented unique opportunities to promote the vessel as a centre of excellence. As a 1937 letter to *The Times* had stated:

‘Much money is being subscribed and spent... on the provision of playing fields. Can none be found for that greatest of all playgrounds, the sea? If character and self-reliance are to be taught by games, if health and physical fitness are to be sought by recreation, the sea has no equal.’<sup>124</sup>

A trajectory for continued development of the training programme was therefore set in the late 1930s. Upon the resumption of training ten years later, this approach was supported by the 1944 Education Act, which included a clause catering for children’s ‘moral, mental and physical development’. This was followed by a 1947 Ministry of Education report stating that outdoor education assisted with social development as a prevention against juvenile delinquency.<sup>125</sup> The report emphasised education through community engagement and excursions, suggesting that visits outside of local areas were ‘revelation[s] of an outside world... only read [about] in books’ leading to ‘sound

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 9 April 1975.

<sup>124</sup> *TT*, 16 August 1937.

<sup>125</sup> Lynn Cook, ‘The 1944 Education Act and Outdoor Education: From Policy to Education’, *History of Education*, 28:2 (1999) pp. 157-172.

personal and emotional relationships.<sup>126</sup> This was similar to the outward bound schemes of the 1930s and compensated for a post-war decline in the popularity of youth organisations, many of which had promoted outdoor activities. For *Foudroyant*, governmental policy ensured that on-board training was ready-made for compliance with state requirements. As Carradice has recognised, the definition of *Foudroyant* in these years essentially changed from training vessel to outward-bound school.<sup>127</sup>

The post-war syllabus included the core components of the previous programme, including ropework, boatwork, sailing and signalling. Lessons in the history of seafaring (and of the vessel in particular) were also provided, along with swimming, lifesaving, participation in a regatta and significantly, the importance of teamwork, and the promotion of leadership qualities.<sup>128</sup>



Figure 7: Ropework lesson on *Foudroyant*'s deck ,c.1960. [Source: TA/TUL, 97:15]

The expanded range of topics suited post-war education policy whilst reflecting changing career goals for British youth. A global depression in the shipping industry prompted a decline in the number of young people pursuing a maritime career.<sup>129</sup> Previously, many trainees viewed the programme as a stepping stone to naval service. In contrast, *Foudroyant* was now firmly a 'holiday ship', whilst intersecting with the goals of youth organisations as promoters of 'open-air culture', citizenship training and

<sup>126</sup> Ministry of Education, *The New Secondary Education*, quoted in Cook, 'The 1944 Education Act'.

<sup>127</sup> Carradice, p. 82.

<sup>128</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1948*, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>129</sup> Carradice, p. 107.

character development.<sup>130</sup> The Trust and the crew of *Foudroyant* prided themselves not only on training the potential future of the Royal and Merchant Navy, but on encouraging good British citizenship. A commitment to continued gender equality was essential, though not universally popular. A 1950 correspondent to the *Daily Mail* wrote, 'would not the girl Sea Rangers learning seamanship aboard *Foudroyant* be better employed in training to be housewives instead of female Hornblowers?'<sup>131</sup> Such views highlighted the importance for the ship to break barriers and challenge perceptions of what sea training represented. However, continued innovation was necessary. A report by Ministry of Education Inspectors in 1951 recorded a 'sound, happy atmosphere', though suggested that some aspects of training 'lacked sufficient coordination and suffered from a lack of equipment.' Despite this, the report concluded that the *Foudroyant* programme was of 'good value'.<sup>132</sup>

To strengthen the ship's 'standing' in the field of education, Chief Education Officers in Portsmouth, local educational inspectors, representatives of the Association of Preparatory Schools, the Transport and General Workers' Union and National Union of Teachers were all made governors of the Foudroyant Trust.<sup>133</sup> In addition, former governmental education inspector Captain E.A. Mount Haes, became *Foudroyant's* Director of Studies and advisor to the Board of Governors.<sup>134</sup> This ensured high standards and was part of continuing efforts to secure new sources of funding. Positive publicity, therefore, continued to be vital. A 1952 advertising feature in the *Daily Mail* emphasised the adventurous nature of what the vessel had to offer young people, while retaining the word 'holiday'.<sup>135</sup> Such a description was contentious, alongside efforts to make the training programme as dynamic and proficient as possible.

The 'adventure holiday' perception appears to have been the most successful in generating public interest, yet the Board of Governor sought to hire more professional instructors to strengthen the syllabus. It was believed that this would generate financial revenue through the possibility of grants, whilst encouraging greater participation from school parties. On a local level, the Trust frequently worked with Hampshire County Council to promote *Foudroyant* in local schools, though the council remained unwilling to supply financial aid.<sup>136</sup> Part of the appeal for school parties lay in the manner in which the course encouraged cooperation, particularly in more challenging pupils. As a headmaster stated in 1955, 'the experience of working together as a ship's crew in a completely new environment [wa]s a tonic to boys and masters'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> James Robinson & Sarah Mills, 'Being observant and being observed: embodied citizenship training in the Home Guard and the Boy Scout Movement, 1907-1945,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 38 (2012) pp. 412-423.

<sup>131</sup> *Daily Mail*, 24 May 1950.

<sup>132</sup> FT, *HMI Education report, 1951*, TA/TUL, 22. For more on educational inspections in the latter-twentieth century, see Eric Bolton, 'HMI Inspection Between 1968 and 1991', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 46:3 (2014) pp. 288-305.

<sup>133</sup> Raymond Clement Brown, *History of the Administration of the Frigate Foudroyant* (1980), TA/TUL, 47.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>135</sup> *Daily Mail*, 12 April 1952.

<sup>136</sup> FT, 1950s correspondence files, TA/TUL, 22.

<sup>137</sup> SNR, *Annual Report 1955*, TA/TUL, 233.

Ahead of the 1957 training year, the syllabus expanded the range of available activities.<sup>138</sup> It was still felt that a more professional outlook was vital; a confidential Trust memorandum recognised the need to attract impressive instructors, while recognising the difficulty of this due to an increasing lack of experience relating to service on a 'wooden wall'.<sup>139</sup> The great age of *Foudroyant* placed her at odds with contemporary training methods, limiting the degree to which modernisation was possible. In essence, the educational, non-physical aspects of the training programme had to remain antiquated. Expansion was therefore targeted in other areas. The addition of a £5,000 grant from the King George VI Memorial Fund in 1955 enabled the creation of syllabuses specifically designed to develop leadership and to encourage the mixing of trainees from different social backgrounds.<sup>140</sup>



Figure 8: Certificate awarded on completion of leadership course [Courtesy of the National Museum of the Royal Navy]

Healthy competition between the ship's 'watches' was also encouraged. All trainees were divided into different watches upon arrival, to regulate on-board activities, such as meal times, duties and training events. By setting the watches against each other, an atmosphere of determination and sportsmanship was fostered, essential for a life at sea and for responsible citizenship.

### **The *Foudroyant* Scholarship Scheme**

The most innovative step in educational provision came in 1959, with a proposed scholarship scheme.<sup>141</sup> Funded by local education authorities, the intention was that two students be selected by each school based on individual effort or improvement, rather than ultimate achievement. The scheme was announced to the press in June

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 1956, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>139</sup> FT, Correspondence, 7 February 1957, TA/TUL, 132.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> FT, Executive Sub-Committee minutes, 24 June 1959, TA/TUL, 33.

1960, to give 'specialised knowledge' of nautical subjects to nominated students.<sup>142</sup> Unfortunately, newspapers fixated on the students not quite achieving their potential, with headlines including 'failures get free holiday' and '60 losers win a prize'.<sup>143</sup> Efforts were then doubled to generate the interest of prospective schools.<sup>144</sup> However, the negative press coverage suggested that *Foudroyant* was a consolation prize, when in reality, the scholarship scheme represented ground-breaking educational thought.

The Trust demonstrated clear determination in pressing ahead with the scheme. Captain Superintendent Noble stated that he would 'put ashore any man who use[d] the word 'failures'',<sup>145</sup> in an effort to silence any notion of negativity. Scholarship trainees were usually placed in separate 'watches', forcing them to forge new social bonds with strangers, in-line with the Trust's ambition to be as socially inclusive as possible. The scheme also encouraged the continued development of the broader training programme. A review of Portsmouth Education Committee's relationship with the scheme in 1963 praised its educational value, drawing particular attention to the appointment of a Director of Studies, to work with the Captain Superintendent. A wide variety of on-board lectures were also arranged, with questionable success. During a scholarship week in March 1963, lectures subjects included photography, league football, marine biology, the geography of the Isle of Wight, sea shanties and the history of sailing, each being delivered by visiting 'experts'.<sup>146</sup> After mixed feedback, it was decided that a schoolmaster should be employed 'to organise nautical education' in a more cohesive manner.<sup>147</sup>



Figure 9: Classroom-based training, c.1975 [Source TA/TUL, 99:16]

<sup>142</sup> *Daily Telegraph*, 20 June 1960.

<sup>143</sup> *Daily Mail* and *Daily Mirror*, 7 April 1961.

<sup>144</sup> FT, Executive Sub-Committee minutes, 15 June 1960, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>145</sup> *Daily Herald*, 24 April 1961.

<sup>146</sup> FT, Management Committee minutes, 14 March 1963, TA/TUL, 3.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid*, 2 December 1964, TA/TUL, 33.

As the scholarship scheme developed, the selection process of students became problematic. Portsmouth Education Committee advised that scholarship candidates should be chosen 'for qualities of character rather than academic achievement',<sup>148</sup> indicating a desire to use the scheme to reward behavioural as well as scholastic improvement. The Trust's official definition of the scheme kept selection policies intentionally vague. It was suggested that 'industrious, well-behaved, but less gifted' pupils be selected.<sup>149</sup> However, during a 1964 review of the scheme, the Captain Superintendent recognised that certain schools selected individuals purely 'to be rid of them', while others were chosen to instil discipline.<sup>150</sup> It was stated that instead, only children 'who want to [go] and [were] prepared to learn something' should be selected.' To avoid the problem, it was decided that the word 'holiday', which had been central to the Trust's advertising for decades, be omitted in relation to scholarship weeks.<sup>151</sup>

The Trust's perception in this regard was misguided. Frequently, schoolteachers recognised what they termed 'difficult' or 'lone wolf' boys, seemed to undergo personality changes in the setting of *Foudroyant*.<sup>152</sup> Teachers also suggested the course as a way to give pupils a sense of direction. Stephen Cohen of Manchester took the advice of a teacher to visit *Foudroyant*, following a period of disruptive behaviour at school. The teacher in question had asked Stephen what he wanted to do with his life. With Stephen mentioning the Royal Navy, *Foudroyant* presented an opportunity for career development, whilst attempting to improve behaviour.<sup>153</sup> Obviously, this was not the case for every trainee. Once again, the issue of the purpose of *Foudroyant's* training was debatable. With regards to the scholarship scheme and the selection of students, it was open to interpretation whether participation was a punishment, a reward or an educational opportunity for personal growth. This was never fully settled; the success of the scheme and the publicity it generated, regardless of initial negativity, outweighed any adverse connotations. In 1964, the *Daily Mail* reported that the training programme for the entire summer was fully booked, with applicants being turned away.<sup>154</sup> Educationally, *Foudroyant* was thriving.

### **Citizenship and character training**

The scholarship scheme was not the only area of expansion. In August 1959, *Foudroyant* was recognised as a Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme training site.<sup>155</sup> The core aims of the Award Scheme were intrinsically linked with those of the vessel, promoting a sense of 'self-reliance' and a sense of citizenship.<sup>156</sup> Similarly, both attempted to give young people the opportunity to experience the wider world.<sup>157</sup> The

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<sup>148</sup> Portsmouth Education Committee 1962-3 Appendix B: TS *Foudroyant* Scholarship Course, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>149</sup> FT, Scholarship records (1959), TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>150</sup> FT, 'Summary of Scholarship Weeks 1964', Trincomalee Archive, Box TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>151</sup> FT, *Scholarship Weeks*, TA/TUL, 32.

<sup>152</sup> FT, correspondence, 26 September 1956, TA/TUL, 231.

<sup>153</sup> Stephen Cohen, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016.

<sup>154</sup> *Daily Mail*, 19 March 1964.

<sup>155</sup> *Evening News*, 28 August 1959.

<sup>156</sup> David Wainwright, *Youth in Action: The Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme 1956-1966* (Hutchinson: London, 1966) p. 109.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.



definition of citizenship was a changing phenomenon for much of the twentieth century. In general, Citizenship could be strictly gendered, with traditional definitions of masculinity and femininity.<sup>158</sup> These definitions were challenged on *Foudroyant*, where trainees were treated equally. The citizenship training offered on the vessel centred on teamwork, hard work and cooperation. This also served as a counterweight against contemporary concerns of the attitude of young people, as voiced by Richard Dimbleby. Specifically, the structure of ship-life was an antidote to idleness. In the words of trainee Mike King:

‘Instructors kept every moment full of movement and demands. There was no “oh well if you can’t do it don’t worry, just watch”. We were constantly challenged and their expectations of us were higher than ours of them. We weren’t bullied, but we were pushed in a rough yet jovial way’.<sup>159</sup>

As Selina Todd and Hilary Young have acknowledged, the ‘teenager’ in 1950s and 60s Britain was constantly ‘told to be ordinary’ at school, but was also ‘constructed by the aspirations’ of their parents, whilst being subjected to ever-changing cultural norms.<sup>160</sup> The traditional setting of *Foudroyant* celebrated youth in a disciplined, challenging environment. Traditional values were promoted, with a contemporary perspective. Class and geographical location had always been issues for youth movements; Baden-Powell had recognised that scouting held more appeal for southern, middle-class youths than, for example, their northern, working-class compatriots.<sup>161</sup> Despite being located in Portsmouth, *Foudroyant* attracted a wide range of trainees, from diverse locations and backgrounds, which supported its citizenship training by bringing together individuals who might not otherwise meet.

A further innovation lay in the provision of adult education. This began in 1954, with a syllabus in boat repair,<sup>162</sup> followed by a specific week for trainees from industry in June 1959, advertised as being ‘complementary’ to Outward Bound training courses.<sup>163</sup> Subsequently, adult training courses became widely subscribed. Between the 1950s and 1980s, *Foudroyant* hosted parties from both the public and private sectors, including Cadets from Sandhurst, teacher-training groups, the Army Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, the Ministries of Aviation and Defence, Ford Motor Company, Rolls Royce, UK Atomic Energy, the National Coal Board and the Central Electricity Generating Board. Once on board, industrial trainees were divided into messes and sub-divided into groups of six. Each trainee was given the opportunity to be group leader, under an appointed instructor.<sup>164</sup> Once the course was complete, the Captain Superintendent provided individual feedback on performance, before submitting confidential reports to the educational officers of the firms in question.<sup>165</sup> The industrial

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<sup>158</sup> Abigail Wills, ‘Masculinity and citizenship in England 1950-1970,’ *Past & Present*, 187 (2005) pp. 157-185.

<sup>159</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.

<sup>160</sup> Selina Todd & Hilary Young, ‘Baby Boomers to Beanstalkers: Making the Modern Teenager in Post-war Britain,’ *Cultural and Social History*, 9:3 (2012) pp. 451-467.

<sup>161</sup> Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*, p. 121.

<sup>162</sup> FT, Correspondence, TA/TUL, 27.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 June 1959, TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>164</sup> FT, *TS Foudroyant: Outline of a Course of Training for Apprentices in Industry*, TA/TUL, 51.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*

courses were therefore a source of personal development and a means of professional monitoring. Essentially, the outcomes were the same as those of the scholarship and Duke of Edinburgh's Award schemes. For instance, in 1965, 40 'young miners' were sent by the Yorkshire Division of the National Coal Board to 'broaden the outlook and interests' of the young men.<sup>166</sup> However, the Trust could never rely on the financial revenue of adult training schemes. Such bookings were at the mercy of fluctuating private sector fortunes or reorganisation in key industries. The cancellation of regular bookings by Rolls Royce and the National Coal Board was linked to difficulties in industry.<sup>167</sup>

The combination of leadership and character building training was central to *Foudroyant's* broad-based approach. In 1968, young trainee Carl Wadkin was given command of a boat on one occasion and on another and was also permitted to take the wheel.<sup>168</sup> A similar experience is recalled by John Peachey, who visited three times between 1958 and 1960.<sup>169</sup> Such acts of trust were pivotal in the programme's efforts. As Carl recalls, 'I think it may have encouraged my self-reliance and in the long term, self-confidence... Whoever planned the experience aboard knew how to inspire boys and keep them busy.'<sup>170</sup> This was exactly the intention. A 1970 promotional leaflet highlighted how experiences on board enabled adaptability to any situation.<sup>171</sup> The character/leadership programmes were so successful that tailored syllabuses were designed for specific types of trainees, including police cadets.<sup>172</sup>

*Foudroyant* had been reinvented. In a period of maritime decline, she became a centre of excellence for citizenship training and both personal and professional development. A fundraising appeal letter in 1974 seized on the sense that there was a need to channel the 'surplus energy of... young people both in schools and in industry.' It suggested that many opportunities for 'advancement' in Britain had been lost, implying that *Foudroyant*, the call of the sea and the all-too familiar invoking of 'national heritage provided an answer.'<sup>173</sup> Maritime decline, then, provided an opportunity for national development. Despite the training programme's serious aspirations, it was essentially fun. The shipboard schedule was packed with lessons in seamanship, boat pulling, sailing and boatwork, along with educational visits, a 'sailing expedition in the Solent and a regatta.'<sup>174</sup> For those who had some familiarity with modern-sailing equipment, the age of the *Foudroyant* 'lifeboats' or 'launches' could be amusing.<sup>175</sup> The boats formed the core memories of thousands of trainees, with most remembering trips to the Isle of Wight particularly fondly. As Stephen Cohen recalls, 'there were many moments when I thought the waves would swamp us. The tips of the waves would rush past us, reaching within a couple of inches of the gunwale. We were in good

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<sup>166</sup> *TT*, 4 September 1965.

<sup>167</sup> *FT*, *Training and Ship Management Committee Minutes*, 19 November 1971, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>168</sup> Carl Wadkin, *Foudroyant* log, August 1968. I am grateful to Mr Wadkin-Snaith for sharing this log.

<sup>169</sup> John Peachey, email correspondence, 29 January 2016.

<sup>170</sup> Carl Wadkin-Snaith, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 11 April 2016.

<sup>171</sup> *FT*, *Trends in Apprenticeship Training: TS Foudroyant Character Training* (1970), TA/TUL, 51.

<sup>172</sup> *FT*, *Captain Superintendent's Annual Report*, 17 October 1974, TA/TUL, 22.

<sup>173</sup> *FT*, *1974 Appeal records*, TA/TUL, 26.

<sup>174</sup> *FT*, *Foudroyant Sea Training Courses* (1974) TA/TUL, 26.

<sup>175</sup> Carl Wadkin-Snaith, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 11 April 2016.

hands, though – and we all worked wonderfully well together.<sup>176</sup> It was this spirit of camaraderie, excitement and team spirit which was central to the *Foudroyant* experience.

### **Life on board *Foudroyant***

Amidst the narratives of training and preservation, it must be remembered that for over 80 years, *Foudroyant* was thriving space of human activity. For some, it was a workspace; certain crewmembers even made it their home. For an estimated 70,000 trainees, it was *their* ship. It was the location of *their* experience, whether that experience was positive or negative.

Various accounts survive of life on board, providing very different perspectives. An undated poem, written by a trainee in the 1930s, described a miserable time aboard ‘the slaveship of Portsmouth Bay’, after being sent there because his family wanted him ‘out of the way’.<sup>177</sup> While for Basil Asby, a Sea Scout in this period, looking forward to a summer holiday on *Foudroyant* was an annual tradition.<sup>178</sup> Obviously, as a Sea Scout, the naval experience was to be welcomed, compared with a trainee who may have been there against his own wishes. Basil recalled fondly how the day was regulated by ‘the bugle, the boatswain’s whistle and the number of deck bells struck’.<sup>179</sup> Undeniably, such accounts over-romanticised reality, in a similar manner to the promotional activities. A 1939 appeal leaflet quoted a Portsmouth Harbour official, describing a group of disembarking girls who were unable to stop crying such was their regret to be leaving.<sup>180</sup> How far this reflected reality is impossible to say.

Discipline was more rigidly enforced in these years; like all naval training establishments. In the latter half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, there were many examples of reformatory and industrial school vessels, whose sole aim was to instil discipline in their young charges.<sup>181</sup> Yet, the few surviving personal accounts of shipboard life in the early twentieth century, such as that provided by Asby, indicate a positive experience. In most cases, this was also true of the post-war years. Initial assessments of the vessel were often mixed. In the words of trainee Carl Wadkin:

‘My first impression – good grief. If I have to live on this tug for a week, I’ll go mad! Then it seemed great; a marvellous experience never to be missed. It was terrific. Sailing, motor cruises... even the lectures proved interesting.’<sup>182</sup>

This was a common reaction amongst young trainees; initial panic giving way to full embracement of the experience. However, the first few hours could be daunting.

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<sup>176</sup> Stephen Cohen, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016.

<sup>177</sup> Lambert, 115.

<sup>178</sup> Asby, 5.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>180</sup> *The Story of the Implacable*, (1938) 468A/6/9, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>181</sup> Carradice, chs 3-4. This was mirrored around the world. For an example from Australia, see John Ramsland, ‘Life Aboard the Nautical School Ship *Sobraon*, 1891-1911,’ *Journal of the Australian Association of Maritime History*, 3:1 (1991) pp. 30-45.

<sup>182</sup> Carl Wadkin-Snaith, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 11 April 2016.

Throughout the *Foudroyant* years, trainees slept in hammocks, with a coarse blanket. Once aboard and allocated into a 'watch', trainees were shown how to 'sling' a hammock. As Carl Wadkin recalls, the key detail was 'the special slip knot used to attach the hammock to the deckhead beam hooks. No other knot was allowed.' Many former trainees recall the frequency with which hammocks were unhooked or upended, causing the occupant to tumble to the floor, with crewmembers being 'quick to stamp out a repeat performance.'<sup>183</sup> Mike King remembers the regular appearance of an 'insincerely stern duty officer... [threatening] dire, yet unspecified retribution and who bore the inevitable cheers with some dignity'.<sup>184</sup>



Figure 10: The complicated procedure of getting in the hammock, 1960s [Source TATUL, 95:7]

This first lesson also involved stowing away hammocks after use. As Mike King recalls, 'this had to be done right. That was a word used a lot. Right. No compromise – it all had to be right'.<sup>185</sup> The dominant theme of shipboard records, together with trainee memories, recall the regimented nature of shipboard activities, undertaken with a firm, but rarely overpowering sense of discipline. Many remember the formality, with frequent use of 'aye aye' and 'sir' to enforce a sense of hierarchy. The different watches also functioned in typical naval style, allocated all shipboard tasks at alternative times. This structure assisted with the promotion of leadership training. A 1960s trainee recalled: 'we were given our watch cards and went below to unpack. On

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

the card, was the number of the owner's watch, mess and locker... For some unknown reason, I was appointed mess and watch leader, although I was the youngest.<sup>186</sup> In such ways, every aspect of the experience contributed to the training regimen.



Figure 11: Lessons in how to “sling” and “stow” a hammock, early 1960s [Source TATUL, 95:9]

Trainees were woken at around 6.30am for cleaning duties, with hammocks then being packed away, followed by breakfast.<sup>187</sup> The hectic shipboard schedule served to envelop the trainees in the reality of life at sea. Each day, the ‘ensign’ flag was lowered and raised on deck, to remind the trainees of where they were, adding to the sense of adventure, giving the impression of ‘a sort of sanitized version of playing at Nelson Navy’.<sup>188</sup> Yet for others, the naval atmosphere went beyond the ‘adventure holiday’, testing whether a career at sea was for them. Despite its broad intentions, the training programme and the overall *Foudroyant* experience never discriminated; it was up to the individual trainee to define their time on board.

The Trust embraced the fact that life on board a ‘wooden wall’ was reflective of Britain’s naval heritage in just about every aspect, including austere living conditions. To sleep in a hammock, in a communal area, without home comforts was an integral part of the process. Temperature was, however, a problem; the sleeping area is remembered as

<sup>186</sup> FT, training logs (unknown date), TATUL, 233.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., (1963), TATUL, 233.

<sup>188</sup> Carl Wadkin, *Foudroyant* log; *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 11 April 2016.

a 'sweatbox' at 2200 hours, but 'cold and very damp' by 0300, due to a build-up of condensation.<sup>189</sup> Few trainees report an entirely negative-free experience. They were, after all, twentieth-century youths living on board an early-nineteenth-century vessel. In most cases, all bore their complaints silently, except on one notable occasion.

In 1955, the ship made national headlines for less favourable reasons, when 26 Sea Scouts 'mutinied' by rowing ashore in a small boat and refusing to return, claiming that they had endured 'three days of disappointment' whilst on board. Among their many complaints were the times they were asked to go to bed and get up and the condition of the food available on board.<sup>190</sup> The Scout Leaders supported this action, stating that they were 'having the happiest mutiny in the world.' The press quoted a postcard sent home by one of the Scouts, recording that *Foudroyant* was 'lousy... no good... the biggest bit of driftwood afloat.'<sup>191</sup> Difficulties also seem to have been generated by the simultaneous presence of a party of girls which, at that point, was a violation of the Trust's conditions. While it was later conceded that allowing mixed parties aboard was an error, crewmembers levelled accusations of disruption at the Scouts, rather than other trainees – a fact supported by a letter from the mother of trainee 'Fred' who had been on board at the same time and claimed that apart from the behaviour of the Scouts, the visit was 'the highlight of his year.'<sup>192</sup> A subsequent investigation was launched by the Trust, concluding that the Scout party had demonstrated no effort to cooperate, with a 'difference of opinion between the Scout Leaders and the Captain Superintendent exacerbating the situation.'<sup>193</sup> In general, little fault was viewed as laying with *Foudroyant*. The incident had little negative effect; if anything, the press attention proved to be beneficial.

Though the cuisine of *Foudroyant* was rarely considered outstanding, few former trainees recall problems to equal the concerns of the 'mutineers'. In each 'mess', one trainee each day was designated as cook to assist in the galley, also having the responsibility of carrying food to the mess table for the rest of the group.<sup>194</sup> In the words of Mike King, the food served on board fell into the 'hot, brown and plenty of it' category.<sup>195</sup> Stephen Cohen, on board in 1973, recalls that he and his fellow trainees were sometimes hungry and asked for more food, but were merely told to 'stop complaining'.<sup>196</sup> Clearly, the naval atmosphere extended to every aspect of shipboard life, including strict segregation at mealtimes, of trainees and any adults who may have been accompanying them. A troop of Sea Scouts from Stoke-on-Trent recorded in a shipboard log in 1957 that group leaders enjoyed elaborate meals in the wardroom, while trainees faced much simpler food on the mess deck.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.

<sup>190</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 9 September 1955.

<sup>191</sup> FT, "Mutiny" Confidential Report, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>192</sup> FT, correspondence, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>193</sup> FT, Committee of Enquiry Report, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>194</sup> Interview with Mike King, 28 July 2016.

<sup>195</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.

<sup>196</sup> Stephen Cohen, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016.

<sup>197</sup> *89<sup>th</sup> Sea Scouts TS Foudroyant log, 1957* courtesy of the National Museum of the Royal Navy.

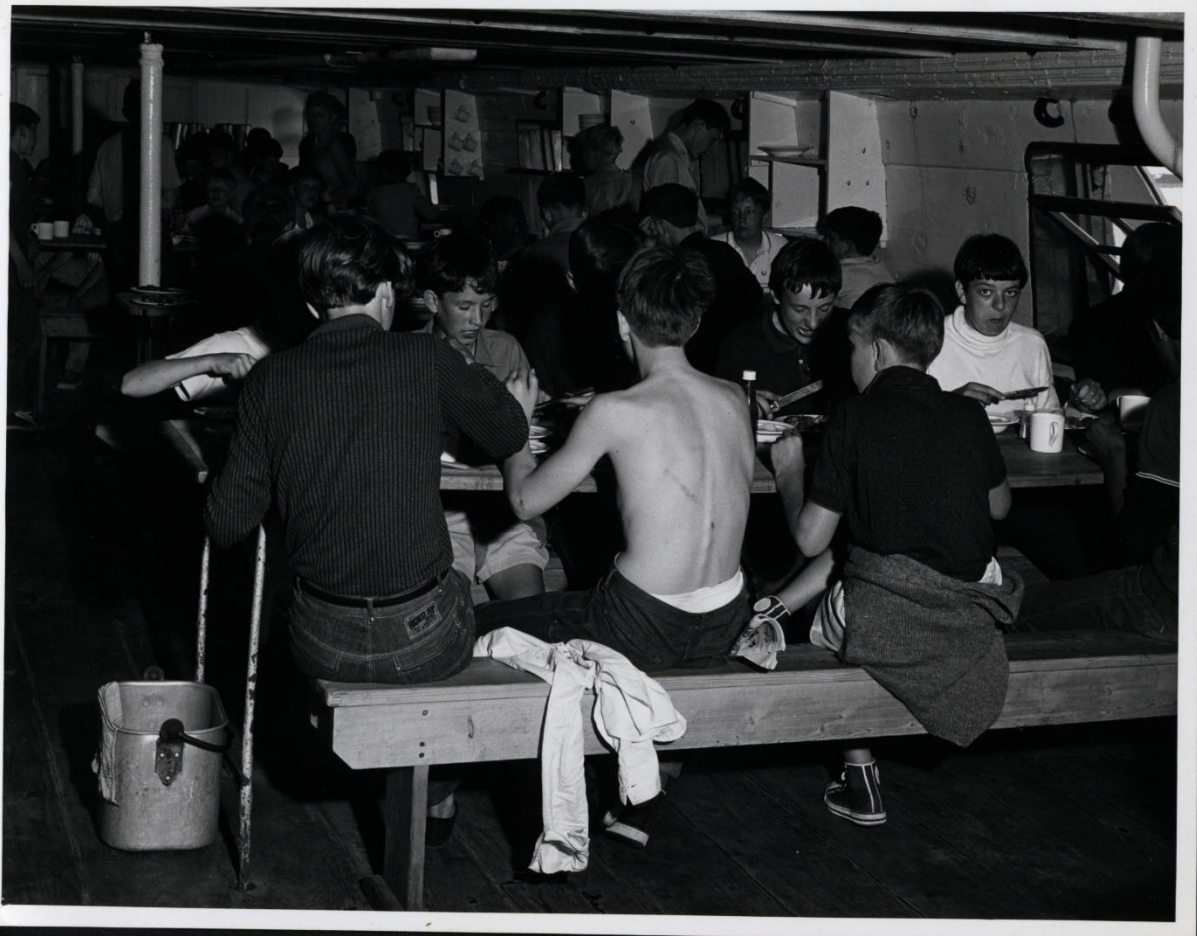


Figure 12: Mealtime on the mess deck, 1960s [Source TA/TUL, 99:16]

Generally, complaints were few. In 1964, a teacher accompanying several trainees suggested that there was a lack of privacy on board, both for staff and for trainees. In response, the Trust stated that 'adjustable screens ensured privacy' where appropriate.<sup>198</sup> Yet, in general, privacy was rare in the conditions of a nineteenth century vessel. It was not until 1981 that the lower deck was partly partitioned to permit separate gender accommodation, for mixed training.<sup>199</sup> Complaints regarding discipline were a reoccurring issue. One letter voiced concerns regarding swearing, shouting and bullying on the part of instructors. While most of these complaints were denied, the Trust conceded that a firm attitude was frequently required from staff. This was especially the case during scholarship weeks, reflecting the selection criteria of individual schools.<sup>200</sup>

The enforcement of discipline was not only appropriate for the setting, but also to enforce order. Similarly, a strong sense of discipline and naval order was expected among officers and crew, both for efficiency and to set a positive example.<sup>201</sup> Recalling the crew of *Foudroyant*, Stephen Cohen remembers that most 'seemed pretty stern... I think they needed to be strict with us... there was an air of authority

<sup>198</sup> FT, correspondence files, TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., 7 April 1981, TA/TUL, 231.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., TA/TUL, 33.

<sup>201</sup> Clover, 'Remembering Nelson'.

projected by staff members on board'.<sup>202</sup> In general, trainee behaviour never went beyond childish high spirits, with many former trainees recalling noisy nights in the atmosphere of the hammock deck. Usually, mischief and squabbles were dealt with in an informal, yet tough manner. For instance, Mike King recalls an instructor stating, 'if you want to slap at each other, then there's the boxing gloves, get on with it'.<sup>203</sup> As David Clover, who progressed from trainee to part of the instructor staff, remembers, the 'Officer of the Day' was required to supervise the young charges overnight and 'eject mischievous troublemakers, moving them as a last resort to the gun deck if things got too rowdy'.<sup>204</sup> Occasionally, behavioural difficulties took a more serious turn. A group of girls from a Community Home in 1973 were asked to leave due to their disruptive behaviour and 'coarse language.' This led to a review of the viability of accepting bookings from such organisations during scholarship weeks.<sup>205</sup> However, such incidents were in the minority and on-board disruption was minimal.

One area of naval discipline which caused concern was the 'scrans bag'. This was a maritime tradition where any personal belongings which had not been properly stored away were collected in a bag. Aboard *Foudroyant*, the items were 'sold' back to the owner, leaving many trainees with no personal funds by the end of their training.<sup>206</sup> While such traditions enhanced the validity of the seafaring atmosphere, the appropriateness of this practice on a holiday ship was unusual. It was, however, in keeping with the tone of the broader experience. Discipline also extended to the adult trainees. An instructor accompanying a group of industrial trainees in 1968 recorded that how 'privileges were really earned, such as relaxing of discipline for sensible behaviour and... evenings allowed ashore... [being] reduced at the slightest stepping out of line'.<sup>207</sup>

There were many opportunities to 'escape' the ship for short periods, for organised activities and personal amusement. Accounts written by trainees from industry record more free time and opportunity to explore Portsmouth than their younger counterparts.<sup>208</sup> Yet even the youngest trainees had the opportunity to spend at least an afternoon without supervision, exploring the bustling city. Other excursions were consistently part of the itinerary, including visits to other vessels such as *HMS Dolphin* or *HMS Victory*. Trainees would also frequently have the opportunity to visit funfairs, or to go swimming in local baths.<sup>209</sup> Harbour cruises were almost a daily feature throughout the ship's time in Portsmouth. In 1958, the capsizing of a yacht due to a sudden thunderstorm during a training exercise led to 17 teenage boys from London having to be rescued by local safety patrols. They were then returned to the ship, happily singing sea shanties.<sup>210</sup> The potential for such danger added to the sense of adventure which lay at the heart of the *Foudroyant* experience.

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<sup>202</sup> Stephen Cohen, Foudroyant memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016.

<sup>203</sup> Interview with Mike King, 28 July 2016.

<sup>204</sup> Clover, 'Remembering Nelson'.

<sup>205</sup> FT, correspondence files, TA/TUL, 32.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., (1966), TA/TUL, 51.

<sup>207</sup> FT, training logs (1968), TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., (1965).

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., (1968).

<sup>210</sup> *Daily Mail*, 17 July 1958.





Figure 13: Sailing lessons, c.1958 [Source TA/TUL, 86:34]



Figure 14: Trainees during a trip to the Isle of Wight c.1980, courtesy of Chris Kidd

The main deck was used for sports, with one former trainee describing the scene as resembling a 'kid's summer camp'.<sup>211</sup> Every effort was made to ensure that each day full of activity. Portsmouth Council's review of the scholarship scheme in 1963 indicated that trainees had reported being constantly occupied, even when the weather prevented the ever-popular boating activities.<sup>212</sup> The week also built to a crescendo, with a weekly regatta and prize giving, taking place on Fridays. The crew made sure to build the tension and excitement of the occasion throughout the week, in order to encourage the best performance from trainees.<sup>213</sup> The regatta was taken seriously, with time being allotted during the week to prepare and practice.<sup>214</sup> Hard work was expected in every aspect of the training programme and many trainees bore the physical marks of this intensity. By the end of a week, most wore some kind of plaster, due to blisters.<sup>215</sup> Overall, the firm encouragement of the crew added to naval discipline and was yet another aspect of the leadership and character training which lay at the heart of the post-war programme.

The one area which seems to have been problematic was below-deck entertainment. A letter from a Headmaster in 1966, following a school visit, drew attention to an apparent lack of structured activity and supervision in the evenings, which it was said encouraged bad behaviour.<sup>216</sup> Yet, other records show that there were occasional improvised 'concerts' by crew and trainees alike, to provide evening entertainments.<sup>217</sup> This was certainly the case in 1957, when the Stoke-on-Trent Sea Scouts enjoyed a final night concert, the highlight of which was a spirited song about the 'Captain's red socks'.<sup>218</sup> In 1977, the Trust annual report conceded that on-board amusements were limited, but this was not seen as causing any problem.<sup>219</sup> Given the Spartan tone of naval heritage presented aboard *Foudroyant*, there was only so much that could be achieved without detracting from the experience. Yet, it cannot be denied that this was another area which demonstrated the antiquated nature of *Foudroyant*, in the face of more modern competition, as the vessel entered the 1980s.

### **The final years of the Training programme**

By the early 1980s, *Foudroyant* was one of the few British training vessels still in operation.<sup>220</sup> She had survived for over 160 years, several careers, two world wars, multiple innovations in training and had housed over 70,000 young trainees. Yet, the ship required extensive structural maintenance, which was beyond the financial limits of the Trust. Such a refit would also demand a definitive answer to the question which had dogged the aged vessel for over 50 years: which was more important, training or preservation?

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<sup>211</sup> Interview with Mike King, 28 July 2016.

<sup>212</sup> *Portsmouth Education Committee 1962-3 Appendix B: TS Foudroyant Scholarship Course*, Portsmouth History Centre.

<sup>213</sup> FT, training logs (1968), TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>214</sup> Carl Wadkin, *Foudroyant* log.

<sup>215</sup> *Observer*, 22 August 1982.

<sup>216</sup> FT, correspondence (1966), TA/TUL, 51.

<sup>217</sup> FT, training logs (unknown date), TA/TUL, 233.

<sup>218</sup> *89th Sea Scouts TS Foudroyant log, 1957* courtesy of the National Museum of the Royal Navy.

<sup>219</sup> FT, *Annual Report and Accounts 1977*, TA/TUL, 1.

<sup>220</sup> Carradice, p. 178.

*Foudroyant* had been widely marketed as an adventure holiday site since the late-1960s and this continued into the 1980s.<sup>221</sup> While this was the best marketing strategy, the training programme still served to introduce young people to a life at sea. For example, a feature in the *Observer's* youth section in August 1982 included a quote from a young trainee named Alison Smith, who stated that she was contemplating joining the Royal Navy following her visit.<sup>222</sup> Clearly, the training agenda continued to be effective. The problem was that the vessel increasingly struggled to house her trainees.

Repairs to a hull leak in 1975 prompted the commissioning of a report into *Foudroyant's* future, which suggested four different visions of what could happen next: continuation of training with minimal repair, abandonment of the ship and focus on education of the nation's youth with a new vessel, full restoration for training, or restoration for use as a heritage attraction. The future home of the vessel was also widely debated, with general recognition that a berth in Portsmouth Historic Dockyard would be the most suitable venue.<sup>223</sup> The question remained, however, whether this was compatible with the continuation of training.



Figure 15: *Foudroyant* in the early 1980s, courtesy of Chris Kidd

While the ship's future looked uncertain, the area where she had resided since the early 1930s was being transformed. The decline of shipbuilding as a major industry,

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<sup>221</sup> *The Times*, 29 May 1967; *The Observer*, 7 March 1971, 14 February 1982.

<sup>222</sup> *Observer*, 22 August 1982.

<sup>223</sup> Robin Pryer, *A Frigate's Future: A report by Inland and Waterside Planners for the Foudroyant Trust* (1976), TATUL, 47.

changes in international trade, the strengthening of European relations and even the growth of international tourism all had an impact on reducing the symbolism of the United Kingdom being an 'island nation'.<sup>224</sup> This left many of Britain's coastal towns and cities reflecting on their future. In Portsmouth, this took shape in the creation of a 'Tourism Development Action Programme, which sought to capitalise on the city's rich naval heritage.<sup>225</sup> Following the successful examples of dockside regeneration efforts in the United States of America, many British authorities reconsidered their watersides to revitalise and regenerate dilapidated urban centres.<sup>226</sup> Tourism provided a rich opportunity to bolster a local economy, following the decline of a key industry. The benefits of using an area's heritage for regeneration ensured economic viability.

Waterfront regeneration represented a battle between preservation and regeneration; *Foudroyant* was facing a similar battle.<sup>227</sup> Since the first appeal for financial support in 1927, the matter of defining the ship's primary objective had been repeatedly considered and avoided. Finally, decisions were required. Yet, before any step could be taken, funding had to be secured. A 1982 appeal leaflet explained the intention to secure £250,000 for preservation in order to continue the training programme.<sup>228</sup> The reality was that further repairs would merely delay the gradual decline of the ship. In March 1984, at a meeting of the Finance Committee, the scale of the crisis facing *Foudroyant* was made clear. Trainee numbers were declining and unless urgent repairs could be made, the safety of those that did enrol could not be guaranteed.

As a cost-cutting measure, the difficult decision was taken to cease all publicity efforts, but to add as many additional training days to *Foudroyant's* calendar as possible, despite staff redundancies, in order to increase revenue.<sup>229</sup> Additionally, Captain Superintendent Mike Hemmings recognised a need to modernise, by catering to the tastes of the young, with canoeing and windsurfing suggested as supplementary activities.<sup>230</sup> The Trust also began to consider the addition of a wider variety of courses in order to try to attract a wider audience, including specialised programmes in the winter months, due to 'strong competition in the youth activities field.'<sup>231</sup> On reflection, these plans were overly ambitious, given the scale of the problem which was faced, yet they had the potential to generate much-needed income. The overriding message was clear – survival was dependent on sound and determined commercial endeavour, with the twin aims of the Trust seeming to take a sedentary position. Nevertheless, a statement by Trust Chairman David Smith three months later demonstrated that it was still hoped that *Foudroyant* would be invited to take a berth in the Portsmouth Heritage Area, even though this would require the suspension (or drastic revision) of the training scheme, due to issues relating to 'commercial competition'.<sup>232</sup> Additionally, the

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<sup>224</sup> Glen O'Hara, *Britain and the Sea Since 1600* (Palgrave: Basingstoke, 2010) p. 184.

<sup>225</sup> Pat Yale, *From Tourist Attraction to Heritage Tourism* [2nd Ed.] (Huntingdon, 2004), p. 206.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>227</sup> Barry Shaw, 'History at the Water's Edge,' in Richard Marshall (Ed.) *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities* (Abingdon, 2001) pp. 161-181.

<sup>228</sup> FT, *Foudroyant Appeal* (1982), TA/TUL, 47.

<sup>229</sup> FT, *Finance Committee Minutes*, 24 March 1984, TA/TUL, 20.

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> FT, *Accounts and Annual Report 1983-84*, TA/TUL, 3.

<sup>232</sup> FT, statement, June 1984, TA/TUL, 64.

condition of the vessel made Dockyard authorities reluctant to welcome the ailing vessel.

External events made the situation even more dire. Prolonged industrial action in the teaching profession resulted in 50% of bookings for the 1985/86 academic year being cancelled.<sup>233</sup> As the majority of trainees originated from schools, this decimated the already-depleted income of *Foudroyant*. A series of confidential reports issued to the Governors of the Trust in 1985 stated that they were:

‘charged with two distinct and often conflicting responsibilities... to train young people [and] to maintain the hull. Any responsible Board faced with a choice between people and things must inevitably give preference to people. Thus when funds fall short it is hull maintenance that falls short first.’<sup>234</sup>

The ship’s perilous physical state was clear. There was still a feeling that *Foudroyant* had a future in Portsmouth, despite her exclusion from the Naval Heritage Project. A wide array of solutions to the impasse were debated, with even the vessel’s repatriation to her place of construction, Bombay, being considered.<sup>235</sup> Training with ever-decreasing numbers continued for another year until the Trust’s Annual General Meeting on September 1986, when the suspension of the programme seemed inevitable in order to focus on preservation.<sup>236</sup> At this stage, several options were still being considered, including, for the first time, a restoration project at Hartlepool, followed by the resumption of training in Portsmouth.<sup>237</sup> Following the successful restoration of HMS Warrior, Hartlepool seemed a logical location for *Foudroyant* to be restored. The wider north-east region was becoming a centre of excellence for such activities. For instance, the Tyne and the Wear, former powerhouses of shipbuilding, witnessed efforts to build replica Victorian clipper ships.<sup>238</sup> It was, however, seemingly inconceivable at this stage that Hartlepool would become *Foudroyant*’s permanent home.

One month later, at the conclusion of the 1986 season, an extraordinary general meeting was called, where it was decided that after 85 years, the training programme about *Foudroyant* would end. In early 1987, after liquidation of the Trust’s remaining assets, Hartlepool was chosen as the location for restoration and plans were drawn up for the vessel’s relocation.<sup>239</sup> As she was no longer seaworthy, this required a barge to carry her on the four-day journey north. During the ship’s final days in Portsmouth, it became clear just how much she had come to mean to the local area, as people gathered to see her one final time.

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<sup>233</sup> SNR, *Accounts and Report 1985-86*, Greenwich Maritime Museum, SNR/8/21.

<sup>234</sup> FT, correspondence (1985), TA/TUL, 51.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> FT, *The Way Forward: The Future of Frigate Foudroyant*, TA/TUL, 47.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Hewison, p. 97.

<sup>239</sup> Lambert, p. 122.



Figure 16: Foudroyant during the final days in Portsmouth, showing the extreme state of dilapidation she had reached [Source TA/TUL, 104]

It was reported that Portsmouth City Council was donating £5000 towards cost, providing that the ship eventually returned to its home for over fifty years.<sup>240</sup> There was a degree of certainty that *Foudroyant* would, one day, return, as she made her way across the Solent towards the Channel and the North Sea, on 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1987. Six months later, it was confirmed that the ship would be restored to her original appearance, with no return of the training programme. Portsmouth was still considered her ideal future home, but a wide number of other locations were also being considered.

Local developments in Hartlepool, however, quickly made the town a preferable option. A significant policy of Margaret Thatcher's tenure as Prime Minister related to the establishment of Urban Development Corporations, to encourage regeneration in deindustrialised areas.<sup>241</sup> The intention was to restrict the involvement of municipal authorities in the regeneration process, to encourage private investment.<sup>242</sup> The preservation and utilisation of existing or adopted heritage was frequently a part of this strategy.<sup>243</sup> In August 1989, The Teesside Development Corporation offered a grant of £1 million to restore the vessel, if she were to remain there for at least 15 years. With Portsmouth unable to compete with this offer, the terms were accepted. The news

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<sup>240</sup> *EN*, 3 April 1987.

<sup>241</sup> Franco Bianchini & Hermann Schwengl, 'Re-imagining the city' in John Corner & Sylvia Harvey, (Eds) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (London, 1991) pp. 212-234.

<sup>242</sup> Rebecca Madgin, *Heritage, Culture and Conservation: Managing the Urban Renaissance* (Leicester, 2009) p. 65.

<sup>243</sup> Hewison, p. 101.

was greeted in *Foudroyant's* former home with a slight tone of anger, though the *Portsmouth Evening News* conceded that the decision for the ship to stay in Hartlepool was best for the vessel.<sup>244</sup> The restoration programme quickly commenced and on 28 March 1990, *Foudroyant* was officially renamed, once again becoming *HMS Trincomalee*.<sup>245</sup> The *Foudroyant* years had officially ended.

## Conclusion

The restoration of the *HMS Trincomalee* was essential for the survival of the vessel physically, historically and financially. Yet in the process, the *Foudroyant* years have largely been erased. The presentation of *Trincomalee* in her original form is in-keeping with most modern heritage centres, offering a more sensorial experience to visitors, than previous 'traditional' museums.<sup>246</sup> This is certainly appropriate for a vessel which has borne witness to so much human endeavour over her varied career. Her decks were an organic space and while visibly, she now takes the form of an early-nineteenth-century ship mid-voyage, returning *Foudroyant* trainees can still identify familiarities. Perhaps the placing of a staircase adjacent to a hammock will bring back long-forgotten memories of that first sleepless night aboard, or the arrangement of the mess tables will stir recollections of games and mealtimes. The *Foudroyant* years are there in the memories of both the vessel and those she housed.



Figure 17: *HMS Trincomalee*, fully restored to her early-nineteenth-century condition, courtesy of Teesside University

Being able to visit such a vessel and connect with its heritage allows us to enter a 'well-constructed national imagination.'<sup>247</sup> This is now central to the ship's identity as

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<sup>244</sup> *EN*, 4 December 1989.

<sup>245</sup> *Northern Echo*, 29 March 1990.

<sup>246</sup> John Corner & Sylvia Harvey, 'Mediating tradition and modernity: the heritage/enterprise couplet' in John Corner & Sylvia Harvey, (Eds) *Enterprise and Heritage: Crosscurrents of National Culture* (London, 1991) pp. 45-75.

<sup>247</sup> Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country* (Oxford, 2009), p. 147.

a tourist attraction but was also exactly the message which the Trust depended on for decades. The evocation of national heritage in the shape of the vessel helped ensure its survival throughout the twentieth century and now ensures its future. Similarly, this evocation makes *Trincomalee* an adopted symbol of north-eastern history. This was exactly what had been intended during the regeneration of Hartlepool Historic Quay in the 1980s and 1990s. Such regeneration was not only about heritage; it was also representative of civic symbolism and hope for the future, by forging a 'new relationship with the old'.<sup>248</sup> Over the last thirty years, this relationship has been sustained.

The legacy of the *Foudroyant* years is not only encapsulated in the *Trincomalee* as she now appears. For over 80 years, the ship was kept afloat through sheer determination and seemingly against all the odds. The reason for this, as this paper has demonstrated, lay not only in the determination of those charged with her upkeep and survival, but in the training programme itself. Her reinvention as a floating summer camp for youth groups in the 1930s was timely and provided a springboard for further innovation in the transformed post-war landscape of educational reform. *Foudroyant* had been championing physical education long before it became a key aspect of state provision, allowing the ship to reinvent itself in the wake of maritime decline. The development of the scholarship scheme and citizenship and character training again demonstrated that despite its grand age, the vessel was at the forefront of educational and social innovation.

The 'identity crisis' which continually plagued the ship had few easy answers. It is difficult to identify a key point when preservation of an edifice becomes more pressing than its active purpose. *Trincomalee* became *Foudroyant* essentially for commercial purposes. Over time, this evolved into a charitable operation which, following the loss of *Implacable*, was increasingly aware of the vessel's distinctiveness. Yet it is worth remembering that even in the late 1940s, if *Implacable* had been repairable, *Foudroyant* would likely have been destroyed. It was only her viability as a training unit that ensured she would survive to once again grace Hartlepool Quay as *HMS Trincomalee*. Therefore, perhaps the continual battle between training and preservation does not matter. The success and the eminence of that training programme was preservation.

The legacy of *Foudroyant* is also found in the impact of the training programme on those 70,000 young trainees. They came from all walks of life, areas of the country and from all backgrounds. Some boarded the ship by choice, while others were sent there by their school or their place of work. Yet most appear to recognise that their brief stay left some kind of indelible mark which has defined their future lives. For some, the legacy lay in generating a spirit of adventure or a sense of order. As Stephen Cohen reflects, 'I always wanted to travel and pursue adventure. My experience on *Foudroyant* gave me a taster... I feel very lucky. I wish all kids could experience similar activities'.<sup>249</sup> While Richard Galbraith does not attribute his training as shaping his future career, he does recognise that the 'routine and

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<sup>248</sup> Richard Marshall, 'Waterfronts, Development and World Heritage Cities,' in Richard Marshall (Ed.) *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities* (Abingdon, 2001) pp. 137-159.

<sup>249</sup> Stephen Cohen, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 14 March 2016.



discipline' of his visit were beneficial.<sup>250</sup> For others, the training programme gave not just a sense of career direction, but also demonstrated the depth and success of that innovative character-building programme that went far beyond mere sea training. In the words of Mike King:

'I went to *Foudroyant* liking boats and came away liking ships. I am certain it cast my future as I am still an active seafarer.... There are things about *Foudroyant* that I have carried with me all my subsequent life. I guess a timid little boy suddenly realised there was more of him than he thought... That is what *Foudroyant* was best at – uncovering what lay inside us and helping you to have the strength to see the best in yourself and to try to improve the worst... Thank you *Foudroyant*'.<sup>251</sup>

### **Acknowledgements**

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<sup>250</sup> Richard Galbraith, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 21 January 2017.

<sup>251</sup> Capt. M.A. King, *Foudroyant* memories questionnaire, 24 March 2016.